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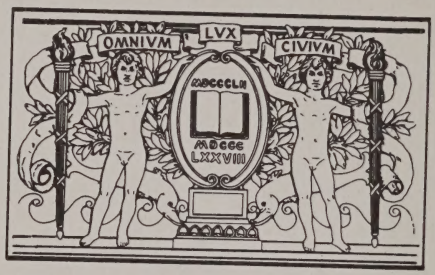

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2. *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature. Vols. I. and II. Containing Philosophical Miscellanies, translated from the French of* COUSIN, JOUFFROY, and B. CONSTANT. *With Introductory and Critical Notices.* By GEORGE RIPLEY. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 383 and 376.

3. *Elements of Psychology; included in a Critical Examination of Locke's Essay on* [*the*] *Human Understanding, with Additional Pieces.* By VICTOR COUSIN, Peer of France, &c. &c. &c. *Translated from the French, with an Introduction and Notes.* By the Rev. C. S. HENRY, D. D. Second Edition, prepared for the Use of Colleges. New York: Gould & Newman. 1838. 12mo. pp. 423.

THE writings of Cousin form the popular philosophy of the day. Their success in this country is attested by the appearance of the three translations, of which the titles are given above, one of which has already passed to a second edition, and has been introduced as a text-book in some of our principal colleges. There must be some grounds for this popularity, apart from the bias manifested by many people to

adopt as their favorite system of philosophy, the one which happens to be the last published. Such a bias operated to swell the favor with which the writings of the late Dr. Brown were at first received, and in its reaction to depress his reputation with quite as much injustice as it had at first been elevated. We do not anticipate for Cousin such a rapid fall in public estimation, because his great learning and the merits of his style, to carry the comparison no further, give him a decided advantage over the Scotch professor ; and his lectures, moreover, are not a posthumous publication. His manner, after all, is not much to the taste of sober and accurate thinkers ; but it has qualities which are sure to please the majority of readers. Evidently formed in the lecture room, it is sometimes eloquent, but more frequently declamatory. Profound subjects are treated without any affectation of profundity of manner, — the capital vice of the German metaphysicians ; and the general lucidness of the views set forth is due partly to the clearness of the writer's mind, and partly to the superficial character of his inquiries. He never fatigues the reader with a long train of argument, either because he dislikes the subtilties of logic, or is incapable of that severe exertion of mind which is necessary in order to bridge over the vast interval, that often separates ultimate truths from primitive perceptions. His conclusions lie but a step from the premises, when they have any premises at all, and they are repeated with a frequency, that marks the habits of a lecturer to a mixed audience, while it spares any severe effort of memory to those, who have the good fortune of being able to study the matter in print. We find nothing like terseness of manner, or simplicity of statement ; and the rhetoric, though highly wrought, in our judgment at least, often appears cold and artificial, instead of being penetrated with real warmth of feeling. But there is great copiousness, and not unfrequently much dignity, of expression ; and the swell of diction often gives prominence and effect to the enunciation of simple and familiar truths. The fairness and candor, which, with one great exception, he displays in estimating the services of other metaphysicians, are quite as manifest as the complacency, with which he alludes to his own merits.

Apart from the excellences and defects of manner, the favor shown to the writings of Cousin is due to the skill with

which he has borrowed from the works of other philosophers, to the lucid manner in which he has treated the materials thus obtained, and to the ingenuity with which he has interwoven them into his own system. He has known how to put all schools under contribution, and thus to build up, piece by piece, the mosaic work of the edifice, which he calls his own. The Scotch and Germans are those to whom he is most indebted, though the obligation is certainly mutual, for the doctrines thus transplanted are often freed from objectionable peculiarities, expressed with greater force and clearness, and thus brought within the reach of a wider circle of readers. The reputation of being a skilful borrower may not appear very flattering, but there are great merits in the able execution even of this secondary task. To break up the distinctions between various schools, to give universal currency to the treasures of intellect and taste, which had otherwise been confined to a single nation, to make available for common use the labors even of one master mind, which has been more successful in the discovery than the dissemination of truth, is an office which has sure claims on the gratitude, though it may not challenge the admiration, of mankind. We give all credit to Cousin for the ability with which he has used his stores of learning, and for the frankness which he shows in confessing the extent of his obligations.

But he is mistaken in imagining, that this manner of building up a system by patchwork is really a new method of conducting philosophical inquiry. He speaks of Eclecticism, as if it were a *Novum Organon* for the advancement of metaphysical science, and as if the neglect of it had been the leading cause of the errors and contradictions, with which the history of philosophy is filled. Here is the double error of supposing, in the first place, that Eclecticism as such can properly be called any method at all for the discovery of truth; and, in the second place, of believing, that it is the peculiar characteristic of his own philosophy. As to the former point, one might as well talk about an Eclectic system of geometry. The word does not refer to any new method of finding truth, but only to the manner of presenting the result of one's labors to the world, whether alone or in connexion with the fruits of other men's researches. And in the second place, every system of philosophy, which has been broached since the time of Thales, has been more or

less Eclectic in its character. Indeed, if philosophy be any science at all, it must grow by addition, by the successive contributions of different minds. Every new fact discovered, every additional principle evolved, forms a new item to swell the previous store. It is true, that the longing after unity and completeness operates as a constant temptation to round off the whole into a single theory. But in no case, that ever we heard of, has such theory been presented as the entire growth of one mind. To go no further for instances, every one perceives, that Kant is under great obligations to Aristotle, Reid to Locke, and Cousin to all the four, to say nothing of many others. If philosophy be considered, as some would have it, as the solution of a single problem, it is evident that no Eclecticism is possible, for there can be only one true solution. If, on the contrary, it be considered as a science, as it really is the most comprehensive of all sciences, then Eclecticism, to a greater or less degree, is unavoidable. One cannot, if he would, avoid incorporating into his own view of it some portion of the labors of other men, whether these elements of truth remain in the state in which they were first announced by their discoverers, or have since passed out into practice, as familiar principles of thought or conduct.

When Kant applied the term *Criticism* to his preliminary examination of the grounds on which metaphysical science rests, he used the word with a definite meaning attached to it, and had good reasons for its application. His great work comprised a critical inquiry into the origin and nature of all *a priori* knowledge, with a view to test the stability of the foundation, on which rest all systems of philosophy, whether dogmatical or skeptical, and thereby to determine the merits of those systems. But we see no propriety in designating the system of Cousin as an Eclectic philosophy, except in the mere fact, that he has borrowed more largely than others have done from the labors of his predecessors, and therefore can with less reason be said to possess any system that is his own. So far as it is borrowed, it does not belong to him ; so far as it is original, it is not Eclectic.

There is a similar error in his remarks upon Method, where he lays much stress on the process of inquiry by way of observation and induction, as if it were the distinguishing trait of his own labors in the field of mental philosophy.

Every system purports to rest more or less directly upon observed facts, since the wildest theorist would disclaim the intention of building hypotheses, without pretending to seek a basis for them in universal experience. None have been more cautious in this respect, than the Sensualists of the school of Condillac. Cousin objects to them, and with reason, that they have confined themselves to the most obvious facts in our mental constitution, without inquiring into their grounds and origin, and thus have held up the mere phenomena of sensation as presenting a complete theory of our intellectual nature. A more searching analysis discloses an element in the information supposed to come through the senses, which cannot be attributed to the outward impression, and the origin of which must therefore be inferred, not observed, from its characteristic features of universality and necessity. Following closely in the steps of the Scotch metaphysicians, Cousin has laid bare this element, and traced it to its home among the original and intuitive perceptions of the soul. We do not question either the result, or the legitimacy of the method by which it is obtained ; but what we have to remark is, that Cousin here abandons the rules of investigation, on which he insisted so much in the outset, and proceeds by inference and analogy. From the nature of the case, the primitive character of a cognition cannot be observed ; it must be deduced from the secondary and complex notions, which alone are the direct objects of consciousness. It is even a hypothesis ; a legitimate one, it is true, but still a hypothesis, for it is assumed to be primitive, only because no fact of experience has yet been shown sufficient to account for its existence.

Certainly, we do not find fault with the method here pursued by Cousin, for we believe, that in great part it is the only possible method. We blame him only for laying down in the outset such an insufficient rule of inquiry, that he is obliged to desert it before he has fairly entered the vestibule of the science. The instance we have given, the analysis of the mental act in perception, lies at the very threshold of a psychological theory, and in order to take this first step it is necessary to use a higher Organon of investigation, than that which Bacon established as the only legitimate one for physical science. What are we to expect then, when our author imps his wings for a loftier flight, and soars into the

higher regions of speculative philosophy by a series of the boldest and widest generalizations? Why, that he should wholly lose sight, as he does, of his preliminary principles, and proceed by anticipations as bold as ever entered the teeming brains of those who formed the ancient Grecian schools. His doctrine of the absolute, of the impersonality of the reason, his anticipation of the epochs into which the history of philosophy *must* divide itself, his *a priori* method of writing general history, — these are strange fruits of a rigid application of the inductive method.

Cousin has written and published much, but has never given to the public an entire and connected view of his system in a single work. His theory must be pieced together from prefaces, lectures, and scraps of criticism. This circumstance detracts from the systematic appearance of his speculations, and makes it less a matter of surprise, that there should be a frequent want of harmony between the parts. As in the later publications we find many opinions modified and set in a different light from that in which they were first expressed, it is probable that the system is not yet definitely worked out in the author's own mind, and therefore an attempt to represent its features as a whole would be, even now, premature. Perhaps, after all, a consciousness of weakness may be at the bottom of this delay, — a lurking fear, lest the prominent points of difference between him and his predecessors, when reduced to their simplest expression in a methodical theory, should not appear to so much advantage as they now do, when brought in singly and incidentally, and placed in sharp contrast with opinions of an opposite character. Be this as it may, there is an obvious propriety, at present, in abstaining from any attempt to give a miniature sketch of his philosophical doctrine as a whole, and in confining our remarks and criticisms to those points, on which Cousin himself lays most stress, as furnishing the keynote of all his speculations. His writings are now so widely known, that our readers can find no difficulty in following rather a desultory comment upon them.

A liking for bold and splendid generalizations, rapidly formed and confidently stated, which Cousin possesses in common with most speculative writers of his nation, is very apparent in his analysis and arrangement of the elements of pure reason. Aristotle, the most successful of all philoso-

phers in forming a comprehensive and systematic classification of the operations of intellect, attempted to give a general statement of our modes of thought, and thus produced his system of the *categories*. These forms were considered by him as objective, for the basis of the thought, in each case, was held to be a property inherent in the outward thing. Nature was considered in its effects upon mind, and thus a classification of mental phenomena represented also those qualities of external objects, to which the phenomena were believed to correspond. The list thus formed was altered and enlarged by Kant, who also boldly inverted the method of Aristotle by maintaining the doctrine, that the mind creates the object, and beholds in the properties of nature nothing but a reflection of itself. The thinking subject projects its own modes of action and being upon the unsentient object, and gives out from itself the coloring and forms, if not the very tissue and framework, of the natural world. The Greek nomenclature was in great part retained, and the categories, twelve in number, were divided equally among the four classes of quantity, quality, relation, and modality. The essential vice of both theories is, that the classification is merely formal, the phenomena of intelligence being numberless, and the reduction of them to a few elements proceeding on principles that are wholly arbitrary. Every aspect under which an object may be viewed, every relation it may bear to other objects, presents a distinct conception, and the further we carry our arbitrary suppression of the points of difference between these conceptions, the smaller will be our list of ultimate elements, and the more imperfectly will a particular idea be represented in that general notion, which stands at the head of its class. Kant had twelve categories ; Cousin reduces them all to three. Cousin's reduction is a forced and capricious one, but no more so, perhaps, than the preceding arrangement of Kant, or the original synthesis of Aristotle. Classification proceeds by considering only the common properties of things, to the exclusion of all individual and distinguishing traits. The process is legitimate only when the objects of it are complex. A partial consideration of *simple* ideas is impossible, and any attempt, therefore, to rank them together must destroy their essential character. An imperfect apprehension of them is necessarily a false apprehension, and classification will produce nothing but confusion.

In Cousin's bold reduction of the elements of reason, the ideas of unity, substance, cause, identity, eternity, &c. are all identified as various forms of the Infinite; while the correlative ideas of multiplicity, phenomenon, effect, diversity, and time are regarded as modifications of the Finite. These ideas of the Infinite and the Finite, and the relation between them, constitute the three ultimate elements of reason, beyond which the force of analysis can no further go. It is difficult to imagine on what principle this bold effort of generalization proceeds. Our idea of unity is not one and the same with that of cause, nor is substance identical with eternity; nor is the idea of infinity, whether considered as the mere negation of limit, or as a positive and independent conception, necessarily predicated of either. The consideration of an object as one or many is very different from the view of it as active or passive, or as finite or infinite. When Cousin, therefore, ranks together all terms of the first class as infinite, and all those of the second as finite, it cannot be because the relation of sameness exists between them, in spite of apparent diversity. The diversity is real, is essential, and moreover is so apparent and striking, that it cannot be blinked out of view, or hidden by a mist of words. *Il saute aux yeux.* The principles which led to this bold grouping together of dissimilar ideas, and the arguments by which it is supported, are nowhere stated in Cousin's published writings, though he affirms, that they are developed at length in some academical prelections, which as yet have not seen the light. Here is one instance of the evil effects of publishing a system piecemeal, that the reader is perplexed by broad and confident statements, which he has no means of investigating, but must accept or reject on the unsupported authority of the writer.

The most profound problem of speculative philosophy, the one which necessarily occupies the front rank in all metaphysical systems, relates to the certainty of human knowledge. How do we know, that things are what they appear? How do we effect a passage from the percipient mind to the existence of things in themselves? The skeptic affirms, that the mind is directly conscious only of its own operations, and that the assumption of an order of being, which exists independently of the thoughts in which it is portrayed, is entirely gratuitous and improper. He even goes further, and, on the

ground of the fleeting and successive character of all mental representations, denies the existence of the thinking subject, and thus leaves nothing remaining of creation but a crowd of ideas, that succeed each other without order, self-direction, or purpose. It is true, that human nature corrects this extravagant Pyrrhonism, and compels the skeptic in his daily conduct to give the lie to his forced opinions. But the philosopher is not content with this summary treatment of the difficulty, and with restless curiosity seeks for the reasons, on which this decisive verdict of nature is based. The various modes of solving this problem amount to little more than attempts to substantiate knowledge which is admitted to be intuitive, or in other words, to find arguments wherewith to establish those principles, which, *ex hypothesi*, cannot rest upon argument. No wonder, therefore, that the results of the speculation in every case should be vague and profitless.

The solution of the difficulty here referred to forms the most original and characteristic doctrine in the system of Cousin. He seeks to give higher authority to the principle of intuitive belief, by maintaining that the faculty of Pure Reason is *impersonal*, and that its dictates ought therefore to be received as the fruits of actual inspiration. According to this theory, personality belongs only to the will, and since belief is independent of volition, truth is universal and imperative, and the individual mind is only the organ, through which it is manifested to consciousness. "Truth itself is absolute, and what we call *Reason* is truly distinct from ourselves." If this faculty were individual and personal, it is argued, it would also be voluntary and free, and we should be able to control its acts in the same way that we determine our particular volitions. But the axioms of mathematics and the first principles of morals are necessary apprehensions, and the being who receives them knows, that all other persons must submit to the same convictions. All truths of this class, therefore, cannot be individual, cannot be human. The faith which we have in them is not grounded on our own strength, but rests on authority that cannot be evaded or denied.

But here the objection immediately presents itself, that human reason is not infallible, but is subject to constant aberrations, the reality of which is proved by the very errors, for the refutation of which this theory is propounded. Cousin replies, that as truth in itself is independent of personal con-

viction, so the Reason in itself is independent of man in whom it appears. In him it is obscured and perverted by the personal attributes, in connexion with which it exists; it is thwarted by the passions, and clouded by the imagination. To obtain its uncorrupted dictates, we must distinguish between its original and secondary condition, between its spontaneous developement and its exercise as watched and limited by reflection. The latter faculty cannot perform its functions until objects are furnished to it by the primitive action of mind. These objects are the great truths, lying at the basis of all intellectual operations, which are at first perceived in a confused, though vivid manner, and which compel belief, almost before they are subject to attention; certainly, before they are examined. The child does not doubt, he believes; and the objects of his belief, commanding instant and unhesitating submission, are the fruits of real inspiration. These "immediate illuminations of the reason," as Cousin styles them, are soon confused and colored with ideas borrowed from the senses and the affections, and then comes the hard task of reflection to decompose the compound thus formed, and to gather up again the primitive and pure elements of inspired truth. Thus is vindicated the authority which reason exerts in breaking through the meshes of skepticism, and in establishing the unhesitating faith of childhood on a firmer basis, than that which supports the surest deductions of science.

We have followed Cousin's own phraseology here as nearly as possible without finding room for copious extracts. It will be seen, when closely examined, that the language is wavering and inconsistent to the last degree, like that of a person who has not yet made up his own mind upon the theory, which he designs to promulgate. At one time, it is only the product of pure reason, the intuitive belief itself, which is not obtained by our own effort, but dawns upon us from a higher source. Then again, and more frequently, it is the faculty itself which is not our own, but assumes the character of an independent and decisive witness. In this latter sense, the doctrine, when stripped of the mist of words that encompass it, is wholly devoid of meaning. Define *Reason* as we may, separate its operations by whatever line from those of the understanding, it is still a mental faculty, or a peculiar manner of apprehending truth. Now, the thinking principle

is one, and its modes of action, though separately considered for convenience and classification, and marked out with distinct appellations as various faculties, are only different phases of one subject viewed at successive times and acting under dissimilar circumstances. That I have one faculty of memory, and another of judgment, is a phrase which means nothing more, than that I am able both to remember and to judge. Hence, the assertion that a mental faculty is impersonal and does not belong to us, is a contradiction in terms; in the same breath it both affirms and denies, that the mind has the power of acting in a particular way. Either the mind is capable of apprehending primitive truths, or it is not; in the former case, we are said to have the *power* or *faculty* of apprehending them; in the latter, these truths for us have no existence. To raise a question, therefore, about the ownership of a faculty, whether it is ours or somebody's else, is to deal in nonsense.

Cousin argues, that Reason is not personal, because its action is not voluntary, or subject to our control. Carry out this argument, and it will follow, that the greater part of the phenomena of mind is not personal, — does not belong to the thinking subject. All emotion is involuntary; all sensation the same. But are not our individual pleasures and pains our own possessions, — personal in the strictest sense of the word? Is not the power of receiving these pleasures our own faculty, affected by our states of being and modes of action, sharpened by exercise and blunted by neglect? In truth, Cousin boldly identifies personality with activity, and then, as intellect is necessarily distinguished from will, he draws the necessary inference, that the whole cognitive faculty is impersonal. "Who ever said," he asks, "*my* truth, or *your* truth?" He forgets that error, no less than truth, is frequently the product of mental action, and certainly nothing is more individual, more personal, than mistaken perceptions and false deductions. The unseen power which, on his principles, kindly performs for us those actions once deemed to be our own, as frequently leads us wrong as right; the light which leads astray is equally a light from heaven. That we may not be accused of misrepresenting the opinions of Cousin in this particular, we quote a passage in which he denies the personality of sensation, as well as of reason.

"Sensible facts are necessary. We do not impute them to ourselves. Rational facts are also necessary; and reason is no less independent of the will than sensibility. Voluntary facts alone are marked in the view of consciousness with the characteristics of personality and responsibility. The will alone is the person or the *me*. The me is the centre of the intellectual sphere. So long as the me does not exist, the conditions of the existence of all the other phenomena might be in force, but, without relation to the me, they would not be reflected in the consciousness, and would be for it as though they were not. On the other hand, the will creates none of the rational and sensible phenomena; it even supposes them, since it does not apprehend itself, except in distinction from them. We do not find ourselves, except in a foreign world, between two orders of phenomena which do not pertain to us, which we do not even perceive, except on condition of separating ourselves from them." — *Ripley's Philosophical Miscellanies,* Vol. I. p. 124.

Here is a clear avowal then, that the whole action of mind, where uncontrolled by the will, takes place by a foreign power, and is therefore wrongly ascribed to the thinking person. The fallacies of reasoning, as well as the intuitive perception of truth, the successive acts of sensation, with the inferences, sometimes correct and sometimes erroneous, that are founded upon them, and the emotions with which they are accompanied, — are all the promptings of an agent, whose existence is independent of our own. The distinction between the spontaneous and the reflective reason is here of no avail, for it is not the secondary act which obscures and perverts the primitive perception, but the original sensations themselves which are the causes of errors, that are subsequently rectified by the judgment. What grounds of confidence have we, then, for the passage from psychology to ontology, to facilitate which the whole theory was contrived, when the independent and impersonal agent, who was to help us over the difficulty, is the convicted cause of all the blunders and fallacies, to which human intellect is liable?

But it is a waste of time to go about controverting a theory, which contradicts itself at the first step. The familiar fact, to which Descartes appealed when seeking for proof of his own existence, is enough to place this contradiction in a clear light. Every act of consciousness is accompanied with the immediate and irresistible conviction, that the thinking subject

coexists with the thought, and is manifested in it. The consciousness that "I think," necessarily implies my own existence, and the mode of that existence. It affirms three things, my own being, the reality of the thought, and the connexion between these two existences by the relation of substance and phenomenon. The latter affirmation is quite as clear and positive as the two preceding. The thought is perceived to be personal, to be mine, to be at the moment the phasis of my own being. Cousin contradicts this assertion, and thus attempts to establish the infallibility of a faculty by denying one of its first dictates.

We observe further, that the doctrine, if established, would be profitless for Cousin's purpose. A belief, that is in its own nature absolute and imperative, acquires no additional force from the knowledge that it was imparted to us by an independent agent. It must stand or fall by its intrinsic strength, the question respecting its origin being one of pure curiosity. What is received upon authority may be deceptive, as well as what is acquired by our own researches. The arguments of the skeptic, which, on the common hypothesis, are directed against the trustworthiness of our cognitive faculties, upon this theory would be turned against the truthfulness of the source of inspiration, and we do not see why they would not be as valid in the one case as in the other. Let any one ask himself, if his conviction of the truth of any proposition in Euclid would be increased by the discovery, that the theorem was made known to him by special or general inspiration. Let him ask further, if any fruits of admitted inspiration could be entertained for a moment, if they were found to contradict the first principles of natural and personal belief. Then it must be admitted, that the *genesis* of principles has no effect on their validity, and that the doctrine we are considering is not only destitute of foundation, but nugatory in its results.

Other peculiarities of Cousin's philosophical system will come into notice in examining his celebrated review of Locke, a work on which his reputation for acuteness, accuracy, and sound reasoning mainly depends. An English critic of high authority has pronounced it "the most important work on Locke since the *Nouveaux Essais* of Leibnitz." The lectures which Cousin delivered at Paris in 1829 were intended to give a general history of the philosophy of the eighteenth

century ; but nearly half the course was devoted to this critical examination of the "Essay on Human Understanding," which has attracted much attention in Europe, and the translation of which has already passed to a second edition in this country. The plan and execution of the criticism place it certainly far above the writer's other publications. There is less rhetoric and more logic in it than he usually employs ; the style is more compressed, and opinions are stated with greater precision. Great candor is manifested through the whole examination, and though the misrepresentations of Locke, as we shall have occasion to show, are frequent, they do not appear intentional.

It is no easy task to criticize fairly a writer who lived a century ago, and occupied himself with a science so shifting in its phraseology and fluctuating in its aspect, as the philosophy of intellect. The subject is contemplated by the original writer and the critic from very different points of view, the parts are differently distributed, the nomenclature is not the same, and changes in the mode of statement are mistaken for contrarieties of opinion. The sense in which a particular doctrine is affirmed or denied must be gathered from contemporary writers, and a careful examination of the ends which the subject of criticism had in view. From inattention to these requisites, Cousin's estimate of Locke's merits as a philosopher does not seem to us to possess even tolerable correctness. He has not carried his mind back to the period when the "Essay" was written, nor judged of its leading doctrines in reference to the opinions which called them forth, and which they were designed to refute. But he has brought the work down to the present day, and applying to it the standard which belongs to another school, has found nothing but variety and opposition, where there was frequently coincidence, and even identity, of doctrine. He has stretched Locke upon the Procrustes bed of modern German philosophy, and then proceeded to lop off a joint here and extend a member there, when a little care and management would have shown, that between the recumbent figure and the couch there was no such vast disproportion after all. Wherever differences of opinion, that cannot be reconciled, actually exist, we apprehend that Locke will be found in the right quite as often as his antagonist. But of such differences we say nothing for the present. Our point now is, to show that Cousin has often

misunderstood Locke, and censured him for holding opinions which were never present to his mind, and which he would not have avowed under any circumstances.

What was Locke's chief purpose in writing the greater part of his celebrated Essay? To confute the Cartesian doctrine of Innate Ideas. What is the leading object of Cousin's lectures? To controvert that French system of philosophy, which traces all knowledge to sensation. The former argues, that the hypothesis of innate ideas is unnecessary, if it can be shown, that the mind possesses means or faculties through which, *by experience*, (that is, by use of these faculties,) it can attain all the knowledge which it is found to possess. His point is proved, if it be made to appear, that all knowledge comes *after* experience; for then the doctrine, that ideas exist in the mind antecedent to any use of the faculties, falls to the ground. The end which Locke proposed to himself is fully enunciated in the dictum of Kant, "that all knowledge *begins* with experience." Cousin's object is to identify the doctrines of Locke with those of the French Sensualists, — to whip them over his back. The system which is really confuted in these lectures is that of Condillac, the pages of Locke being searched for those expressions and forms of statement which seem to convey opinions most favorable to the Sensual theory. Unluckily, the loose and inaccurate language and endless repetitions, which Locke employs, too frequently favor this proceeding. Amid the many dissimilar doctrines which may be extracted from the contradictory passages and careless statements of the "Essay on Human Understanding," fairness requires us to select those, as conveying the real opinions of the writer, which conform most nearly to the end which he had in view. We have shown, that this end is attained by giving that interpretation to Locke's language, which makes it convey a doctrine, that is expressly sanctioned by Kant and Cousin himself.

Locke ascribes the origin or beginning of our knowledge to the two faculties of Sensation and Reflection. Sometimes he appears to maintain, that all our ideas proceed *from* these sources; then again his language implies, that our knowledge comes *through* these faculties, or is first manifested on occasion of their exercise. Instances of the former mode of expressing the doctrine are cited in sufficient number by Cousin. As examples falling under the second class, take the following extracts, which may be multiplied at pleasure.

"There are some (ideas) *that make themselves way and are suggested to the mind* by all the ways of sensation and reflection." — Book 2. Chap. iii. § 1.

"Existence and unity are two other ideas, *that are suggested to the understanding* by every object without and every idea within." — Book 2. Chap. vii. § 7.

"*By observing what passes in our minds,* how our ideas there in train constantly some vanish, and others begin to appear, *we come by* the idea of succession." — Book 2. Chap. xiv. § 31.

"Among all the ideas we have, *as there is none suggested to the mind by more ways,* so there is none more simple than that of unity, or one." — Book 2. Chap. xvi. § 1.

"Being capable of no other simple ideas, belonging to any thing but body, but those which BY *reflection* we receive *from* the operation of our mind, we can attribute to spirits no other but what we receive from thence." — Book 2. Chap. xxiii. § 36.

The language in this last extract is strictly precise and accurate, for reflection is represented in its true function, as the vehicle, not the source, of the knowledge which it is said to communicate. In the other extracts the same doctrine is conveyed, though in phraseology not equally clear; the act of reflection or sensation suggests the idea, but does not impart it; in other words, the act marks the occasion on which the knowledge is developed. We believe this statement conveys Locke's real opinion, in spite of the unguarded language so frequently used throughout the Essay. He intended to mark the chronological, not the logical, succession of our ideas, intentionally passing over the latter branch of the inquiry, as the consideration of it was unnecessary for the accomplishment of his chief purpose, — the refutation of Descartes. His theory interpreted in this manner, when tried by the standard of our modern philosophy, appears correct as far as it goes. Indeed, his doctrine respecting the functions of sensation and reflection, representing them as the only avenues of intelligence, is not merely the only true, but the only possible, description of the beginning of knowledge. The two worlds of matter and mind are the only objects of human cognition. We can know the former only by the agency of that faculty which, — whether it be a simple or a compound activity, whether it afford results that are pure, or those only which are colored and modified by the constitution of the recipient, — is always denominated *sensation.* We learn the

phenomena of mind only through that power, — call it reflection, consciousness, or what you please,— through which the thinking subject takes cognizance of *self*.

In criticizing this account of the origin of the ideas, Cousin objects "that Locke evidently confounds reflection with consciousness. Reflection, in strict language, is undoubtedly a faculty analogous to consciousness, but distinct from it, and pertains more particularly to the philosopher, while consciousness pertains to every man as an intellectual being." It would be quite as well to show that the two things are really distinct, before blaming Locke for confounding them. On this point, it seems plain to us, that Locke is right and his critic is wrong. The distinction usually stated between consciousness and reflection is, that the former is the immediate witness, while the latter is the reviewer, of the operations of mind ; mental phenomena as they rise are taken notice of by the one, while they must be recalled or presented anew before they are subject to the inspection of the other. Taken in this sense, we deny that there is any such thing as immediate and active consciousness distinct from the mental act. A cognition and the consciousness of that cognition are one and the same thing. A single perception is simple and indivisible ; it cannot be analyzed into a fact and the consciousness of that fact, for the event itself being an act of knowing, it does not exist, if it be not known to exist. In one act of perception there is but one object, — the thing perceived ; while the hypothesis of a distinct and independent consciousness requires two, — the thing perceived, and the object of the consciousness, which is the perception itself. There is this further absurdity in the doctrine in question, that it requires every cognitive act to be followed by an infinite series of repetitions of itself ; I am conscious, first of the original thought, and then of that act of consciousness, and so on for ever. The truth seems to be, that whenever we are occupied with any subject of investigation, except the operations of our own minds, the current of thought runs on unchecked, the attention being wholly fastened on the object of study, and the relation between the successive ideas and the thinking person, the *me*, never attracting our notice. In such a state, of which the condition of a person absorbed in mathematical studies may be taken as an example, there is, properly speaking, neither reflection nor consciousness.

But when we examine the phenomena of our own minds, the train of ideas, so to speak, is continually doubling back on itself. The feeling cannot exist, — the mental phenomenon cannot be manifested, — and be examined at the same instant. The metaphysician, like the anatomist, must operate on the dead subject. He does not study the present state of his own mind, for the very reason, that his mind is now engaged in study, and does not manifest the phenomenon in question; but he examines his recollection of what was its condition a moment before, when it put forth the feeling, or existed under the phasis, which is now the object of his researches. What is called consciousness is always a reflex act, never immediate. Locke is not only right in admitting but one faculty, but the appellation he gives to it is the better chosen of the two.

Cousin devotes nearly a whole lecture to a minute examination of Locke's theory respecting the idea of Space. The criticism is founded entirely on Kant's doctrine respecting the same idea, though the skeptical conclusion of the German philosopher, that space has no objective existence, is not admitted by his French copyist. Respecting the justice of the criticism we have nothing to say, except to remark on the unfairness of accusing Locke of confounding the two ideas of body and space, where the very opposite doctrine is maintained in the "Essay," and the essential difference between the two conceptions is established at great length. Cousin's proof of this charge is so curious, that we extract the passage.

"Locke says; 'the idea of *place* we have by the same means that we get the idea of space, (whereof this is but a particular and limited consideration,) namely, by our sight and touch * * * * *.' Same chapter, same section; 'to say that the world is somewhere, means no more than that it does exist; * * * * *.' It is clear, that is to say, that the *space* [?] of the universe is equivalent to neither more nor less than to the universe itself, and as the idea of the universe is, after all, nothing but the idea of body, it is to this idea, that the idea of space is reduced. Such is the necessary genesis of the idea of space in the system of Locke."— *Elements of Psychology*, pp. 79, 80.

We now give at length the two sentences, of which Cousin has quoted but a small part.

"That our idea of place is nothing else but such a relative

position of any thing, as I have before mentioned, I think is plain, and will be easily admitted, when we consider that we can have no idea of the place of the universe, though we can of all the parts of it ; because beyond that we have not the idea of any fixed, distinct, particular beings, in reference to which we can imagine it to have any relation of distance ; but *all beyond it is one uniform space or expansion, wherein the mind finds no variety, no marks.* For to say that the world is somewhere, means no more than that it does exist ; this, though a phrase borrowed from place, signifying only its existence, not location ; and when one can find out and frame in his mind, clearly and distinctly, the place of the universe, he will be able to tell us whether it moves or stands still in the undistinguishable inane of infinite space : though it be true that *the word place has sometimes a more confused sense, and stands for the space which any body takes up ; and so the universe is in a place.*" — Locke, *on Human Understanding*, Book 2. Ch. xiii. § 10.

Locke's doctrine clearly is, that place is mere "relation of distance"; therefore he affirms, that we have no idea of the place of the universe, because the universe has no fixed points of reference beyond itself. Cousin adopts that other "more confused sense" of the word *place*, by which it stands for the space which any body takes up, though Locke expressly mentions this meaning of the term, and admits, that in this sense the universe is in a place. It is but right to add, that this is the only instance we have noticed in Cousin of gross unfairness in making quotations. The perversion of meaning which is here caused by garbling the passage is quite ludicrous. But it was necessary in order to afford a peg, on which to hang a long argument, all borrowed from Kant, respecting the opposition between the ideas of body and space.

The chapter on the origin of our idea of Duration is one of the most satisfactory portions of Locke's whole treatise. The doctrine is so fully stated and with such clearness of language, that we know not how to account for Cousin's entire misconception of its meaning. Locke affirms, that the idea of time is first acquired by reflecting upon the succession of our ideas, and this account receives the full assent of his critic. In proof of his doctrine, Locke mentions the fact, that when the succession of ideas ceases, our perception of duration ceases along with it ; as, for example, in dreamless sleep or profound reverie, where the current of thought is

stopped, or is concentrated on a single idea. Will it be believed, that on the ground of this simple illustration he is charged with confounding the two distinct ideas of succession and duration, the measure and the thing measured, and consequently with maintaining the monstrous doctrine, that when the train of thought stops, time stops also? Cousin says, that the necessary consequence of Locke's theory is, that the timepiece, which marked the lapse of hours during the sleep was wrong; "and the sun, like the timepiece, should have stopped." We copy Cousin's own quotation.

"That we have our notion of succession and duration from this original, viz. from reflection on the train of ideas which we find to appear one after another in our own minds, seems plain to me in that we have no perception of duration, but by considering the train of ideas that take their turns in our understandings. When that succession of ideas ceases, our perception of duration ceases with it; which every one clearly experiments in himself, whilst he sleeps soundly, whether an hour or a day, a month or a year; of which duration of things, while he sleeps or thinks not, he has no perception at all, but it is quite lost to him; and the moment wherein he leaves off to think, till the moment he begins to think again, seems to him to have no distance. And so I doubt not it would be to a waking man, if it were possible for him to keep only one idea in his mind, without variation and the succession of others."—Locke, *on Human Understanding*, Book 2, Ch. xiv. § 4.

Can any language more clearly repudiate the very consequence which Cousin endeavours to draw? It is not duration itself, which ceases while we sleep, but "*our perception* of duration"; the timepiece goes right, but the "*perception* of the time is quite lost *to him*" who sleeps. The critic surely does not mean to deny the fact, that in sound slumber we are unconscious of the flight of hours. To remove all doubt, in another section of the same chapter, the 21st, Locke directly controverts the very doctrine here put into his mouth. "We must therefore carefully distinguish betwixt duration itself, and the measures we make use of to judge of its length"; and in a subsequent part of the same section, "the train of our own ideas" is mentioned, as being this measure. And yet Cousin argues at great length this point, as if in opposition to Locke, finding under this head no other heresy with which to accuse the English philosopher. It is a fine specimen of the method of setting up pins, that one may have the pleasure

of knocking them down again. Better instances still are to come.

The idea of the Infinite is the next point, on which our author tries his strength with the founder of the Empirical school, as it is called. We shall not enter into the general discussion on this point, though it forms the corner stone of the Eclectic system, for it has already been discussed and refuted with great ability by the present accomplished professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, whose article on the subject, though well known to Cousin, he has for sound reasons never attempted to answer. Our remarks will be confined to the incidental glimpse of this theory, which is afforded in the commentary upon Locke. The following paragraph contains the substance of the criticism on this head.

"After having sported awhile with the idea of the infinite as obscure, Locke objects again that it is purely negative, that it has nothing positive in it. B. II. ch. XVII. § 13; 'We have no positive idea of infinity.' § 16; 'We have no positive idea of an infinite duration.' § 18; 'We have no positive idea of infinite space.' Here we have the accusation, so often since repeated, against the conceptions of reason, that they are not positive. But first, observe that there can no more be an idea of succession without the idea of time, than of time without the previous idea of succession; and no more idea of body without the idea of space, than of space without the previous idea of body; that is to say, there can no more be the idea of the finite without the idea of infinite, than of the infinite without the previous idea of the finite. From whence it follows in strictness, that these ideas suppose each other, and if any one pleases to say, reciprocally limit each other; and consequently, the idea of the infinite is no more the negative of that of the finite, than the idea of the finite is the negative of that of the infinite. They are both negatives on the same ground, or they are both positives; for they are two simultaneous affirmations, and every affirmation gives a positive idea."—*Elements of Psychology*, p. 109.

It would be difficult to find in any writer on philosophy a more remarkable instance of confused thought and incorrect reasoning. Because the idea of body involves that of space, and succession presupposes time, *therefore* the conception of the finite necessarily requires that of the infinite. If he had said, that because bread is fabricated of flour, therefore the moon consists of green cheese, the logic would be quite as

conclusive. Because in a given instance, two ideas mutually contain and limit each other, it does not follow that any other two, taken at random, bear the same correlation. The argument means nothing at all, unless the premise be construed into the affirmation, that the conception of body involves that of *infinite* space, and succession presupposes eternity; and in this form, the argument takes for granted the very point in question. Moreover, the assertion when thus interpreted is wholly untrue. The idea of *pure* space is the only necessary concomitant of body, that of infinite space being a subsequent deduction of the reason. Still further, the relations between the ideas in the two cases are wholly dissimilar, the comparison being drawn between perfectly incongruous things. The proposition, that the finite presupposes the infinite, corresponds to the assertion, that eternity is implied in time, or unlimited expansion in bounded extension. The relation between body and space, succession and duration, belongs to a different category.

The assertion of Locke, that the infinite is to our minds only a negative idea, as it is defended by those who were never suspected of favoring the doctrines of Condillac, is not enough to identify him with the Sensualist school. Cousin seeks for some remark, which shall appear tantamount to a denial of the existence of any such idea, but can find nothing which answers his purpose better than the following; "Number affords us the clearest idea of infinity." This observation is construed to mean, that the idea in every case may be resolved into that of number; though it really affirms no such thing, for it is not said, that number gives us the only notion of the infinite, but that the clearest conception of it is derived from this source. In many passages of the same chapter Locke expatiates upon this idea as applicable to time, space, and the attributes of the Supreme Being. On the latter point he holds the following decisive language. "I think it unavoidable for every considering rational creature, that will but examine his own or any other existence, to have the notion of an eternal wise Being, who had no beginning; and such an idea of infinite duration I am sure I have."

But, though the assertion should be held to convey all the meaning that Cousin attributes to it, we may well ask, What follows? The reply is so curious, that it deserves to be given in the writer's own words.

"But what is number? It is, in the last analysis, such or such a number; for every number is a determinate number. It is then a finite number, whatever it may be. Raise the figure as high as you please, the number, as such, is only a particular number, an element of succession, and consequently a finite element. Number is the parent of succession, not of duration; number and succession measure time, but are not adequate to it, and do not constitute it.

"The reduction of the infinite to number is, then, the reduction of time infinite, to its measure indefinite, that is, to the finite; just as, in regard to space, the reduction of space to body is the reduction of the infinite to the finite. Now to reduce the infinite to the finite is to destroy it; it is to destroy the belief of the human race; but as before observed, it saves the system of Locke." — *Elements of Psychology*, p. 111.

"Every number is a determinate number." What mean then the "surds," the "imaginary quantities," and the "infinite series," of the algebraist? As to the remainder of the argument against the infinity of number, we have only to remark, that it is equally applicable to our ideas of infinite space and time. Whatever force the reasoning may have, in Cousin's theory it is suicidal. If we were disposed to profit by the unlucky admissions of our author, the sentence which immediately succeeds the passage quoted above would afford a rich field for comment. "In fact, the infinite can be found neither in sense, nor consciousness, but the finite can be found there wonderfully well." We would fain be told, where the idea of the infinite is found upon this hypothesis. In the reason, doubtless; but how does reason manifest itself, except through consciousness? If we are not conscious of any ideas or truths given by this faculty, for all practical purposes, it would seem, they might as well be withheld altogether.

The criticism upon Locke's account of Personal Identity is, in the main, just and clearly expressed. The chapter upon this subject is one of the most unsatisfactory passages in the whole Essay, the doctrine leading to the most absurd consequences, which were perceived, and yet intrepidly avowed and supported by the writer. We are at a loss how to account for the error, especially as the natural course of Locke's speculations by no means leads to such a wild doctrine, and the great blunder in it, that of confounding the witness or evidence of identity with identity itself, is at variance with every other portion of the theory.

But as the remarks on our idea of Substance in general present no such unfortunate matter for criticism, Cousin, as usual, manufactures a theory on the subject, which he puts into the mouth of Locke, and then proceeds to refute it with great earnestness and ability. The account which Locke really gives is one that coincides perfectly with all later speculations on the subject; namely, that our conception of any particular substance is a mere congeries of our ideas of various qualities or properties, together with a supposition of something else, in which these attributes inhere, and which we call Substance in general. On this plain and self-evident statement, he goes on to build up his argument against the materialists of his day, — an argument which, as it uproots from the foundation the degrading hypothesis against which it is directed, has been reproduced in one form or another by almost every metaphysician since his time, who has adopted the distinction between body and spirit. The version of it by Dugald Stewart we extract from the first volume of his work on the "Philosophy of Mind."

"The notions we annex to the words *matter* and *mind*, as is well remarked by Dr. Reid, are merely relative. If I am asked what I mean by matter, I can only explain myself by saying, it is that which is extended, figured, colored, movable, hard or soft, rough or smooth, hot or cold; that is, I can define it in no other way, than by enumerating its sensible qualities. It is not matter or body, which I perceive by my senses; but only extension, figure, color, and certain other qualities, which the constitution of my nature leads me to refer to something which is extended, figured, and colored. The case is precisely similar with respect to mind. We are not immediately conscious of its existence, but we are conscious of sensation, thought, and volition; operations which imply the existence of something which feels, thinks, and wills. Every man too is impressed with an irresistible conviction, that all these sensations, thoughts, and volitions belong to one and the same being; to that being which he calls *himself*; a being, which he is led by the constitution of his nature, to consider as something distinct from his body, and as not liable to be impaired by the loss or mutilation of any of his organs."

With his usual candor and deference towards his old instructor, Stewart here avows, that he borrows from Dr. Reid; but with how much justice he attributes the origin of the argument to this writer, our readers may judge by the following quotations from Locke.

"*As clear an idea of spirit as body.* — The same happens concerning the operations of the mind, viz. thinking, reasoning, fearing, &c. which we, concluding not to subsist of themselves, nor apprehending how they can belong to body, or be produced by it, we are apt to think these the actions of some other substance, which we call spirit; whereby yet it is evident, that having no other idea or notion of matter, but *something* wherein those many sensible qualities which affect our senses, do subsist; by supposing a substance, wherein *thinking, knowing, doubting*, and a power of moving, &c. do subsist, *we have as clear a notion of the substance of spirit, as we have of body;* the one being supposed to be (without knowing what it is) the *substratum* to those simple ideas we have from without; and the other supposed (with a like ignorance of what it is) to be the *substratum* to those operations we experiment in ourselves within. It is plain, then, that the idea of corporeal *substance* in matter, is as remote from our conceptions and apprehensions, as that of spiritual *substance* or *spirit:* and therefore, from our not having any notion of the *substance* of spirit, we can no more conclude its non-existence, than we can, for the same reason, deny the existence of body; it being as rational to affirm there is no body, because we have no clear and distinct idea of the *substance* of matter, as to say there is no spirit, because we have no clear and distinct idea of the substance of a spirit."

"Every act of sensation, when duly considered, gives us an equal view of both parts of nature, the corporeal and spiritual. For whilst I know, by seeing or hearing, &c. that there is some corporeal being without me, the object of that sensation; I do more certainly know, that there is some spiritual being within me that sees and hears. This, I must be convinced, cannot be the action of bare insensible matter; nor ever could be, without an immaterial thinking being."— Locke, *on Human Understanding*, Book 2. Ch. xxiii. §§ 5, 15.

The impossibility of defining substance in general, otherwise than as *something* in which certain attributes inhere, is what induced Locke to repeat so frequently the assertion, that we have no *clear and distinct* idea of this common substratum. But that he did not intend thereby to question or deny the reality of substance, or of our idea of it, such as it is, appears from his indignant disavowal of the charge in the letters to Bishop Stillingfleet. We must confine our extract to a single sentence, but it is a decisive one.

"As long as there is any simple idea or sensible quality left, according to my way of arguing, substance cannot be discard-

ed ; because all simple ideas, all sensible qualities, carry with them a supposition of a substratum to exist in, and of a substance wherein they inhere ; and of this that whole chapter is so full, that I challenge any one who reads it to think that I have almost, or one jot, discarded substance out of the reasonable part of the world."

It appears almost incredible, that Cousin, with these passages before him, should accuse Locke of "everywhere repelling the idea of substance," of "converting substance into a collection and making all things to be words," of "a systematic *identification* (*nec meus hic sermo est*) of substance and qualities, of being and phenomena." But let him be judged by his own words and quotations.

"Locke, however, everywhere repels the idea of substance, and when he officially explains it, he resolves it into a collection of simple ideas of sensation, or of reflection. B. II. ch. XXIII. §§ 3, 4, 6; '***** no other idea of substances than what is framed by a collection of simple ideas.' *****' It is by such combinations of simple ideas, and nothing else, that we represent particular sorts of substances to ourselves.' " — *Elements of Psychology*, p. 119.

The mistake here is so gross, that we can only account for it on the supposition of the writer's imperfect acquaintance with the English language. Cousin speaks of "substance," in the singular, that is, in general ; Locke, of "substances," in the plural, that is, of particular bodies. Of course, the latter's real opinion is the very one, which his critic seeks to establish against him. One other quotation is made, but as it only contains the denial that we have any "clear and distinct" idea of substance, the point at issue is not affected by it. Cousin's arguments are wholly misapplied, and his rhetoric is thrown away.

We have thus far followed Cousin's criticism step by step, that our readers might judge of the correctness with which Locke's theory is expounded by him, not from a few instances culled here and there, but by following the critic's own track from the very commencement, taking all the subjects which he selected for attack, and considering them in his own order. Out of the first five points examined, Locke is grossly misrepresented upon four, in which a doctrine is charged upon him that he repudiates with quite as much earnestness as his critic. We do not accuse Cousin of intentional mis-

representation, but he seems to have commenced his work with a preconceived opinion, that in all essential respects the system developed in the "Essay on Human Understanding" must coincide with the theory of Condillac. He can see nothing which makes against this hypothesis, but fights most manfully against the Sensual system of his own countryman, thinking all the time that he is contending against Locke. So far as the English philosopher is concerned, his blows are all spent upon the air.

As our limits do not permit us to continue this minute examination of the lectures, we pass on now to those passages where the writer's own views are developed at greater length, and where the opposition between him and Locke becomes real and manifest. Cousin finds fault with the order which is given for the acquisition of our ideas; he denies that we begin with simple ideas and then proceed to those which are complex, because, as he argues, many of our faculties come into exercise at once, and the compound idea that is formed by their simultaneous action must be analyzed by a subsequent effort of the understanding, before we arrive at simple notions. If this theory be given to account for the action of mind in its mature state, it is partially correct; but if intended to describe the first steps of knowledge, to give a history of the infant mind, and such was clearly the intention of Locke, it is wholly erroneous. Of course, many avenues to knowledge are opened at once, and several agencies are exerted at the same moment. But the question is, whether the different elements, coming through separate channels, are at once referred to the same object, and therefore are immediately united and bound together in one complex idea. All observation proves the contrary. The infant perceives the color of an object long before he ascertains its shape by touch, still longer before he connects the idea of figure with that of variety in light and shade, so that he can infer the tangible from the visible qualities. The child can count ten before he can a hundred. Even to the adult, it is probable that many ideas arrive in succession, which from the quickness of the mental operations appear to come together. The synthesis really precedes the analysis, though by the force of habit, the former operation is so quickly and easily performed, that it requires an effort to stay the process and watch the steps; just as the eye of a practised accountant runs over a column of figures and determines their sum, though a moment

afterwards he cannot recollect an item in the list, or recall one step in the addition. A compound habitually formed may be as difficult to analyze, as one presented to us in the first instance. Cousin has mistaken one source of the difficulty for another, and thus shows himself at fault in the first requisite of his method, — accurate observation.

On the theory of general ideas, Locke, like most other English metaphysicians, is an avowed and consistent Nominalist. He maintains, that general terms belong not to the real existence of things, but are the mere creatures of the understanding, formed for its convenience, and relate only to signs, whether these signs be words or ideas. This doctrine is so plain and self-evident, that it seems to require nothing else for its confirmation, but an appeal to consciousness. All the objects that we know as real existences are particular, and any proposition framed with respect to them must be limited in its application to the very things, that are specified in it. The truth of such a proposition may be tested by actual experiment, or through the imagination by the picture that the mind forms of the object, which is sufficiently accurate in many cases to enable us to decide without further trouble, whether or not the assertion conforms to the truth. But when abstract propositions are before the mind, the conceptive or *image-forming* faculty is at rest, and no reference of the sign to the thing signified is possible, except by assuming an individual as the type of a class. The possibility of reasoning in some cases with mere words, to which no ideas are attached further than as they are considered in certain relations to each other, is proved by the existence of such a science as algebra. That all abstract reasoning is of this character is a fact equally certain, for the connexion between the premises and conclusion of a syllogism depends entirely on the relation which the words used bear to each other, and is independent of the meaning of those words; the examples taken in a treatise upon logic being usually nothing but letters of the alphabet.

Cousin admits all this, but with his usual parade of Eclecticism professes to find some truth in the opposite hypothesis. He censures Locke for his exclusive Nominalism, and undertakes to show in opposition to him, that there are some general ideas which imply the real existence of their object. Though he affirms, that "there is equal truth and equal error

in the two theories," when the matter comes to a point, he adduces but two examples in support of Realism, — the ideas of space and time. The selection was certainly unfortunate, if there were many to choose from, but we suspect that they were the only instances to be found, from which our author could raise the shadow of an argument in support of the Realist hypothesis. We copy his own statement of the proof.

"It is certain, that when you speak of space, you have the conviction that out of yourself there is something which is space ; as also when you speak of time, you have the conviction that there is out of yourself something which is time, although you know neither the nature of time nor of space. Different times and different spaces, are not the constituent elements of space and time ; time and space are not solely for you the collection of different times and different spaces. But you believe that time and space are in themselves, that it is not two or three spaces, two or three ages, which constitute space and time ; for, every thing derived from experience, whether in respect to space or to time, is finite, and the characteristic of space and of time for you is to be infinite, without beginning and without end ; time resolves itself into eternity, and space into immensity. In a word, an invincible belief in the reality of time and of space, is attached by you to the general idea of time and space. This is what the human mind believes ; this is what consciousness testifies. Here the phenomenon is precisely the reverse of that which I just before signalized ; and while the general idea of a book does not suppose in the mind the conviction of the existence of any thing which is book in itself, here on the contrary, to the general idea of time and of space, is united the invincible conviction of the reality of something which is space and time." — *Elements of Psychology*, pp. 187, 188.

We say nothing here of the writer's inconsistency in admitting so large a portion of Kant's system, and still denying, as he does in the passage before us, the fundamental doctrine of the Critical Philosophy, — the subjective character of space and time. We pass over the incongruity, because in relation to this doctrine we hold with Cousin against the conclusions of Kant. Certainly we believe in the reality of space apart from the mind in which it is conceived. But this admission tends not in the slightest degree to the support of the Realist hypothesis, unless it be shown that our conception of

space is properly ranked among universals, or general ideas. The quiet assumption of this important step in the argument is one example among many that might be offered, of Cousin's careless and superficial manner of observing and classifying the phenomena of mind. Unlimited space is no general idea. It is not the name of a class comprehending many individuals under it, but it is a whole, which does not admit even of division into parts, except by a license of language, as it were, for the convenience of separate and partial consideration. A particular space is not an element of the one, all-embracing space, in the same sense in which oxygen is called one of the atmospherical gases, but only as we speak of one portion of the atmosphere, — that contained in a room, for example, — in distinction from the remainder, which is without. We do not pass from limited to unlimited space, as we do from a particular to a general idea, that is, by abstraction and synthesis; but only by an enlargement of the primary idea, or, more properly speaking, by removing an arbitrary and fictitious limit. We commonly speak, indeed, of space in general and in particular, but this use of the epithets is plainly figurative, referring only to the entire or the partial consideration of one idea. As perfectly similar observations are applicable to our conception of *time*, it is unnecessary to retrace our ground in reference to this idea. The attempt of Cousin, therefore, on the basis of these two notions of space and time to build up an argument in favor of Realism, must be regarded as a signal failure, as founded only on a gross misconception of the nature of the two examples adduced.

It is unnecessary to consider the criticism upon the Ideal theory as adopted by Locke, for in this portion of his labors our author has merely borrowed the doctrine and conclusive reasoning of Reid and Stewart, with which English readers are already sufficiently familiar. The hypothesis of mediate knowledge, of a perception of things only through the intervention of representative ideas, was the great mistake of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, — the capital error into which Locke fell in common with nearly all his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. The refutation of this theory with all its hurtful consequences is the great service for which we are indebted to the Scotch metaphysicians of our own day, who performed the task so thoroughly as to leave nothing for their successors to accomplish. We do not

blame Cousin for adopting their labors, for they had exhausted the subject, and no course was left, but to use their materials, or to pass over the matter altogether. But it was ungenerous and unfair in him to charge a gross exaggeration of the exploded doctrine upon the system of Locke. It is not true, that the ideal theory, as maintained by Locke, either expressly adopts materialism, or even leads to it by necessary inference. The representative idea may be an image of its object, but it is not a material image, the unsupported assertion of Cousin to the contrary notwithstanding. A direct statement of this sort, without argument or authority to support it, can be met only by a blunt denial and a call for the proofs.

If there be any one problem in philosophy, which more than all others has been rendered confused and intricate, not from any intrinsic difficulty, but from the imperfections of language, and the difficulty of translating known mental phenomena into words, it is surely the question respecting the Freedom of the Will. In practice, no one ever doubted, or can doubt, that such freedom exists. Actual and firm-seated Pyrrhonism on this subject is impossible, for the voice of conscience, the mental experience of every moment, and the intuitive and necessary assent of the understanding, compel us to believe, and we constantly act out that belief. But as soon as we attempt to express the grounds of the conviction, difficulties are introduced by the phraseology we are obliged to use, and every step in the argument only bewilders us still more, till at last we almost persuade ourselves to doubt. In his speculations on this subject, Locke's great merit consists in having clearly perceived this source of error. By a minute examination of the phraseology commonly employed, he proved that the words had only a forced and metaphorical application, while their literal and common signification is perpetually recurring to the mind, and leading it astray from the real point at issue. Thus, the designation of many separate faculties in the mind, as it leads to the supposition of so many distinct agents, has given rise to the question whether the *will* be free, instead of the only natural and intelligible inquiry, whether the *man* be free. Will is only a power, and as necessity implies the absence of power, it cannot be predicated of the will without a contradiction. The necessitarian doctrine, properly understood, amounts to a denial, that man has any will at

all, and is therefore opposed by the direct evidence of consciousness.

This criticism upon language, it is true, throws no light upon the main point at issue, but it has a subsidiary and not unimportant result in disclosing one great cause of erroneous reasoning upon the subject. It is quite characteristic in Cousin wholly to misconceive the aim and purport of this speculation, and because Locke protests against the application of the *word* liberty to the *word* will, to understand thereby, that he denies freedom "to the will, and seeks for it either in the thinking faculty, or in the power of outward motion." Why, the whole gist of Locke's argument is to prove, that liberty cannot be predicated of the willing faculty, the thinking faculty, the moving faculty, or any other faculty, but only of the man, — the indivisible *Ego* of consciousness. The proof of human freedom is considered afterwards, and placed precisely where Fichte and many of the later German philosophers have placed it; namely, in the power, which the thinking subject possesses, when in presence of two or more diverse and nearly balanced motives, to suspend the determining power of each and all these motives, until the judgment has had time to consider their relative importance. As we have no room for extracts on this point, we can only refer our readers to the fifty-second and fifty-sixth sections of Locke's chapter upon "Power."

Cousin's own reasoning upon this head affords a striking instance of confusion, arising from the very cause which Locke has so clearly pointed out. Proposing to discuss the question about human agency, he introduces a long argument to show that freedom cannot be ascribed to the understanding or to the outward act; but only to the will. That it cannot be attributed to the two former, he proves; that it is rightly ascribed to the latter, he takes for granted. All this is very well, only it is nothing to the purpose. The real question, which he does not touch, relates to the connexion between the understanding and the will. It is admitted on all hands, that motives are considered and balanced by the intellect; but it is also admitted, that these motives influence, not to say determine, the will. The question, whether they act directly upon it, or only through the medium of the understanding, is one of no importance. Some influence they undoubtedly have, but of what sort? Is the influence causal,

necessary, imperative, or only persuasive? Can it be resisted or not? A moment's reflection upon our idea of "necessary connexion" may throw some light upon this subject.

In the external world, when one phenomenon immediately and invariably succeeds another, we connect the two by the relation of cause and effect. Though nothing is perceived but the fact of close succession, we necessarily attribute to the first an efficient agency in producing the second. The power which fire has to inflame gunpowder, for instance, is not perceived. We see only the two events, that the spark falls, and the explosion instantly follows, and we assume the necessary connexion between the two by virtue of an original and instinctive law of belief. A causal union never is perceived, and it is admitted to exist only on the ground of this primitive conviction of the understanding. If we do not give full credit to this intuitive principle, there is no such thing as a *necessary* event in the world either of matter or of mind. Now if the question be asked, whether human agency is free, we reply, that its freedom is attested by the same species of evidence, by another law of human belief equally cogent with the first. In other words, there is precisely the same authority for "binding Nature fast in fate," and for "leaving free the human will." It will not do to receive the same testimony in one case, which we have just rejected in another. Either I am free to choose between two courses of conduct, or the word *necessity* has no meaning in it, and must be rejected altogether.

One lecture of Cousin, according to the abstract which is placed at its head in the manner of a table of contents, contains an "examination of three important theories found in the 'Essay on Human Understanding'; I. theory of freedom, which inclines to Fatalism; II. theory of the nature of the soul, which inclines to Materialism; III. theory of the existence of God, which rests itself almost exclusively upon external proofs, drawn from the sensible world." We have already considered the first of these subjects, and now pass on to the second. The charge of materialism would be preferred with a better grace against the principles of the "Essay," if the argument in favor of the immateriality of the thinking principle, with which the accusation is introduced, were not entirely borrowed from Locke himself. *Borrowed* we say, for though it is not credible, that Cousin took the

reasoning directly from the "Essay," where the sight of it must immediately have convinced him of the absurdity of his allegation, yet he must have obtained it at second hand from one of Locke's previous copyists; probably from Reid or Stewart. Again, we have no room for extracts, but we entreat our readers who may possess the volume, to peruse the three hundred and twenty-sixth and three hundred and twenty-seventh pages of the "Elements of Psychology," and then to read over again the extracts from Stewart and Locke in the preceding part of this article in connexion with the idea of *substance*. When they have satisfied themselves, as we are sure they will do, that the reasoning of the two writers is precisely the same, they will be prepared to appreciate the fairness of the critic's accusation. No one can blame Cousin for borrowing an able argument to prove the immateriality of the soul; but when, in mercantile phrase, he had "accomplished the loan," for him to turn round and accuse his benefactor of being himself a materialist is rather too bad. The direct occasion of making the charge may as well be mentioned, for it affords a curious illustration of the comparative humility of the two philosophers. With the inherent modesty of his disposition, Locke would not assert, that his argument amounted to a demonstration; he declared, that it was satisfactory to him, and that the point was "proved to the highest degree of probability," but he admitted, that we could not set limits to Divine power on this subject, or show that it was impossible for Omnipotence to superadd the faculty of thinking to systems of matter, when fitly disposed. Cousin puts forth the same reasoning as his own, declares that it is equivalent to a demonstration, and that Locke's humble and cautious estimate of his means of defence amounts to a virtual desertion to the enemy. If there be any of our readers, who, perplexed by the careless and inconsistent language too often employed by Locke, still think there is some basis for this charge of materialism, let them turn to the celebrated chapter on the existence of a God; let them consider the nature of the proof employed; let them examine particularly the long and elaborate argument against the supposition of a material deity; and then, perhaps, they will believe with us, — not that our French critic knowingly fabricated a base calumny against the author he pretended to review, for we believe him to be an honest man, though a weak and vain

one, — but that he never read this portion of the "Essay," except perhaps a few headings of the sections, or he must have seen, that his accusation was utterly groundless and absurd.

The third charge above mentioned, which concerns the nature of the argument for proving the being of a God, opens to us a wide field of discussion, which we must pass over in a hurried and imperfect manner. The inquiry will be more surely conducted, if, before we attempt to weigh the different proofs against each other, we determine definitely in our own minds, how much we are to expect from any or all of them. We hold, that demonstrative arguments are confined to the sphere of abstract ideas, and are never properly applied to real existences. The geometer and algebraist are busied about pure abstractions, and the results which they obtain must be qualified in a material degree before they are applicable to practice, or can be verified by experiment. The Deity is not a mere idea; His existence is a fact, the most momentous of all facts. Such, at least, we conceive, is the Christian conception of a God, — a real and personal Being, properly distinguished from His works, though everywhere present in those works. As such, the reality of His being must be made evident to our finite capacities through moral proofs. We do not say, that the argument does not *amount* to a demonstration, for this would imply that the reasoning we are obliged to use is less cogent and conclusive than that of the mathematician, a point which we by no means admit; but we do say, that it *is* not a demonstration. Moral proof raised to the highest point does not differ in degree, but in kind, from demonstrative evidence. On a thousand independent subjects the convictions of the geometer are quite as firmly fixed, as on those which he has just established by means of diagrams and figures "that never lie." At any rate, enough is done to secure the full measure of human responsibility on this awful subject, to make man justly accountable for denying his God, when it is shown, that among all the expectations and probabilities, by which the actions of this life, from the most insignificant to the most important, are governed, there is not one more firmly supported, than that which points to the separate existence of an all-wise and all-benevolent Creator and Governor of the universe.

We are perfectly aware, that this view of the matter does

not supply an *argumentum ad hominem* to M. Cousin. He talks with perfect consistency about demonstrating the existence of a God, for he not only reasons from pure abstractions, but he identifies the object of his inquiry with an abstract idea. According to his theory, the three elements of pure Reason, the idea of the Finite, the Infinite, and their relation, do not afford a passage to the Divine existence, "for these ideas are God himself." These three elements, "a triplicity which resolves itself into unity, and an unity which developes itself into triplicity," constitute the Divine Intelligence itself, the *tria juncta in uno*, the mystery of the Godhead. "Up to this height, Gentlemen," he exclaims in the most impressive style of *French* eloquence, "Up to this height, Gentlemen, does our intelligence upon the wings of ideas, — to speak with Plato, — elevate itself. Here is that thrice holy God, whom the family of man recognises and adores, and before whom the octogenary author of the 'Système du Monde' bowed and uncovered his head, whenever he was named. But we are now above the world, above humanity, above human reason. [True.] We are no longer in nature and in humanity; we are only in the world of ideas."* Those who are satisfied with this conception of the Deity can accept also Cousin's demonstrative proof of His existence. But for ourselves, we want words to express our indignation against this impious Harlequinade of words, — this mode of binding together three dry sticks of abstract ideas, and then baptizing the miserable fagot as God.

In estimating the validity of the objections to the argument *a posteriori*, it is important to remember, that they have neither force nor application, except against the unwise assertion, that this argument is demonstrative in its character. They leave absolutely untouched the overwhelming *probability*, — we use the word in its technical and logical meaning, — the moral certainty, which results from this chain of reasoning, when considered only as a moral proof. Take an instance from one branch of the main argument, the reasoning from final causes. It is idle for the skeptic and the Transcendentalist to assert, that adaptation does not *prove* design, unless he admits in the same breath, that it creates so strong a presumption of design, that a man would be a fit tenant of

* *Introduction to the History of Philosophy*, pp. 131, 132, 158.

Bedlam, *caput insanabile tribus Anticyris*, who would not act upon the proposition with quite as firm assurance, as if he were enunciating any theorem in Euclid. Yet Paley's admirable work has been impeached, because he did not waste his own time and his readers' patience in an attempt to substantiate this simple proposition, — because he coolly took it for granted. We do not rest the whole, or even the chief, stress of the argument for the Divine existence upon this single point. We hold, that the argument is naturally cumulative, for the very reason, that it is not a demonstrative, but a moral, proof. We admit all branches of it, therefore, the *a priori* no less than the *a posteriori* element, each holding its proper place and adding its due share to conviction. We only protest, — and here lies the point of the matter for Cousin and his adherents, — against the virtual rejection of the argument from the effect to the cause, because it is said, forsooth, to be the fungous growth of a diseased tree, the offspring of that mighty bugbear, the Sensual philosophy.

The charge against Locke, — and it is treated as a grave one, — is, that he grounds his reasoning "almost exclusively upon external proofs drawn from the sensible world." Though we have hitherto reasoned as if the charge was well founded, yet it turns out, as might be expected after the tissue of misrepresentations which we have exposed, that the matter of the indictment is not more than half true. Man's own existence is the only *datum*, the only sensible fact that is appealed to in the argument; from this point the reasoning is direct by a short series of intuitive propositions up to the being of a God. Even this existence is subsequently explained (see Sec. 18th) to be a spiritual existence, the point of the argument turning upon man not as a material, but a thinking, creature. Locke's selection of an argument does not appear to us a very happy one, and we have already given our reasons for not considering it as demonstrative, though we thereby contradict his favorite doctrine. But it would be quite as well to represent his reasoning correctly, before making it the subject of criticism.

Locke's real offence consists in rejecting the Cartesian method of treating the argument. To rest the whole weight of the proof on the idea of God as it exists in the human mind, is the course which Locke censures as partial and unwise. He admits, that there is some force in this consid-

eration, that it may have some influence on minds of a peculiar cast; but he blames the proceeding of those, who, "out of an over-fondness for that darling invention, cashier, or at least endeavour to invalidate all other arguments, and forbid us to hearken to those proofs, as being weak or fallacious, which our own existence and the sensible parts of the universe offer so clearly and so cogently to our thoughts, that I deem it impossible for a considering man to withstand them." A more wise and catholic doctrine than this it would be difficult to imagine; it stands opposed to that narrow bigotry, which Cousin has contributed of late to revive among us, which, in the foolish dread of a Sensualist tendency, would reject all appeals to that glorious book of external nature, that lies constantly open before us, written all over, within and without, with the name of the Father of all.

The original argument of Descartes has been reproduced in later times under various forms, the most noted of which are those of Cousin and Benjamin Constant. Admitting, as we do without reserve, that this argument has its weight and should be allowed full companionship with the others, we may still refuse to discard all the rest for its sake, or even to allow it the chief place among them. Considered alone, it lies open to the serious objection, that it affords no direct answer to the reasoning of the skeptic. Establish as strongly as may be the fact, that the human mind is never without the idea of a superior and more perfect directing Intelligence, — prove both from history and philosophy, that man is naturally and of necessity a religious being, — the scoffer, and the doubter will both demand to be shown, that this idea corresponds to a real existence, that this faith rests upon a solid foundation, that man is not that unhappy being compelled to accept what he cannot defend, and to believe where he can produce no evidence. They will say that it is doing little honor to our faith to reduce it to the rank of a necessary prejudice. We mistake the scope and purpose of skepticism, when we assume, that its sole object is to refute certain articles of faith. The intention of the Pyrrhonist is to discredit the whole intellectual faculty, to sap the very foundations of belief, by establishing ceaseless warfare between instinctive faith and calm, investigating reason. No one is more forward than Hume to admit, that we *must* believe in the principle of causality, in our own existence, in the reality

of an external world. But it was the aim of his sophistry to show, that these primitive beliefs were at variance with known facts and sound logic, were contradictory and self-destructive, and that we were compelled to entertain them, even when their veracity had been successfully impeached to ourselves. Behind all these admissions, the presence of which in his writings has perplexed many of his assailants, we perceive the mocking glee of the acute logician, who triumphs by the use of his adversary's own weapon. Hence the contemptuous satisfaction with which he received the attacks of his unskilful opponents, Beattie and others, and sometimes of a more redoubtable champion, Reid himself, who, by their appeals to common sense and universal belief, often played into his hands and strengthened his argument. Before skepticism of this sort, it is evident, that the reasoning of the French philosophers is powerless, for it does not touch the point.

Our examination of the peculiarities of Cousin's speculations has been necessarily brief, but it may convey some idea of the spirit and tendency of his philosophy, and of the points of contrast which it presents with systems previously established. We have criticized his writings with perfect freedom, though with no hostile feeling or preconceived prejudice, but from a sincere desire to do that justice to him, which he has certainly failed to render to one of the greatest names in the list of English philosophers. Nothing has been said of the strong national feeling, which has evidently blunted his perception of the defects of the Cartesian philosophy, caused him to treat with the utmost tenderness even his avowed opponents of Condillac's school, and betrayed him into an illiberal and unjust attack upon the principles of Locke. Had his gross misconceptions and unfounded criticism of these principles been confined to his own country, they might well be passed over here without exposure. But there are those among us, who, incapable of judging or too indolent to examine for themselves, have taken up these charges at second hand and repeated them so often and confidently, that a name once almost venerated wherever the English language was known, has become associated in the minds of many with all that is degrading, skeptical, and unsound in philosophical opinion. It would be asking quite too much from such persons, to entreat them to weigh and

ponder with caution the shallow and fantastic speculations, which it is intended to substitute for the ostracized philosophy ; but in the name of all truth and fairness, let them cease to echo borrowed charges, until they have, — we do not say, examined, — but *read* the writings against which they are directed. We are far, very far, from being indiscriminate admirers of Locke. It would be strange, indeed, if the progress of speculative inquiry since his time had not opened many new fields of research, and corrected many errors, into which he had fallen. But the catholic spirit in which his great work is written, the entire absence of pretension in enunciating his opinions, the wisdom of his practical views, the sagacity and good sense with which the inquiry is conducted, and, — we do not scruple to say it, — the general soundness of his doctrines, are qualities that must insure to him study and respect, as long as the language shall endure. To his example, more than to any other single cause, the healthy and judicious tone of English speculations in philosophy for more than a century is properly to be attributed. He is the proper father of Reid and Stewart with their school, who, we must say, have rendered him but scanty justice, and the proper opposite of Cousin, who has treated him with no justice at all. There are many points in his "Essay," which now require to be limited and explained. There are some doctrines, which we would fain cut away altogether. But there remains after all, as we verily believe, a greater body of truths first clearly set forth by him and still unimpeached, than in any other single work on a corresponding subject, that has appeared since the revival of letters.

Art. II. — *The Papers of* James Madison, *purchased by Order of Congress, being his Correspondence and Reports of Debates during the Congress of the Confederation and his Reports of Debates in the Federal Convention, now published from the original Manuscripts deposited in the Department of State, by Direction of the Joint Library Committee of Congress, under the Supervision of* Henry D. Gilpin. 8vo. Vols. I. II. III. pp. 580, xxii. ; 662 ; 382, ccxlvi. Washington: Langtree & O'Sullivan. 1840.

Not contented with a life of eminent usefulness to his country, in the course of which Mr. Madison passed with honor through the most exalted and responsible public stations, he determined to signalize the moment of his death by the communication of these papers to his countrymen. How much he valued them himself, was shown by the care which he took in preparing them for publication. How much he believed the people of the United States would value them, he proved by the testamentary provision which he made respecting them. He conceived that such would be the curiosity to read them, booksellers would vie with each other in the endeavour to secure the copy-right from his widow, and hence that it was a perfectly safe calculation in him to charge upon the sale of it legacies to the amount of twelve hundred dollars, whilst leaving the residuary nett proceeds to Mrs. Madison. He was greatly mistaken in this expectation. In the grand lottery of book publication, it is not certain that a meritorious work will always turn out a prize. And publishers have, in America as well as elsewhere, so often realized this truth, that they are excusably slow in venturing upon new and untried experiments, however promising they may appear. The consequence in this instance was, after it became certain that private enterprise would not undertake the publication of the work, that Mrs. Madison determined to offer it to Congress and to the Nation. By them it was subsequently purchased for the sum of thirty thousand dollars, and under their authority it has now been published. We are glad that this disposition has been made of it, as well because of the fitness that the original manuscripts should make a part of the National Archives, as because by it the services of a compe-

tent and responsible Editor were secured to their publication in a proper form. Mr. Gilpin appears to have done every thing in his power to facilitate the understanding of the text by the public.

But although we attach very great value to the Madison papers, we are by no means disposed to go the length of Mr. Robbins, the Senator from Rhode Island, who in his place described them as "the most valuable work that has appeared since the days when Bacon gave to the world his Novum Organon." This is a fair specimen of the magniloquence for which this country is so remarkable, and which has its focus in the Congress of the United States. It is altogether too long a period of time to look back upon, and too many profound men and brilliant geniuses have lived and written in the interval, for us to like to venture upon such a comparison. Besides, it appears to us to be doing great injustice to the work and its author, to take it up in this tone. It is neither a work of genius, nor does it treat very profoundly of any department of human knowledge. Its value, so far as we can understand it, is of a peculiar and somewhat unique character. It is the record of an extraordinary coincidence, in the same assembly, of men of practical skill, legislative talent, and disinterested purposes, such as the world had not often seen before, and such as it may never see again. The result was a written form of government which has already braved half a century of trial, and which bids fair for some time longer to be reckoned as a solitary exception to the rule in regard to similar instruments. The process by which this remarkable instrument was produced in a country where so many elements have always existed, and still exist, to defeat it, will always be deserving of profound study by all who interest themselves in political science. But we ought, at the same time, carefully to guard ourselves against the supposition, that the same measures which brought this assembly to a happy conclusion, could be repeated at pleasure with similar results upon any future occasion. It is very doubtful whether an equally good constitution with that which we are now considering, could now be made, notwithstanding all the knowledge we have acquired of its operation in the lapse of years. And it is still more doubtful, whether the very same men could or would have made the very same instrument at any other moment, before or since, than that in which they did make it, or

whether, if they had, the majority of the United States would at any other time have assented to it.

So much of a lucky accident do we consider the formation of our government, that we confess ourselves very incredulous as to the value which these papers can ever possess to any one hereafter, who shall seek in them for guides to action upon some future contingency that may occur of the same kind. Their great value appears to us to consist in the lesson they teach us, respecting the necessity of maintaining the government we have, and in the opportunity they furnish to later generations of understanding the principles which were intended to regulate its application to human events ; but in this they are of value to citizens of the United States, and to them only, of all the human race. One great merit of the Constitution is, that it was so well adapted to a preëxisting system of confederated States, each already possessed of an organized government of its own, as to combine them all, with as little of disturbance to established ideas and of friction in the common movement of the whole, as could reasonably be expected to occur. But this is only a relative merit. It is not positive virtue, which should recommend the system to be introduced in other States that had never been subjected to the inconveniences of a confederation. If it became a question to any nation about to change its form of government, whether, for the sake of realizing the advantages that accrue from a constitution like that of the United States, it would be desirable to organize twenty or more distinct and independent States in the various sections of the country, for it to act upon, we think it would be easy to foresee that the decision would not be in the affirmative. The experiment has failed thus far wherever it has been tried. And the conclusion to be drawn is, not that the Constitution of the United States is, in the abstract, the most perfect system of government conceivable for all countries, but that it is admirably suited to the precise purpose in America for which it was created. If you did not presuppose the peculiar character of the people to be governed, and then presuppose the exact organization into separate social communities called *States*, which exist here, the constitution would be of scarcely more worth than the thousand and one paper forms which have hardly outlived the date of their creation. If we are correct in our conjecture, then, it is the fitness of that instrument which is more to be considered than its abstract excellence. Hence the Madison Papers

will scarcely teach the inquirer after truth any new and marvellous axioms in the science of government, so much as the application of old and established ones to the peculiar condition of a people already organized into separate communities, and seeking no more than for certain definite objects, expected to be gained thereby, to engraft upon their established system a few features of consolidation.

Let no one, then, take up the Madison Papers with any hope to find general receipts for constitution-making in its pages, or materials with which to cultivate a captious and amendment-seeking temper towards our own. If he should, then will he be converting the wholesome nutriment of the work into virulent poison for the body politic. No. Let him rather seek it as a searcher in history for examples of the difficulty which attends the establishment of all great political innovations; and, having perceived the manner in which that difficulty was in this one instance overcome, let him be wary how he attempts to overturn, to alter, or even to modify the results, he for one is so fortunate as to enjoy. It is doubtless true, that there are many imperfections in the constitution, which it might be advisable to remedy if possible. One of the greatest merits of its framers was, that they did not pretend that it was a perfect instrument. They recommended it simply as the best that could be expected to be gained at the time; and it doubtless was the best. What is not often the case, it has worked in practice far better than was anticipated; so well, indeed, that we think it wholly unadvisable, in quest of fancied improvements, to run the smallest hazard of doing it permanent injury.

It is far more easy for us to conceive of the formation of a good plan of government, like that of the constitution of the United States, by a select number of wise and patriotic individuals, than that, when formed by them, the people of the several States of America should have deliberately assented to its adoption; and even more than this, that after it had been adopted, this bit of paper should have continued a permanent rule of action to millions of beings for a period of time now exceeding half a century. If there were no other source of interest in the Madison Papers, these considerations would alone be sufficient to excite it in us. The problem of man's capacity for self-government upon an extended scale, still depends for its satisfactory solution exclusively upon this exam-

ple. It is then natural, that we should turn to the documents which relate to the commencement of the experiment with eager curiosity. The men who made the constitution are no longer here to explain the mode in which they arrived at their first result. We must now rely for instruction upon the expositions they may have left behind them. Among these, the work now under discussion must always claim a high rank, as coming from one of the leading minds in the formation of it, and as embracing the opinions of all the others which were engaged in coöperation. It may follow, that posterity will owe to Mr. Madison a larger debt of gratitude for his posthumous publication, than he created by his valuable services whilst in public life. The most brilliant productions of existing wisdom or genius not infrequently lose all their value with the departure of the spirit that set them into activity. The principles upon which the value of a form of government rests, must be transmitted with it, or it will soon change its character. The constitution of the United States will become a piece of parchment, whenever its living force in the breasts of the American people shall have passed away.

But what is that force which many are so fond of lauding, without ever taking the pains to comprehend an atom of its nature? We hold it to consist in that voluntary abnegation of power by masses of men for certain useful ends, which in all other forms of government is compulsive. In short, *Self-restraint.* The records of time furnish no instance of successful resistance to the passions which ordinarily exercise the most unbounded sway over the popular heart, like that which moved the people of these States to adopt the Constitution. There have been innumerable examples of resistance to oppression when exercised by others; very few, of surrender of the means and the will to exercise it when they are actually possessed. The revolutionary war which established our Independence was a commonplace struggle in comparison with that which erected our present form of government. The one was in accordance with that love of the largest liberty, natural to mankind. It appealed not to the reason, but to the feelings. It was the offspring of noble impulses, which might not have required much of regulating judgment. But the spontaneous sacrifice of power when once acquired, the cheerful assent to a vigorous plan of self-control, involved an exercise of powers both intellectual and

moral, and a rule over resisting passions, far more difficult to execute, as it was, we think, more creditable to accomplish.

It is doubtless true, that the knowledge of the principles of popular government had been long practically understood in America, under the forms which had been established by charters granted from the mother country to the colonies. But these were, after all, systems imposed, and not originated. And however directly they might lead to the maintenance of the social system, much as it had been in the several States, they furnished no precedent for the union of those States under a form in many points of paramount obligation. The common cause of Independence for a moment joined them together in a common Declaration, but this was a very different thing from a permanent government. The necessity of combining to resist the common enemy in the most effective possible manner, made the want of it immediately perceptible. But no sooner did the representatives of the States in Congress turn their attention to the construction of a systematic union, than the obstacles to their success became on all sides fearfully manifest. The resolutions organizing committees for the purpose of preparing a Declaration of Independence, and of digesting a frame of government, were passed by the Congress on the same day, the 11th of June, 1776. The first instrument was reported, considered, and adopted, by the 2d of the following July. But the second was not reported until the 12th of that month, was not adopted by Congress until the 7th of November, 1777, sixteen months afterwards, and was not ratified by the Legislatures of all the States until March, 1781. Three or four years were spent in discussing it, and the final ratification of Maryland took place long after the minds of many had become made up, that, although it might be the best thing they could get at the time, it was not the less a perishing device.

It is no doubt true, that this long delay was not wholly owing to the character of the proposed system of confederation. Both the State and general Congresses were engaged during the period in question in the arduous duty of defending the country from the enemy, who at times pressed so hard upon them as to make all other considerations secondary to that of their own safety. But if this state of things had a tendency on the one hand to delay action upon the new frame of government, it presented on the other, the strongest pos-

sible inducements to secure its acceptance at last. Yet such were the obstacles in the way of all agreement, and so great was the unwillingness of the several States to part with the power they possessed, that it may reasonably be doubted whether any thing short of the enemy thundering at the gate would have overcome them. There were jealousies of the large States on the part of the small ones, the opposition between slavery and free labor, the conflict of right to the unoccupied territories, the fear of consolidation, and, above all, the terror of a new and untried experiment, each operating with so much power, it is rather a matter of surprise that the Confederation was accepted at all, than that it was disputed so long. That instrument purported to be a compromise between all interests. It was nothing more than an attempt to retain a form of union without conceding the means to establish one. Yet, feeble and inefficient as it was, it made a necessary and very important step to the accomplishment of better things which would never have been brought about without it. It may be considered as filling up the transition-state of the country between its infancy and its manhood.

The history of the confederation is by far the most important, though we believe it to be the least studied, portion of our annals. We call it important, because it is the account of an attempt to reduce to practice a particular theory respecting government, which has always been, and for aught we know will always be, a favorite with young minds in the United States. The germ of our party divisions must be found here. It is so fascinating an idea, that a political organization wielding power is an evil, and one which is avoidable by those who are able to govern themselves, that we are never surprised at perceiving the extremes to which the doctrine has been sometimes pushed. For this cause it is that the road to popular favor in the United States has always been by the abnegation of power ; and that to an extent sometimes much further than has proved advantageous to the country. But the great example of the practical operation of such a doctrine must be studied in the years of the Confederation. That system failed, because it was deficient in the indispensable vital energy which must necessarily reside in every form of government, to make it of any use to keep up one. It failed, because the jealousy of power that is liable to abuse had been carried so far as to cut off even that share of it

which might have been usefully exercised. The separate States, acting in reference to each other rather as independent sovereignties than as divisions of a homogeneous people, conceded to the common cause nothing which they could with any plausibility retain to themselves. And even the concessions, which they were persuaded to make, proved nominal, for the reason that they granted no means of coercion over themselves in cases when they refused to abide by them. The Congress in which the national power was vested was a deliberative body endowed with very feeble executive powers. There was no distinct national executive department, and no judiciary. The representatives of the States sat in conclave as fractional parts of the single vote each State was equally able to give, and performed their duty of recommending measures which it was never within their power to cause to be completed. They disputed with each other, they exhorted their constituency, sometimes they entreated and at others implored, but it was all of no avail. The state wheels would not move regularly when there was no force that could be brought to bear directly and simultaneously upon all, and the natural consequences of irregular motion ensued, disorder, discontent, and ultimate stoppage of the whole. The violence of war introduced anarchy enough in the United States while it lasted, but it was reserved for the establishment of peace to prove how fast the road to social disorganization can be travelled, when the people who hold the power are not willing to part with it in quantities sufficient to do them any good.

The Confederation may be considered as having fully illustrated by a ten years' operation the fatal error of its conception. To the most intelligent and best informed classes of the community, less than one half of that period had been fully sufficient to make it apparent. But popular prejudices are always strong, and that in proportion as they are established upon some general axiom. The war of the Revolution had been a war for independence. And independence was synonymous in the minds of many with the largest liberty. Not absolutely with that kind of liberty which runs into open licentiousness, for that has never at any time been a favorite in America, but with as much freedom of individual action as can be reconciled with a social state. The idea of concentrating a new power, coextensive in some respects with that

which had just been thrown off, was not a very acceptable one. And it was nothing but the slowly extending consciousness of the deplorable state of things that was occurring by reason of the absence of it, which gave it any credit. The confederation had in its brief career been able to create a common debt; the States had incurred debts during the war; and the citizens in their private capacities had done the same, whilst engaged in the very necessary but unproductive duty of defending their rights. The industry of the country was in a state of stagnation. There was a necessity, that, in order to the liquidation of all these demands, it should be set in motion, and nothing could give it wholesome motion but that which was not then in existence, power in a national form of government. The people, not yet aware of the true nature of the disease that afflicted them, staggering under a burden too heavy for them to bear, inclined their ears as they always will in similar cases to the voice of demagogues. These will always be at hand in times of suffering, with nostrums of quackery to relieve the symptoms, and yet give greater ultimate violence to the complaint. What an awful catastrophe seemed impending over the brilliant outset of the Revolution. The courts of justice, through which the recovery of debts is usually effected, were threatened throughout the land. Bands of men were assembled in the Eastern States, who were working themselves rapidly up to the defiance of all law. Murmurs against the very appearance of aristocratical forms in the higher branch of the legislature of the States, were but preludes to a gathering storm directed against all inequality in the possession of property whatsoever. The foundations of the social system were in danger, because the people knew themselves to be wretched, but they did not know and were not yet in a temper to learn, what it was that was requisite to a reversal of their unfortunate condition.

It was a dismal hour for those patriots, who had led in the armies and in the councils of the country during the agony of war; dismal, because the reliance which they had had upon the reason of the people was fast sinking to nothing, under the demonstrations that were making before their eyes of the popular madness; dismal, because it seemed as if their very exertions in the common cause were about to be considered as a ground of reproach, and the claim to a pitiful compensation, to save them from starvation, was to be regarded as a

desire to impose an odious and unjustifiable public burden. It seemed as if the ignorant and the desperate, with no recommendation to credit but that of being brawling demagogues, were about to usurp the stations that had so far been filled by integrity and capacity. On every side was gloom. Great Britain was chuckling over the spectacle ; France was filled with mortification ; and all the other great powers of the world were looking with contempt upon a quarrelsome mob on the other side of the Atlantic, which, like a spoiled child, had whined and roared, and fought for the possession of at rinket, the true use of which, when obtained, it was unwilling or unable to learn.

In other countries a state of things like this would have ended in the establishment of an effective military monarchy. In America the eyes of the people were opened before the occurrence of any such necessity. The insurrection in the western part of Massachusetts carried with it a wholesome lesson to the minds of all thinking men throughout the Union. Hence it happened that all seemed lost, at the very moment when the causes were most rapidly maturing for a restoration. There were no military adventurers at once able and vicious enough to take advantage of the anarchical spirit, nor, even if there had been, is it probable they could have made much progress with the malecontents. These were poor and wretched, but they were not desperate. They were pushed to excesses by the pressure of the burdens that had fallen upon them, but they were not inclined to follow blindly the suggestions whatever they might be of any adventurous leader. Their rising was rather tumultuous than an organized plan, and their chiefs were men selected from among themselves with little regard to fitness for the duties they were expected to perform. It was a natural consequence, that, upon the first appearance of an organized resistance by the civil authority of the State, the assemblage dispersed. It thus did little mischief, but on the contrary a great deal of incidental good. It proved the death of the Confederation. The experiment had been carried far enough for every useful purpose. To persevere in it further was clearly a suicidal attempt. Nothing remained but to make a new effort at social organization. And in this all the ability, and the honesty, and the good sense of the country were now ready to combine. The fact was apparent, that if the States

should fail in devising some method of self-government that deserved the name, the independence they had expended so much blood and treasure to acquire was about to prove a misfortune instead of a blessing, and that the tyrannical exercise of power by Great Britain, which had been thought dangerous enough to justify resistance to the death, merited the title of maternal fondness in contrast with the license that seemed likely to succeed it. But this conviction, which was now generally established, had been wrought only by the experiment which had been made of Confederation. And it is in this point of view, that that plan must be considered as having served a highly useful purpose. Its failure satisfied the minds of a majority, that power must be actually vested in a central system, a belief which could make its way in America only by the strongest proof of necessity. But the fact that it did make its way in time for the common safety, constitutes a stronger argument in support of popular government on a large scale than all the abstract propositions that have ever been uttered.

Yet it must not be imagined that this general belief which had obtained, of the necessity of adopting a new form of government, extended to a proper idea of the degree of power which it was expedient to infuse into it. There were and still are many good citizens in the United States, who are so in love with the idea of liberty as to be always averse to a surrender of an effective portion of it. No one who knows the diversity of sentiment that prevails wherever there are numbers of human beings, will fail to understand the difficulty in the way of bringing a majority to agree in any definite remedy, or upon any single course of measures, to check the public distress. Neither was it until after long continued correspondence and repeated trials, that the same individuals who had gone through the heat of the revolutionary contest were enabled to persuade their countrymen to intrust them with the necessary discretion to devise one. It was a great step towards a brighter period when that confidence was finally given ; for it showed, that, whatever might be the temporary caprice of the many, they still retained a capacity to appreciate the characters of those who most deserved their esteem. The moment of public danger is generally the test of popular opinions respecting men. In such a moment, the election of delegates to the Federal Convention that had

been agreed upon was entered upon in the States. The consequence was the choice of the best men, and the formation of an assembly as remarkable as can be found in the history of deliberative bodies. We call it remarkable, but not so much for genius, or eloquence, or learning, though it was not without all these attributes in some of its members, as for the spirit which animated its deliberations ; a spirit filled with the difficulties of the task imposed, yet resolved to do all that could be done to overcome them ; a spirit conscious of the responsibility which rested upon the movement, and of the fatal consequences that might succeed its failure. The result was the Constitution of the United States.

But this result was not the work of any single man of the assembly. There was doubtless great inequality in the shares in which the several members contributed to it, but the fact, we think, is established, that almost every one contributed something. Conflicting interests often hit upon intermediate propositions, the merit of accepting which belongs to both, and that of originating them can yet be claimed by neither. Many of the most marked features of the instrument grew under the compound handling to which they were subjected, and all visibly improved as they passed along. How could such a process have been carried on, if the members had not been beforehand imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice of opinion, and had not with great singleness of mind devoted themselves to execute the solemn purpose for which they had been called together ? There were not many subjects for discussion, upon which a tolerable degree of unanimity could be naturally expected ; there were several, upon which the States were arrayed in diametrical opposition to one another. The fears of the small States were at war with the hopes of the large ones ; the pride, with the jealousy, of state sovereignty ; the navigating interests of the Northern, with the slave labor of the Southern States. And last though not least, the dread of an unbridled democracy had a sway not less marked, than that which saw in every concession of power an advance to consolidation and monarchical rule. There was scarcely a shade of opinion existing in America upon government, which had not its representation in the Federal Convention, from the ultra democracy of a single representative body, combining in itself all the attributes of sovereign power, which was the favorite doctrine of Dr. Franklin, to

the monarchical tendencies of Alexander Hamilton; from the state rights jealousy, which impelled Luther Martin and Judge Yates to retire from the assembly, to the extreme of consolidation and centralism in the person of Governeur Morris. Yet, strange as it may seem, these apparent causes of dissension proved in the end highly beneficial to a harmonious termination of the labors of the convention. For being nearly all of them guided by the right spirit, these differences of opinion were fused into the common result, in such a manner as to perfect the compound far beyond the point, to which it is likely that it would have been perfected, had a single ingredient mentioned been omitted.

It was unquestionably very proper for the convention to decide, in the peculiar circumstances of their case, upon closing their doors and forbidding any divulging of their proceedings. And it was very well that no report should be given of these to the world, for some time after the Constitution had become the guide of national government. But we confess we see no reason why the same injunction of secrecy should for ever be maintained, or why Chief Justice Yates or Mr. Madison should incur any censure by retaining in their hands, for ultimate publication, the notes they had taken of the debates. We should not have noticed this point, if it were not that we had perceived, in a lately published volume of the Life of Hamilton, some attempt to blame Mr. Madison for his conduct in this particular. How far the judgment of the writer may have been biased to favor this opinion, by certain passages deemed unjust to and misrepresenting the sentiments of Mr. Hamilton, we will not undertake to say. There doubtless must be some allowance made in this case for the errors which reporters always commit, by misunderstanding the meaning or spirit of the words they hear from others. And if the reports of Mr. Madison of the debate in the Federal Convention, so far as they affect the partners of his labors, were, like his reports of the Congressional debates under the Confederation, the only testimony extant respecting them, we should feel an inclination to enter a caveat against placing full dependence upon them. Fortunately, however, the unintentional and inevitable errors which he might have committed can be subjected to a tolerable test, by comparison with the notes of the other reporters, with the speeches made by members of the Federal Convention in the assem-

blies afterwards held to approve or condemn their work, and with the numbers of "The Federalist." Those who take delight in tracing discrepancies will find a few by following the mode here pointed out. Mr. Gilpin has done all that an editor should do to facilitate such investigations. Yet, after all, they establish nothing of importance against the general credibility of either reporter. So far from it, the coincidence in the adoption of particular phrases or modes of speech, which is often discovered to exist in the pages of Madison and Yates, is hardly so convincing a proof to us of the genuineness of their reports, as the instances that can be found of casual disagreement between them. The well-known law of evidence on this point will dispense us from pursuing the subject, further than to exonerate Mr. Madison from all suspicion of design to misrepresent the sentiments of any of his colleagues.

Let us now turn our attention to the great points of interest in these volumes. The first in time, as in importance, relates to the principle at the bottom of the change in government about to be carried into effect. Scarcely had the Convention become organized, before Mr. Edmund Randolph, one of the delegates from Virginia, brought forward the doctrines advocated by his State as a basis of the new system, embodied in a series of fifteen resolutions. Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, followed him with a regular form of a constitution. We do not believe (by the way) that the paper which appears as his in the Journal was that form as he first presented it, for it bears too many marks of the maturing wisdom of an advanced stage in the sessions. However, that is not material to the present purpose. The great feature of reform of the vicious principle that dictated the articles of Confederation, was the same in both of the propositions, made on this day. There was no longer to be a federal compact between States, but a compact between the people of those States. The intervention of sovereignties between the individual citizen and the national power, was to be done away with. This was a proposition very broadly laid down by various members coming from opposite sections of the country, the acknowledgment of which was indispensable to progress in the new undertaking. That it might be most distinctly presented, Mr. Randolph, on the day after his first movement, concentrated the spirit of it into three resolutions. These were as follows ;

1. "That a union of the States, merely Federal, will not accomplish the object proposed by the articles of Confederation, namely, common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare.

2. "That no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the States as individual Sovereignties would be sufficient.

3. "That a *national* government ought to be established, consisting of a *supreme* Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary."

These three propositions contain an explicit renunciation of all the false doctrine of the articles of Confederation, and contemplate the change from federation to union. Yet singular as it may seem, we do not perceive in the discussion of them that took place, a single sentiment in direct opposition. The only objection raised against them was made by Mr. Charles Pinckney, who had shown himself, on the previous day, very far from dissentient to the principle involved. Such had been the jealousy of power in several of the States when giving instructions to their delegates, that he appears to have apprehended some danger, lest the adoption of such decided resolutions might be construed as a dissolution of the powers under which the body was acting. These powers, in a few instances, extended only to the revisal of the old system, and not to its total subversion. Neither the Journal nor Mr. Madison explains the action had in the premises so clearly as Chief Justice Yates. According to him, Mr. Pinckney considered the adoption of the first resolution as tantamount to destroying the Convention. A fear lest it might be so construed by the States, led to the tacit postponement of the two first resolutions. The third, which provided a new disposition of the powers of government, was discussed more particularly upon the use of the words *supreme* and *national*; words, it should be observed, that conveyed in an indirect form the sense of the preceding resolutions. Mr. Read, of Delaware, proposed a substitute omitting those very significant words. But so decided was the opinion of the Convention upon the point, that his change met with no favor at all, and the original resolution was adopted, six States voting for it; one only, Connecticut, against it; and New York being equally divided.

Such was the first decision of the Convention; a recognition, by most of its members, of the position, that the new system, though not intended to annihilate the state sovereignties, was

nevertheless in all cases of collision to be of superior obligation. From the unanimity with which it was voted we ought not however to infer, that there was no disposition in many members of the body to resist it. Most probably there was somewhat of legislative tactics used, in order to avoid fighting the real battle upon unfavorable ground. The naked declaration, that a supreme national government of three branches ought to be established, could not present points half so advantageous for attack, as the question, that must necessarily grow out of its adoption ; the distribution of power among the departments thus to be organized, as well as the share of it which it was advisable to grant at all. Upon these it was that the true contest was decided. The articles of Confederation had recognised the sovereignty of every State, by giving to each an equal share of weight in the national councils ; so that the small communities of Delaware and Rhode Island were exercising under them a control over the public affairs in all respects as great as Virginia, Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts. They had wrung this equal privilege from the necessities of the country during the war ; and it was from fear lest they should lose it by a change, that they manifested great aversion to any stronger measure than a mere revision of the old system. On the other hand, the large States were determined to do away with that unequal feature in the previous government first of all. An ardent struggle ensued. On the 1st of June, Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, brought forward a string of propositions, understood by the Convention to be the *ultimatum* of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, five out of the twelve States represented. These propositions contained a substantial enlargement of the national power, and a distribution of it into three branches, instead of the old form of a single assembly ; but they went no further. The radical error of the system was sedulously preserved, by which the States were made the superior, and the federal government subordinate. The great question was thus brought fully before the Convention, and was discussed on both sides with all the ability which distinguished it. Judge Patterson, Mr. Lansing, of New York, and Luther Martin exerted themselves to the utmost to sustain the parts of the old fabric which had not actually crumbled into dust, whilst Judge Wilson, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Madison, as strenuously contended for their demolition.

The vote however proved that seven States, among which Connecticut ranged herself, were resolved to adhere to the new system of Mr. Randolph and of Virginia, whilst only three continued their faith in the old one, as revised by Mr. Patterson on behalf of New Jersey. That this State and Delaware and Maryland should have clung with tenacity to a plan of government, by which they enjoyed a degree of power entirely disproportioned to their population or resources, is not at all surprising. But it denotes a singular want of foresight in the delegates from New York, that the earnest and eloquent remonstrances of Hamilton could not avail to prevent their casting their weight into the scale of the small States.

It has been frequently the misfortune of that great State, to be embarrassed by the threads which even lilliputian politicians can wind about the stoutest frame. But although in a minority which neutralized his vote, Mr. Hamilton was nevertheless of very great service to her by labors in the Convention, for which New York owes him a debt she never has been magnanimous enough to acknowledge. Although the decisive vote upon the resolutions of Mr. Patterson put an end to all hope of retaining the distinctive principle of the old system, a confederation of sovereign States, there was yet room to engraft upon the new one such features of it as the lovers of State sovereignty were most unwilling to see destroyed. Among these none was considered of more consequence, than the right of every State to an equal vote in the legislative branch of the government. The attempt to insist upon it, gave rise to the most vehement contest that occurred during the session of the body. On the one hand, Wilson, Madison, and Rufus King, each representing a large State, advocated a representation proportioned to numbers, whilst, on the other, Judge Ellsworth, Mr. Lansing, and Luther Martin sustained the old practice of voting by States, each of them having but a single vote. The dispute upon this question threatened at one moment to break up the assembly. It was at the close of one day of the warmest discussion, the 28th of June, that Dr. Franklin was induced by the hopeless aspect of their affairs to make a motion that "prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings on the deliberations be held every morning." The movement, though doubtless sincere, had, considering the source

from which it emanated, rather too much of dramatic effect for the taste of a majority of the members. But the hour was a gloomy one, and it would have done them no discredit if they had adopted it. They decided otherwise ; and yet the conciliatory spirit, which religious feelings properly cherished might have furnished in abundance, came to them for once from considerations of temporary policy. A slow and painful process of reciprocal concession, at one moment broken off only to be resumed with more earnestness on the next, ended in the formation of the legislative department as it now stands in the Constitution ; a complicated piece of mechanism, by which numbers are allowed to preponderate in the popular branch, but not without some material qualifications, whilst, in the other, each of the small States is secure in the possession of an equal share of weight with each of the largest.

Yet if we, at this time, compare the apprehensions which those small States professed to entertain of the consequences of conceding to the large ones the principle of representation proportioned to numbers, with the results of fifty years' experience, we can place no very high estimate upon their sagacity. The idea does not appear to have occurred to most of the gentlemen, that, with the cessation of the rule of voting by States, the delegations of the large States would be likely to vote, not according to the wishes of a whole State, but according to the predominating feeling of a small district in a State. The effect of this would naturally be, and it has generally been found in practice to be, to divide the delegations of large States in opinion upon questions of public interest, to so great an extent as, in a great degree, to neutralize their force. The great State of New York, for example, which sends forty representatives to the Congress of the United States, does now show, and has shown, for several years, its numbers almost equally divided upon every test-vote on public affairs. So that, in point of mere numerical weight in the decision of questions, it hardly furnishes more than the little State of Rhode Island, which sends but two. Then, as it respects the oppression deemed likely to follow from combinations among the large States against the small ones, nothing of the kind has been actually felt. Public questions have always taken a wholly different shape, in which considerations of sectional or party policy have pre-

vailed to unite States together, without discrimination as to size or relative numbers. The great States seldom act together. For many years, Massachusetts and Virginia were leading States in opposition to each other; and of late, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia, have rarely been guided by any common or even by any settled policy whatever. There seems to be scarcely cohesiveness sufficient among the individual citizens of those States, to counteract the dividing tendency of national party organizations. In this particular, it may be seen that the Presidential election is exerting a greater tendency towards centralism and consolidation, than any other provision of the Constitution. But of this we propose to treat in its proper place.

What we have said, thus far, of the little reason which experience has shown to justify the apprehensions entertained by the small States of the power granted to the large ones by the Constitution, should, however, apply to the manner in which the elections under it have been thus far regulated. We are not at all sure, that a variation in the form of choosing the representatives in the States would not be likely to realize all they feared and more. This variation is very simple, and the example of adopting it has in fact been already most imprudently given by several of the smaller States. We allude to the practice of electing all the representatives, to which one State is entitled, upon a single general ticket, instead of apportioning them among several districts, each containing no greater amount of population than the ratio of representation adopted by Congress may require. The temptation to parties to adopt a rule, which would throw power into their hands in large masses, will naturally be great. We are much surprised, that it has thus far excited very little attention among them. A brief calculation, only, would be necessary to show, that a combination between three or four large States, held together by the bond of a party organization, may in this manner, at some future time, control the whole policy of the Union. So serious do we consider this danger, that we should not regard as premature, any effort which should, as soon as possible, be made to provide against it by a prospective remedial law.

So far as our observation has extended, we have been led to the belief, that farsightedness is the rarest quality found among statesmen. We think the speeches in these volumes

do not tend to shake the solidity of this judgment. And the entire course of debates in every one of the ratifying conventions, goes strikingly to confirm it. The reason probably was, in the present instance, that the framers of the constitution were standing in too great proximity to the details of the system, to be able to assign to each its proportionate importance relatively to the rest. They were, moreover, generally men of a practical rather than philosophical turn of mind, who brought to their work a tolerably exact knowledge of the machinery they had been accustomed to see in operation in the States which they represented, without possessing the generalizing faculty necessary to comprehend the full force of the modifications which they were now contriving upon a large scale. It has followed, from this, that, in some of the particulars where the Constitution was considered as most deficient, there has never arisen a shadow of difficulty, whilst in others, which were held to be the most skilfully matured, the action of the system has been wholly at variance with the intention. We shall endeavour to illustrate this more fully by and by.

Another reflection which suggests itself upon reading these debates, is occasioned by the prevailing tone of the speakers, respecting the evils of a democracy. This, doubtless, grew out of the reaction in public opinion, caused by the experience then fresh upon them, of the latter days of the Confederation. Of one thing we are very confident, that no public man in the United States during the present century, could have ventured to express, with impunity, such sentiments of unlimited dislike to democracy as are here reported. And these came, in many cases, from the lips even of persons who have since made a figure as leaders of that party, which has prevailed under the Constitution by unfurling the banner of democracy. We should like to know, what chance any of our young and aspiring politicians would stand of promotion at the present day, who should have the courage to express such opinions as we now cull, almost at random, from the volumes before us.

Edmund Randolph, for example, expresses himself as follows;

"He observed that the general object was to provide a cure for the evils under which the United States labored; that in tracing these evils to their origin, every man had found it in the turbulence and follies of democracy; that some check was

to be sought for, against this tendency of our governments; and that a good Senate seemed most likely to answer the purpose." — p. 753.

Again, in another place, in organizing the Senate, he was

"for the term of seven years. The democratic licentiousness of the State Legislatures proved the necessity of a firm Senate. The object of this second branch is to control the democratic branch of the National Legislature. If it be not a firm body, the other branch, being more numerous, and coming immediately from the people, will overwhelm it. The Senate of Maryland, constituted on like principles, had been scarcely able to stem the popular torrent. No mischief can be apprehended, as the concurrence of the other branch, and in some measure of the Executive, will, in all cases, be necessary. A firmness and independence may be the more necessary also in this branch, as it ought to guard the Constitution against encroachments of the Executive, who will be apt to form combinations with the demagogues of the popular branch." — p. 852.

So Mr. Hamilton, upon the same subject;

"Gentlemen suppose seven years a sufficient period to give the Senate an adequate firmness, from not considering the amazing violence and turbulence of the democratic spirit. When a great object of government is pursued, which seizes the popular passions, they spread like wild-fire and become irresistible. He appealed to the gentlemen from the New England States, whether experience had not there verified the remark." — p. 887.

One of these New England gentlemen, no other than Roger Sherman, went to the length of

"opposing the election of the first branch of the National Legislature, insisting that it ought to be by the State Legislatures. The people, he said, immediately should have as little to do as may be about the government. They want information, and are constantly liable to be misled." — p. 753.

But, lest these persons should be considered as expressing the sentiments of the aristocratic extreme in the Convention, let us turn, for comparison, to the doctrines then held by men who have since been constant favorites with the democracy. What said Mr. Madison himself?

"Experience had proved a tendency in our government to throw all power into the Legislative vortex. The Executives of the States are in general little more than ciphers; the Legislatures omnipotent. If no effectual check be devised for re-

straining the instability and encroachments of the latter, a revolution of some kind or other would be inevitable." — p. 1128.

And this in support of a motion to make an Executive during good behaviour. Again, he says in another place;

"Why was America so justly apprehensive of parliamentary injustice? Because Great Britain had a separate interest, real or supposed, and if her authority had been admitted, could have pursued that interest at our expense. We have seen the mere distinction of color made, in the most enlightened period of time, a ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man. What has been the source of those unjust laws complained of among ourselves? Has it not been the real or supposed interest of the major number? Debtors have defrauded their creditors. The landed interest has borne hard on the mercantile interest. The holders of one species of property have thrown a disproportion of taxes on the holders of another species. The lesson we are to draw from the whole is, that where a majority are united by a common sentiment and have an opportunity, the rights of the minor party become insecure. In a republican government, the majority, if united, have always an opportunity." — p. 806.

Mr. Elbridge Gerry went much further. He says;

"The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue, but are the dupes of pretended patriots. In Massachusetts it had been fully confirmed by experience, that they are daily misled into the most baneful measures and opinions, by the false reports circulated by designing men, and which no one on the spot can refute. . . . . .

He mentioned the popular clamor in Massachusetts for the reduction of salaries, and the attack made on that of the Governor, though secured by the spirit of the Constitution itself. He had, he said, been too republican heretofore; he was still, however, republican; but had been taught by experience the danger of the levelling spirit." — p. 753.

And upon the plan of electing a Chief Magistrate by the people, he says;

"The popular mode of electing the Chief Magistrate would certainly be the worst of all. If he should be so elected, and should do his duty, he will be turned out for it, like Governor Bowdoin in Massachusetts, and President Sullivan in New Hampshire." — p. 1149.

We have plenty of these quotations, if more are required. It must be borne in mind, that these two last-named speakers

were, in the year 1813, elected by the popular party in the United States, to fill the two highest offices in their gift. Had it been even then generally known, that they had entertained and expressed such opinions as we have quoted, we incline to doubt whether they would have met with so high a reward for their services. The vibration of the pendulum was, however, at the moment of the Convention, at one extreme with the whole country, from which it has since been passing gradually to the other. "The members most tenacious of republicanism," Mr. Hamilton observed, "were as loud as any in declaiming against the cries of democracy." If we compare their doctrine, then, with that now prevalent in both of the political parties of our day, and notice the eager contention going on between them as to which shall be most democratic, in name as well as in conduct, we can then form a tolerably accurate idea of the change that has come over public opinion in the interval.

In truth the word *democracy*, as it was then understood, was never a favorite with any class of statesmen in the earliest period of our national government, not excepting even Mr. Jefferson himself. They had seen enough of unbridled popular strength, to be convinced that the voice of the majority was not always a safe immediate rule of action; and it was hence the great object of the proposed form of government, so to divide power into many portions, and to combine opposite movements, as to insure a deliberation, skill, and weight of personal character, ample enough to guide the destinies of the country prosperously. This result, which they were aiming to bring about, they loved to denominate a *republic*, and not a democracy; a republic, which whilst it should faithfully adhere to the general principle of reflecting the popular will, when conveyed through prescribed channels, was to be carefully guarded from experiencing the evil consequences attending the momentary fluctuations of popular feeling, and the unsteadiness and contradictory action which they occasion. It was to be the realization of that *beau idéal* of government, a union of systematic energy with the largest practicable individual liberty. Thus far the operation of the system has fully realized all the expectations of its framers, but we must confess, that we do not regard as a very favorable symptom for the future, the prevailing disposition, on all sides, to change the name by which its founders preferred to call it.

We have already remarked the diversity of opinion that existed among the members of the Convention, upon the theory of government in the abstract. This difference, which extended on one side from the admiration of a monarchy to that of the simplest form of representing a people, and on the other from the advocates of a perfect centralization of power to the furthest practicable distribution of it among confederated States, so far from producing its ordinary effect to paralyze action, had, in this instance, a tendency to improve and mature the object which all had equally a desire to secure. The reason was, that, however opposed the gentlemen might be in opinion, they were all under the influence of the right spirit. There were some, it is true, who seceded from the Convention, and others who declined to sign the form of constitution that was ultimately recommended, but in this conduct they appear to have been directed by scruples, honestly entertained, that they were exceeding their powers, and not by any factious or unworthy motives whatsoever. Several of those who refused their signature, were afterwards among the warmest defenders of the system, when submitted to the ratifying Conventions of the States. Mere demagogues were a class of persons unknown in that body. And it follows, that the speeches we read bear the simple, business-like character, that becomes statesmen and their occupation. The curse of our present mode of legislation, addresses to constituents to operate upon a popular election, was not then felt; a misfortune which, if it must be regarded as having been avoided by keeping the doors closed, we feel slightly tempted to regret was ever entailed upon us by the adoption of an opposite practice. Much of the debating was conducted in that tone, just enough elevated to keep it above the familiarity of conversation, and yet not to prevent the rapid interchange of ideas, which is the most effective of despatch in deliberative bodies, but which the taste for elaborate harangues has now gone far to put out of fashion. It is probable, that the style of declamation has very much improved under the change, but we fear this advantage has been gained at the cost, not seldom, of good sense, and sound logic, and relevancy of purpose. There is but a single instance of a long, discursive speech, that of Luther Martin, which, for that reason, neither Mr. Madison nor Judge Yates inclined to report in full, but which, if we may judge of its substance by his report to the

Legislature of Maryland of the doings of the Convention, must have been a very different sort of diffuseness from that which now bears the name.

Various as were the sentiments upon government of the different members, this did not prevent them from cordially acquiescing in a distinct and very reasonable practical proposition. Mr. Madison tells us, in a note, that

"An independence of the three great departments of each other, as far as possible, and the responsibility of all to the will of the community, seemed to be generally admitted as the true basis of a well constructed government."

It would be difficult to name any thing that could have been better than this for the starting point of the Convention. When it had been once agreed upon, nothing remained but to arrange the details by which the action of the proposed system was to be defined. In this process, it is evident, from the result, that almost every shade of belief had some effect in modifying its provisions, and that thus, by a fusion of portions of these contrary doctrines into a common mass, the Constitution, like the shield forged for Æneas, came out much the better for the variety and the mixture of ingredients of which it was composed.

The Legislative department of the government, which is provided for by the first article of the Constitution, appears to have been by far the most difficult portion of the work to bring into form, as it is the one by which, in point of fact, the powers of all three of the departments are measured and regulated. For inasmuch as this is the source of organization, it is the seat of the force which sets in motion the Executive and the Judiciary. In modelling that department, there was great danger of falling into errors of opposite kinds. It might, for example, have been made too powerful for the safety of the respective States, or for the strength of the coordinate branches. We think experience has gone far to prove the skill by which these opposite kinds of risk were made to balance one another. It appears to us the best part of the instrument, as it is now understood in its amended form; far better, indeed, than the organization of the Executive department.

The mode in which the President should be elected, the powers which he should exercise when chosen, and the term of time during which any single individual should exercise

those powers, were topics thoroughly debated in the Convention. The result of their deliberations was the second Article of the Constitution. It is well worth the trouble to notice the degree of satisfaction which this part of their labors gave them. It was mentioned in "The Federalist" as little open to objection, and therefore needing no defence; and it met with very gentle treatment in the ratifying Convention, when almost every other part of the Constitution was subjected to the most violent attacks. Yet scarcely a feature of the whole system was earlier discovered to need remodelling; not one has been constantly attended with so great difficulties in practice, or threatens so much even now to disturb, if not ultimately to overturn, the whole edifice of government to which it belongs.

The original section which provided for the election of a President and Vice-President, would have been an excellent one, if it had only been predicated upon an accurate estimate of human nature. As it was not, it failed. It is very clear, both from the section itself and the temper of the debates, that there was no intention on the part of the framers of the Constitution to make the election of President an issue between individuals as candidates before the people. The intermediate agency of a body of Electors, themselves to be chosen by the people, was called into being to prevent it. That these Electors were designed to have and exercise a certain degree of discretion in the choice of individuals, is manifest not only in the care exercised to prevent concerted movements between the colleges, and in the provision by which no distinction was to be made in the votes for President and Vice-President, but also by the opinions frequently expressed in the volumes before us, that there would seldom be elections made by the Electors, by reason of the scattering of the votes, no single individual being likely very often to receive the suffrages of a majority of Electors. The practice under the Constitution has not corresponded to any such design. The Electors have, for the most part, performed an office merely mechanical, which might be dispensed with entirely without essential injury to the instrument, simply by counting the votes of the majority of each State in the United States, as equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and then adding together these several numbers. Could the original idea have been executed, we

should have much preferred it. But the effect of it would have been, vastly to increase the consequence of the Electoral Colleges, by imposing upon them an immense responsibility. Unluckily, it contemplated a sort of Saturnian reign, when men would cease to be more than moderately ambitious, when parties were not to contend with each other for the mere possession of power, and when the people would be more willing to give their confidence in advance to the agents selected by persons of their own choice, than they commonly prove to be. Such results were not destined to be among the materials of our experience, so far as we have yet learned it. The fourth election, held under the third article as it originally stood, convinced every one that it was not merely impracticable, but also dangerous. It was consequently amended into the shape in which it now stands. We now understand by the provision, that Electors are persons expected to have little or no discretion in performing their duty, but on the contrary, to do a prescribed act, with no greater advantage to the country than would follow, if the people were to do it themselves, unless it may be considered an advantage, that federal numbers give to the slaveholding States a greater relative weight in deciding the election, than they would enjoy if the votes of free white male citizens throughout the Union were to be counted. So far as the framers of the Constitution may have intended to raise up a check over the tendency to popular heats and violence in the election of President, they must be considered as having utterly failed.

It must, however, be admitted, that our experience of the effects of this important part of the Constitution, has been small in comparison with what it may be in future. It is far from improbable, that the difficulty of effecting any election by the Electors, may increase, with the spread of the country and the equality of local influence among many candidates, to so great an extent, as to make the House of Representatives in fact the Electoral College. Of the fatal effects of this upon the public morals, should it occur, who can doubt? We will not, however, at this time, dwell upon a mere contingency, but rather pass on to a question more immediately interesting. We mean, that of the reëligibility of the President. No topic was more fully discussed in the Convention than this. The argument on both sides was pressed with acuteness and ability, and yet the decision was favorable to

the practice. After fifty years of trial, the propriety of this decision is still disputed, and circumstances have of late given a very decided preponderance in the public mind, to an opposite doctrine. General Washington and Mr. Jefferson, by their example, dictated a practical limitation of the clause to a reëlection for but a single term. There have been but three instances of failure in reëlecting a President once. But the injurious effects upon his whole system of policy during his first term, of allowing to a President the chance of reelection, have been so strongly felt, that the present disposition seems to be favorable to cutting it wholly off. We have yet to know, whether the inconveniences likely to follow the proposed change, will not be as great as those which it is designed to remedy. Some of the objections, as stated in these volumes, are as follows.

Mr. Governeur Morris said ;

"The ineligibility tended to destroy the great motive to good behaviour, the hope of being rewarded by a reappointment. It was saying to him, 'make hay while the sun shines.'" — pp. 1124–5.

"In order to get rid of the dependence of the Executive on the Legislature, the expedient of making him ineligible a second time, had been devised. This was as much as to say, we should give him the benefit of experience, and then deprive ourselves of the use of him." — p. 1195.

"Mr. Morris was against a rotation in every case. It formed a political school, in which we were always governed by the scholars and not by the masters." — p. 1203.

Mr. Rufus King said, that he

"did not like the ineligibility. He thought there was great force in the remarks of Mr. Sherman, that he who has proved himself most fit for an office, ought not to be excluded by the Constitution from holding it." — p. 1146.

Mr. Hamilton

"liked the new modification, on the whole, better than that in the printed report. In this, the President was a monster, elected for seven years, and ineligible afterwards ; having great powers in appointments to office ; and continually tempted, by this constitutional disqualification, to abuse them, in order to subvert the Government." — p. 1507.

Without pretending to controvert such powerful arguments as these, we cannot, in view of the events of the last few

years, fully assent to the conclusions they arrive at. We much fear, it will ultimately appear, that the organization of the Executive department, whether the President is so for four years only, or is reëligible, is the Pandora's box, from whence all evils have escaped, to plague the world, and only hope is left at the bottom to console us.

The principle of keeping the three great branches distinct and independent of each other, was fully acted upon by the members of the Convention. But there are remarkable exceptions, which deserve notice in a general review of their labors. A check upon the Legislative power was placed in the hands of the President, which has proved, in some cases, a most formidable instrument for controlling its action. In like manner, the power of appointment to office, in itself strictly an Executive power, was subjected to a check from the higher branch of the Legislature. And both, Legislative and Executive departments, are subjected to the exercise of a power of revision, lodged in the hands of the Judiciary. These are the balances of the Constitution, and they have been distributed with a great deal of art. Great apprehensions were entertained in the Convention, that the Legislative branch would, notwithstanding their efforts to provide the contrary, acquire a decided preponderance over the coördinate departments. At times, there have been appearances to justify such fears; but, on the whole, the tendency has not been very marked on any side. A very popular President is quite as likely to encroach upon the province of Congress, as to have his own encroached upon. With an unpopular one, the case is otherwise. Yet the appointing power is always in his hands, and that has no insignificant importance in regulating the action of both branches of Congress; so that, after all, it may reasonably be doubted, whether any attempt to alter or amend the delicate mechanism of the system, would not be productive of more unexpected injurious consequences, than are worth hazarding in exchange for the benefits that might be gained by it.

Of all the departments, the most feebly constructed, as it seems to us, is the Judiciary. Without any popular strength to rest upon, with all the antagonist passions in the State organizations to resist, and obliged to rely, in a great degree, upon the coöperation of both of the other branches, in order to maintain the authority of their decisions, the Judges have

no power to sustain them, excepting the weight of their character, the general rectitude of their principles, and the absence of all strong inducement to combinations against them. If the President declines to enforce the execution of their decrees, or to punish the violation of them, or the Legislature refuses to abide by their construction of the Constitution, we are not able to perceive, in the system, any alternative but submission. The Court cannot, indeed, be abolished by act of Congress, but it may be reorganized, and the power of reorganization is almost as dangerous as subversion. Then, by the course of duty assigned to it, it is perpetually liable to come in conflict with the laws of the States when they transcend the limits of the Federal Constitution, with no certainty that its judgments will be deemed binding, and without means to enforce them if they are not. The natural consequence of all this must, sooner or later, be a bias upon the minds of the Judges to evade the settlement of difficult points, and take refuge in collateral questions, rather than to come forward with the frankness and independence which ought ever to distinguish a high Court of Justice. It is very true, that thus far the apprehensions we express have been justified to a very trifling extent by experience, but we are as yet only at the beginning; and we have no right to expect that a Marshall will often preside for thirty years together, to unite in his person the authority of moral and intellectual power with the dignity of official station.

After an uninterrupted labor of four months, the work was at length matured, and the Constitution of the United States received, on the 17th of September, 1787, the signatures of representatives from twelve out of the thirteen States. Of this number, nearly all had contributed something to the common object, but there were two or three who had taken so leading a share in the work, that it is impossible ever to allude to it without paying them the tribute of a particular notice. One of these was Alexander Hamilton. Among all the remarkable men of the Revolution, we know of no one, who, for the attributes which usually mark genius, was more distinguished. He was endowed with a singularly comprehensive mind, which enabled him to originate forms of government and systems of administration, whilst he united with it an intrepidity and an energy equal to the task of putting them in execution. He was a politician and a statesman,

without possessing those finer and more delicate feelings of lofty morality, which, while they do honor to a public man, sometimes go far to impair his means of usefulness. To Hamilton, men appeared always as instruments to be moved, and not as accountable beings, and theories of government or modes of policy were regarded simply with reference to the ends which might be attained by applying them. The consequence was, that however bold the features of his system were, and however decidedly beneficial in its application to the interests of the country, there was always a slight taint of earthly morality about it, which deprived him of the share in the public confidence, which he may now be regarded as having deserved. Peculiarly fitted for the difficult duty of calling a government into being, he was capable, at the same time, of understanding the bearings of the most comprehensive principles, and of entering into its minutest practical detail. Yet there is this remarkable peculiarity about the history of Mr. Hamilton, that, whilst he acted a most important and honorable part in a critical period of our national affairs, there was not, probably, an instant of his life in which he enjoyed the perfect sympathy of the mass of the people of the United States. A native of a different soil, he appears to have come to America to serve an important end in engrafting upon our institutions certain features of energy and stability, which they did not naturally possess, and then to vanish from the scene, leaving no popular regrets behind. He was never a man of concealments, nor, possessing as he did, that consciousness of superiority, the inevitable attendant of genius, did he always take enough pains to disguise his modes of exerting it over others. He was no demagogue, and entertained, perhaps, a too great habitual contempt of the popular judgment. The consequence was, that the people would never kindle at his name, and that his most masterly movements always experienced a vehemence of resistance, which might have been softened, if not turned aside, by a more conciliatory deportment. This compelled him to rely, for the execution of his projects, upon the authority of great popular reputations, or assemblies. The countenance of Washington was indispensable to him before the people. The moment that he lost it, his position ceased to be commanding. In his opinions upon government, it should never be denied, that he leaned strongly towards the monarchical system, as it is seen to

exist in England; but he was a man of too good sense not to understand, that the spirit of America could not be reconciled to adopt it. However decided his own convictions might have been, he never sought to press them further than to incorporate, in the American project, some portions of its vigor. Yet, even for doing this, he has been subjected to great severity of attack, and Mr. Jefferson, with his customary asperity against political opponents, and Mr. Madison, with his more guarded but equally decided hostility, have not spared efforts to throw, because of it, much public odium upon his character. We think this course as ungenerous as it is undeserved. Surely, if our country deserves the title it boasts of, that of being the freest on earth, abstract opinions should always be allowed full latitude in the utterance. And no doctrine concerning government, that proceeds from honest convictions, should be made a subject of reproach to any one, so long as no action is meditated to be based upon it. Mr. Hamilton doubted the efficacy of a purely republican form, to secure the permanent happiness of a people. Very well. So did General Washington. So did John Marshall. So have many of the best statesmen and patriots that have lived among us. The same doubts have, at all times, existed, and still do exist, in the bosom of American society. But they work no injury to our system of government, because they are mere opinions. And not a man can be found, who is not ready to stand by that system as long as it will work, let his apprehensions be what they may. We, therefore, see no more justice in attacking Mr. Hamilton, or anybody else, for entertaining them, than in attacking Mr. Jefferson, as he also has been attacked, for his partiality to an opposite extreme.

There is one feature of Mr. Hamilton's character which, perhaps, deserves to be one moment longer dwelt upon, because it was in him, as it is in most persons who possess it, the parent of much questionable political morality. We fear it is, at this time, as common here as in any part of the world, and that it is rather spreading among us instead of diminishing. Let us illustrate what we mean, by quoting a sentence from the present volume. Mr. Hamilton upon one occasion said;

"We must take man as we find him; and if we expect him to serve the public, must interest his passions in doing so. A reliance on pure patriotism had been the source of many of our

errors. He thought the remark of Mr. Gorham a just one. It was impossible to say what would be the effect in Great Britain of such a reform as had been urged. It was known that one of the ablest politicians (Mr. Hume) had pronounced all that influence on the side of the crown, which went under the name of *corruption*, an essential part of the weight which maintained the equilibrium of the Constitution." — p. 938.

Chief Justice Yates reports the same observations somewhat differently ;—

" In all general questions which become the subjects of discussion, there are always some truths mixed with falsehoods. I confess there is danger where men are capable of holding two offices. Take mankind in general, they are vicious ; their passions may be operated upon. We have been taught to reprobate the danger of influence in the British government, without duly reflecting how far it was necessary to support a good government. We have taken up many ideas upon trust, and, at last, pleased with our own opinions, establish them as undoubted truths. Hume's opinion of the British constitution confirms the remark, that there is always a body of firm patriots who often shake a corrupt administration. Take mankind as they are, and what are they governed by ? Their passions. There may be in every government a few choice spirits, who may act from more worthy motives. One great error is, that we suppose mankind more honest than they are. Our prevailing passions are ambition and interest ; and it will ever be the duty of a wise government to avail itself of those passions in order to make them subservient to the public good, for these ever induce us to action."

The man who could give utterance to such a strain of remark may have been a great politician, but he was not a good moralist. To such a man Sir Robert Walpole might easily appear the paragon of statesmen ; Sir Robert, who openly declared that in his belief every man had his price, and yet who used his ill-gotten influence for the best interests of the king and country he was serving. There may be, and doubtless is, great truth in every unfavorable estimate of human nature ; though it is equally likely that there will also be much of falsehood. But the good part of man's nature is not likely to have a fair chance of developement, when the hypothesis is once assumed as true, that it does not exist, or that it must be made subordinate to the bad one. Political men are too apt in all countries to rest satisfied with the narrow view, and hence

their own minds very soon share something of the taint which they are always on the watch to perceive in those of other men. For our own part, we would rather that a higher standard of public virtue be professed, even where there is not always perfect success in attaining to it. We would rather that a statesman should not avail himself too much of the passions of men even for a good purpose, and should strive a little more to arouse their principles. We would rather that he should himself set the world an example of noble aspirings, that his fellows might respect and admire even when they felt unable to follow it.

Such was, however, the texture of Mr. Hamilton's mind as we see it in the extract already quoted ; and the consequence will be that for ever after posterity may adjudge him to stand in the very front rank as a practical politician, but they will refuse to put him on a level with the best of our patriots. There was in him a mixture of correct moral conception and laxity of practical application, which must qualify our respect for his memory. Although a great man, he has gained no solid hold upon the American heart, and his lamentable end only serves to confirm the conviction which grows out of the observation of his life, that he knew too distinctly what was positively right, to admit of our palliating or excusing his fault in conduct absolutely wrong.

The other gentleman of whom we would speak is James Madison. He belonged to a different order of human beings. Possessing a mind far more of a meditative cast than that of Hamilton, he inclined to study measures in their abstract principles, and the movement of life through the primal impulses which occasion it. He was a student of facts rather than of men, therefore much better calculated for the exposition of a rule of action than for the direction of it when it was to be executed. His temperament was calm, deliberative, perhaps slightly deficient in energy. He possessed a good judgment, with enough of expediency to suffer it to be biased by the impetuous force of such a bold speculator as Mr. Jefferson, whilst it exerted a more than compensating influence in restraining that boldness from making itself felt in unfortunate action. Better calculated for counsel than for the direction of events, he will appear to posterity a greater man as a framer of the Constitution in the Federal Convention, and as a legislator in the first Congress convened after it was adopted, than as a member of

the Cabinet of Mr. Jefferson or as President of the United States. When called upon to act a part in a great system of political measures devised for the purpose of securing the ascendency of his party, he approved himself a faithful lieutenant to a bold captain; but when himself afterwards promoted to the chief station, he was destined to prove, in the course of the trial to which he was put, the truth, that it is far easier to counsel than to perform. The most marked defect which he exhibited as President was in the knowledge of men. His most characteristic merit was his sound sense. He was fated to ascertain by his experience in the executive station, that doctrines which sometimes best aid a party to mount to power, are not the most serviceable in the use of it. He had none of the false pride which put him above profiting by his lesson. The consequence was, the surrender of the system of national policy introduced by Mr. Jefferson, and the decided, though tacit, return in the last period of his administration to all the doctrines of the Washington school.

On the whole, there are few men who deserve to be regarded as more fortunate in their lives than was Mr. Madison, if indeed that may be called good fortune which was rather the result of capacity and prudence acting upon favorable circumstances. Many persons have had more than he without succeeding in using it as well. He fell into the exact position best calculated for the developement of his powers, and he filled it skilfully. The task of assisting to found a system of government for a people, in itself one of the most exalted that the world can afford, was one which all the habits of his previous life, as well as the natural turn of his mind, fitted him to perform. Without having the vigor or originality of Hamilton, he possessed other qualities which in his situation were quite as valuable. He could by his moderation act as a mediator of differences, a softener of extremes in opinion, through which virtue he not only gained a useful power over his own immediate circle of friends, but he acquired the respect and esteem, if he did not always soothe the violence, of those who were opposed to him. He was called to administer the government he had taken so large a part in establishing, at a moment when its strength was more severely tested than it has been at any other time before or since. Foreign war and domestic discord came together upon him in a manner that would have tried the nerves of the strongest man. And although, upon

looking back, we find it impossible not to censure him as wanting in the vigorous preparation which we should expect in such an exigency ; yet the fact that all difficulties were ultimately overcome, that the internal disaffection accomplished no harm, that his hold upon the people carried us through the danger, and, lastly, that an honorable peace and great prosperity subsequent to it crowned his labors, will go very far to place his name high in our annals upon the list of our capable, honest, and successful statesmen.

We have already in a preceding part of this article noticed the fact, that these volumes present two distinct matters of historical interest, the one subsidiary perhaps, but scarcely inferior in interest, to the other. We very much fear that the period of the confederation will never receive from the young students of this country the share of attention which its importance would seem to require. We have already so far transgressed the usual limits of an article, that it is impossible for us at present to go into any explanation of our views. But one remark we must be allowed to make ;—If there are any persons who desire to understand the origin, and trace the movement, of the parties that have agitated this Union during the past half century, they must begin here. The first part of the Madison papers will furnish a partial insight into the system of policy which has always marked the southern section of the country ; a system which has, for a considerable portion of the period mentioned, preponderated in the national government. Although not in itself to be relied upon as a guide to a correct judgment, it is so rich in materials of comparison with documents from other quarters, that it is to be hoped, when placed in the hands of some future philosophical historian, our posterity may obtain the means of understanding the truth.

The Constitution of the United States has, thus far, by the admission of all parties, established a far better practical form of government than was anticipated by any one when it was made. But it would be a curious and not unprofitable task to compare the operation of the system, as it is now understood and practised upon, with what it was during the early administration of it, and with the declared intentions of its framers. We think that some deviation could be shown, that does not promise well for the future. But in this opinion we would not venture to be positive. For, after all, there are great obstacles in the way of correct judgment by persons who witness and

take interest in a train of present events. The tendency always is to give undue weight to passing appearances, and to assign a durable effect to what may only prove a temporary disturbing cause. An energetic and highly popular chief magistrate can give to his station a moment's preponderance in the government, which will vanish with the accession of a person of different character. The blustering of a few state politicians may sometimes create uneasiness respecting the strength of the general government, which the course of events in a short time will prove wholly superfluous. Events like these only go to show how very nicely the balances of the system were adjusted, and what a self-correcting vitality actually resides in it, which proves the wisdom of its framers. But there are other indications which are not quite so promising. Across the disputed land of strict construction and consolidation, of state rights and centralism, of slavery and of free labor, we think we perceive the elements of a storm which will shake to its centre, if it make not a wreck of the fair fabric of our present institutions. The single element which has steadily gained ground of all the others, and which involves in it the destruction of almost every balance in the Constitution, is the democratic element, the very one which, as we have seen, it was the great object of its founders to put in check. And, strange as it may seem, the path which it has chosen for itself is the one which appears to have been the least anticipated ; — we mean that through the election to the Presidency. To that every other part of the system is now made in a great measure subordinate. And, instead of being regarded as the mere Executive head, charged with the duty of carrying into effect the laws, the President is looked to, by the great body of the people, as a person whose abstract sentiments upon every subject of public interest ought to be declared and made the subject of rigid examination. Should the practice of cross-questioning every candidate for the office become settled, the time will not be far distant when they will take the field in person, and solicit the people's votes. This can hardly fail to be attended with serious consequences to the Constitution, for it will have the effect of drawing the Executive and the people into a close union at the expense of the other departments of the government, as well as of consolidating the power of the national chief magistrate at the expense of that of the States. And the end may very naturally be a pure democracy, in which the

President represents the people, and becomes solely accountable to them for his conduct, and the legislature and the judiciary play very secondary and insignificant parts.

It cannot be denied that Congress has been of late years doing something to hasten this state of things, by the turbulence, disorder, and uselessness of its proceedings. The Senate has more than once become a nursery of faction, and the House of Representatives a scene for the lowest and most disgraceful brawling. Such things cannot long happen in any country with impunity, much less in ours, where the *cui bono* is constantly upon every tongue. Already has the constitution of the Senate been well nigh overturned by the establishment of the right of instruction. And nothing further remains but to settle the practice of universal resigning whenever public servants follow the dictates of their own judgment in opposition to the popular voice, and the Constitution, from being the complicated republican form which its framers designed to make it, will be a simple machine of more unmixed democracy than was even the government of Athens.

There is, however, a recuperative energy in the breasts of the American people, which may save them from long suffering under any evil which they themselves create. However gloomy the prospect may sometimes be to the true patriots of the land, they should never lose sight of the fact that there was one moment in our history, when it looked a great deal worse than we now see it, and yet all was not lost. The hour of darkness was but the foreshadowing of a bright and glorious dawn, when, under the superintending guidance of wisdom and integrity, the people enjoyed the full harvest of their industry, and the banner of the Union became the symbol of honor and of strength. We have not yet quite parted from those brilliant days ; but it cannot and ought not to be concealed that our progress of late years has been somewhat downward, and that a new system of political morals is in the course of adoption throughout the extent of the United States, which threatens to drown all the landmarks of our ancient faith in the one great ocean of expediency. We trust there are young minds which are in secret working themselves free from the dross of this corruption, and young hearts practised to beat not merely with the casual impulse of an honest patriotism, but also with the regular vibrations of an unconquerable principle ; a principle not more to be shaken by the "*civium ardor prava jubentium*," than if it

was called to resist the "*vultus instantis tyranni.*" To such, if such there are, we bid God speed, for we fear that it is no ordinary trial which awaits them.

ART. III. — *The Life of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry.* By ALEXANDER SLIDELL MACKENZIE, U. S. N. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 18mo. pp. 322 and 270.

WE have seen it asserted in the public prints, that an order has been issued by the Lords of the Admiralty to print in a cheap form, for distribution amongst the seamen of the Royal Navy, those time-honored sea songs of Dibdin and others, by which the heart of the mariner is stirred as with the sound of a trumpet. The wisdom of this measure can only be fully appreciated by those who have watched a group on board of a man-of-war, listening with open mouths to the sonorous voice of some favorite captain of the forecastle or main-top, as he gives forth in a kind of chant (all sea tunes resemble each other) the fervid national song, whose spirit nerves the faintest heart, and makes the stoutest tremble with eagerness; — the pet boys, or *chickens* as they are affectionately termed, nestled, each one under the wing of his guardian, the landsmen forming a respectful outline to the group, and some officers mounted on a convenient gun, or a topgallant forecastle, partaking in the pleasure and excitement of the scene. This is a favorite amusement of a pleasant evening on board a vessel of war at sea, and no one will doubt that the guns of a ship will be better served whilst the effect of such a celebration of former victories still lingers in the hearts of those who have heard it.

What these songs of the sea are to the untutored tar, well-written biographies of distinguished naval men are to the educated officer. Such an one is that before us, and Mr. Mackenzie has rendered an essential benefit to the navy and country, by holding up to her young aspirants the example of one of the nation's most gallant sons, stimulating them by the most powerful of all influences to the high duties of patriotism, valor, and self-devotion. Mr. Mackenzie has enhanced

the merit of his service by the fidelity and elegance of its execution.

This tribute to the memory of a man who did the profession so much honor, comes very appropriately from one of its distinguished members. The task of writing the life of Commodore Perry is attended with some painful difficulties. Mr. Mackenzie has met them in the true spirit of his calling, — bravely, and honorably. It is sufficient praise to say of the literary merit of the work, that it comports well with the dignity of the subject, and answers the high expectation raised by the skill and success with which Mr. Mackenzie has frequently exercised his pen on subjects of naval and general interest.

In contemplating the entire life and character of Commodore Perry, we are struck with its harmonious consistency and completeness. It is a tale well told. His early pursuits, studies, and amusements were suited to qualify him for his future profession, for which he was led by the example of his father, a distinguished naval character in the war of the Revolution, and subsequently in the French disturbances, — to entertain a youthful predilection. He received his warrant as a midshipman at the age of fourteen, and commenced his career of duty under the command of his father, who thus enjoys the double honor of giving such a son to his country, and of training him in the path of his future usefulness, to be a worthy stamp and representative of his own merit. Young Perry passed through the various grades, up to the period of his command on Lake Erie, with great credit, creating in the minds of all who were associated with him the exalted expectations, which were so fully realized, and even surpassed, on that field of true glory. He died of a terrible malady, under the most painful circumstances, away from his family and the comforts of home, lying in that "worst of all dungeons, the truck-cabin of a schooner," lonely, cheerless, doubly cheerless for the thought of the absent wife, the object of his first and only passion, hitherto happy, now to be heart-broken. Full of moral beauty as was the scene, how different from the death of the warrior, amid the high and thrilling excitements of battle, the "*gaudia certaminis*," when the tension of the mind deadens the body to the sense of pain, was the doom of our hero in the deathlike, panting stillness of that stagnant climate, subdued by

enervating disease. But his spirit was equal to the occasion. In the language of his physician, "during his whole illness he showed every characteristic that could be exhibited by a great man, and a Christian." We trust his dying hour was cheered by the thought of the tears and love which attend his memory. We cannot do our readers a greater favor than to transfer to our pages his biographer's eloquent and discriminating sketch of his character.

"The scenes through which we have carried him render it unnecessary to say, that Perry united immovable firmness to the highest and most chivalrous courage, and a calmness and self-possession that never forsook him. Danger, instead of disturbing the ordinary exercise of his faculties, seemed but to stimulate and develope them. Prompt to decide, immovable in his decisions, energetic in carrying them into effect, — to these valuable qualities he added an untiring industry and enterprise, which rose at the prospect of labor and difficulty. He did not rush impetuously at an undertaking, and afterwards falter and become discouraged at the prospect of unexpected obstacles, but, commencing with calm earnestness, never paused short of complete fulfilment. He had the rare faculty of seeing things as they were, undisturbed by the mist of feeling, hopes, or prejudices. His mind was strong, and well poised ; not imaginative, perhaps, or fanciful, but characterized by sound sense, enlightening an unbiassed judgment which was rarely at fault. To this was added a correct taste, regulating his words and actions, and rendering them consistent and becoming.

"A mind thus naturally vigorous and discriminating, had been much enriched by extensive reading among choice and well selected books, particularly in ancient history, and the biography of the illustrious dead. For amusement he turned with greatest pleasure to the older dramatists, and Shakspeare was his fast favorite. He was not only thoroughly familiar with the text of this author, which he studied with school-boy earnestness, but had read all the most approved commentaries; he had, moreover, opinions of his own with regard to the various prominent characters of these dramas, which he is said, by one who knew him intimately, to have discussed in a masterly manner, unfolding their beauties with rare discrimination and taste. He had, indeed, on all subjects, a happy faculty of using and imparting the information he had obtained ; and his judicious remarks were always enhanced by the absence of pedantry and pretension, and by his pervading modesty. He also wrote with facility and correctness. His extreme aversion to the use of the pen probably led him to that conciseness and force which is con-

spicuous in his letters. He never dwelt over any composition, and not more than two draughts of important letters in his own hand are to be found among his papers. He had not the common affectation of the great, and often the little great, of writing unintelligibly. His handwriting, like his style, was rapid, easy, and elegant ; a picture in some sort, of the fairness and simplicity of his character.

" Envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness found no resting-place in the heart of Perry. There was no room there for any but the noblest feelings and affections. He was not disturbed by petty irritability on trifling occasions, though his temper was violent, and easily roused by injustice towards others and himself. It was his pride down to a certain period of his life, that he had his temper under perfect control, until a personal insult, from which his guarded and dignified manners had ever before protected him, by producing a fit of ungovernable passion, convinced him that his command of himself was less perfect than he had supposed. The active benevolence and overflowing humanity of Perry exhibited itself as often as sickness, misfortune, or misery presented itself for his commiseration. A few anecdotes of this striking characteristic of him have been recorded ; of how many must he have carried his knowledge with him to the grave ? For, in acts like these, and in his efforts in behalf of his friends, it was eminently his custom to do good by stealth.

" Perry was discriminating in the choice of his friends, and warm and constant in his attachment to them ; never permitting an opportunity to pass unimproved to do them kindness, or to advance their interest. He possessed eminently the faculty of creating strong affection for his person in those who were intimate with him. With regard to those who were accidentally associated with him, and for whom he had no previous or particular regard, he was rather disposed to discover their good qualities than to be censorious of their faults. He was unsuspicious in his temper, and gives himself the character of being credulous ; the fault of a noble mind, conscious of no evil itself, and suspecting none in others. His magnanimity was conspicuous, and betrayed him into some indiscretions. He had a chivalrous sense of the courtesy that is due to woman, and the most enthusiastic admiration of the female character. He was remarkable for his aversion for all grovelling, vulgar, and sensual propensities, amounting to positive detestation.

" As a naval commander he was sensitively alive to the appearance, order, and efficiency of his vessel ; every thing connected with the management of the sails, and a skilful performance of every duty connected with the fighting department, received his zealous and unwearied attention. As an officer,

and as a seaman, he was equally eminent. He had a thorough sympathy with all under his command, attended personally to the comfort of his crew, to solace the sick, preserve the health of those who were well, and watch, in every way, over the welfare of all. He was a strict disciplinarian; but always punished with reluctance, and only when unavoidable. With the officers, his extraordinary faculty of creating a lively attachment to his person spared him the necessity of frequent censure; a disapproving glance of his eye had often more effect than the stern rebuke of others. The unwillingness of his officers to offend him was extreme. Among his correspondence there are many evidences of this peculiarity, in letters written after the commission of some trifling fault, evincing not so much an apprehension of his official disapprobation, as the loss of his favorable opinion and esteem. Every germ of merit was sure to be discovered by him, and encouraged, and no opportunity was ever lost of advancing those who performed their duty with cheerfulness and fidelity. His attention to the moral and intellectual training of his midshipmen was unceasing. No want of encouragement from the subjects of his solicitude, no reluctance to learn, no resistance to being taught, turned him back from the determined prosecution of this all-important, but much neglected duty."

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"The person of Perry was of the loftiest stature and most graceful mould. He was easy, and measured in his movements, and calm in his air. His brow was full, massive, and lofty; his features regular and elegant, and his eye full, dark, and lustrous. His mouth was uncommonly handsome, and his teeth large, regular, and very white. The prevailing expression of his countenance was mild, benignant, and cheerful, and a smile of amiability, irresistibly pleasing, played about his lips. His whole air was expressive of health, freshness, comfort, and contentment, bearing testimony to a life of temperance and moderation.

"In his private character Perry was a model of every domestic virtue and grace; an affectionate and devoted husband, a fond father, and a faithful and generous friend; most happy in the domestic and social relations he had formed for himself, and the centre and cause of happiness to those who surrounded him. Thoroughly domestic in his tastes, yet social in his feelings, hospitable without ostentation, and not averse to a measured and regular conviviality in the midst of his family and friends, eminently urbane and modest in demeanor, yet ever willing, as able, to take his fair share in the general entertainment.

"The amiability of Perry was one of his most distinguishing traits, and the susceptibility of his feelings was excessive. Such are some of the attributes of the character of Perry. A brief

anecdote will show with what sentiments he impressed one of the noblest of Americans. When Decatur was first informed by Mr. Handy of the particulars of the death of Perry, he was sensibly affected; after a short pause, he remarked, with great solemnity, 'Sir! the American navy has lost its brightest ornament.'" — Vol. II. pp. 237–244.

We cannot but express our regret that Lieutenant Mackenzie has dwelt at such length upon the angry discussion between Commodore Perry and Commodore Chauncey, concerning the manning of the fleet on Lake Erie. His object is to show the difficulties with which the former had to contend, and his energy in overcoming them; but we fear that in doing so he implies some censure of the latter. This we do not believe it was his intention to express. We should be sorry to see any thing detracted from the perfect honor of a venerable name, around which are gathered some of the warmest sympathies and kindest associations of the navy.

Mr. Mackenzie is entitled to the particular thanks of the navy, for having supplied a faithful and true account of the battle of Lake Erie. We have, in a previous Number,* examined critically Mr. Cooper's account of this action in his "Naval History," and given in some detail our reasons for rejecting it as utterly false in spirit, statement, and comment. We shall not renew or extend that criticism here beyond a passing remark. Deliberate and repeated examination and reflection, assisted and directed by an intimate acquaintance with some of the most distinguished of Perry's officers, (amongst others the gallant and deeply lamented Commodore Thomas Holdup Stevens, whose old associates mourn his recent untimely death,) lead us now to confirm the opinion we have already expressed. And we heartily congratulate the navy, that it has now in its possession a work to which it can turn for a fair record of the events of the memorable 10th of September; a record, just to the living and the dead, which places Perry where he should be, on the pinnacle of the fame won on that glorious day, and awards to the second in command a severe but just condemnation. Mr. Mackenzie, as was his duty, has entered into a full examination of the difficulties between Commodores Perry and Elliott, which we recommend to the particular and careful perusal of every young officer. He will not only learn to avoid the misconduct of the

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIX. pp. 438 *et seq.*

latter,—an unimportant consideration, for, we believe, no such example is necessary in our navy to stimulate commanders to the duty of following their flag into action, — but he will be taught, by the unhappy consequences resulting to the former, never to suffer private feelings to control a sense of obligation to the country and the service. Perry, in his generous sentiment, that "there is honor enough for us all," forgot that he had no right to make others share in the dishonor of an individual. His neglect to arrest Captain Elliott, on the day of the battle, was the great error of his life, and he had sufficient cause to repent it. No compromise with guilt, whatever the motive that leads to it, can be safe. We are bound to repeat here, our more than contempt, our indignant scorn of the assertion of Mr. Cooper, in a note to his relation of the battle of Lake Erie, that Captain Elliott, when he went to bring up the gunboats, encountered as much danger as Commodore Perry did in passing in an open boat from the Lawrence to the Niagara. This statement, speciously untrue, might be taken on the authority of Mr. Cooper, by careless readers. Let it, however, be simply understood, that Commodore Perry was in an open boat in the hottest of the fire, and that Captain Elliott entered that same boat to go still further from the scene of action, at a moment when the head of his ship, hitherto motionless, and at a safe distance, was pointed towards the enemy.

We recur, however, to a pleasanter theme, the great value of this faithful record of Commodore Perry's life to the young officer, to whom, if he hope to rise to similar honor in his profession, it should be a text-book and a guide; to the old officer, who will find, in its pages, the scenes and recollections of his early life renewed; and to every American reader, whose heart must glow with delight to find that he had such a countryman as Perry, and that such scenes, as the battle of Lake Erie, were acted in his native land.

If, however, we take pride in recounting the past deeds of our little navy, and contemplating the character of the gallant commanders who led on to their achievement, that feeling receives a severe check when we consider its present condition. A long interval of peace has laid to sleep the vigilance of the government, and, as we are forced to conclude, has broken in seriously upon the subordination of the naval service. We believe that the moral condition of the navy is perfectly sound, that the patriotism and devotion of the officers is by no means

lessened, that the spirit of the last war is still in vigorous life. But the columns of the daily journals, for the last five or six years, have contained many disgraceful exposures, whilst the general demand for reorganization indicates its necessity. The improvement and confirmation of the discipline of the corps by a new code of regulations adapted to its advanced condition; a reorganization which would include a "Retired List"; the timely promotion of the junior officers; the regular and successive employment of officers of all grades, so that each one might perform his fair share of sea-duty; together with minor changes in the mode of enlistment, and treatment of seamen, are subjects on which we have before expressed some opinions, and to which we may hereafter recur. We make it our particular object at present to urge upon the public attention, and especially to enforce upon the minds of those who have charge of the national welfare, the insufficiency of the present naval force to the honor and protection of the country.

We are not aware that any statistical statement which we could present would make this insufficiency apparent. It argues nothing to say that we have eleven ships of the line, (but one, by the way, ready for service, and that one abroad,) seventeen frigates of all classes, and twenty-one sloops of war; and that of these but one ship of the line, five frigates, and fourteen sloops are in commission, and actually fitted for a cruise. It may not be unprofitable, however, to compare the amount of tonnage engaged in the foreign trade of England, France, and the United States, and the degree of protection which each country can afford to her commercial marine in the event of a sudden call. It appears from the Parliamentary Report of 1836 that there are 27,895 British vessels employed in the foreign trade, the tonnage of which, taken at an average of 120 tons for each vessel, amounts to 3,347,400 tons, employing 181,642 seamen. The navy of Great Britain consists of 565 vessels, including steamers, brigs, and packets, of which 130 are ships of the line, and about 190 of all classes were in actual service before the breaking out of the China war and the disturbances in the East, by which of course the number is very much increased. The foreign tonnage of France is estimated at 647,000 tons, comprising, at the same average, 5,391 vessels navigated by 35,000 seamen. The navy of France contains 350 vessels, of which 110 are ships of the line, and being almost entirely built since the year 1816,

its condition is very perfect. The foreign tonnage of the United States may be stated at 2,000,000, the number of vessels it employs is between 16 and 17,000, and the number of registered seamen 108,000 to 110,000. The navy comprises 68 vessels, including brigs and schooners, 11 of them ships of the line, and 3 of them large steamers of war; of the whole number 36 are in commission, and 33 in active service. We will put the above statement in a tabular form, to make the comparatively very small amount of protection provided for the American commerce, more apparent.

	Foreign Tonnage.	No. of Merchant vessels.	No. of Seamen.	Vessels of war of all descriptions.
England	3,347,400	27,895	181,642	565
France	647,000	5,391	35,000	350
U. States	2,000,000	16,666	108,000	68

Besides the above figures, not inexpressive in themselves, it is to be noted that the navies of England and France are in a more complete condition than ever before; their dock-yards, machinery, and all conveniences for fitting out ships are wonderfully improved and multiplied; their naval gunnery is perfected by incessant practice in schools whose pupils are distributed among the vessels in commission; their models, particularly the English, are bettered; their ships are in finished order; and, in short, a naval rivalry has sprung up between the two nations, which has brought out the genius of both to the greatest advantage, and led to the highest perfection of naval economy the world has ever witnessed.

We do not forget, that England and France, on account of their propinquity and mutual mistrust, and also as the two most distinguished members of the European family of nations, maintain a naval force competent to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and arrest a sudden invasion, as well as to secure their foreign commerce. With the politics of Europe we have happily no concern. But, if the above figures should fail to prove any thing, the constant call from our merchants abroad for more cruisers, might show the necessity for increased naval protection. Instances not unfrequently occur, of difficulties which threaten collision, with a painful disparity of force on our side, and these difficulties would often be prevented by the presence of a respectable

squadron. We have very lately had occasion to wonder at the supine neglect of our trade in the East. For more than a year, no American man-of-war has been seen in that quarter; and the squadron, which, after numerous delays, arising from petty obstacles, has been at last sent out, is, when compared with our resources, the property at stake, and the dignity of the nation, utterly contemptible. During the late blockade of the French in the Rio de la Plata, Lieutenant Mackenzie, whose late biographical work we have been treating, was called upon, whilst in command of the brig Dolphin, of ten guns, to assert and maintain the rights and honor of the flag, against the French Admiral, Le Blanc, commanding a fleet of twenty or more sail, — his flag-ship, a razée of sixty guns. The Captain of a French brig of war had been guilty of the outrage of firing repeatedly into the American bark Madonna, as she was sailing out of the port of Montevideo, before and in which a part of the French squadron was lying. The pretext for this violence was a frivolous one. An apology had already been made to the American Consul, when Mr. Mackenzie arrived in Montevideo, a day or two after the occurrence. Not satisfied with this concession, and feeling himself called upon, as the representative of the Navy, to notice the insult, he addressed a letter to the French Admiral. M. Le Blanc, in an evasive reply, noticed the humble rank and command of his correspondent; to which Mr. Mackenzie replied, with a happy mixture of modesty and spirit, that whilst he acknowledged the high rank of the Admiral, and yielded with becoming deference and respect to his superior age and station, yet the accident, which left him, for the time, the sole naval commander in the River, invested him with the dignity of the naval representative of his country, and thus placed him upon an equality with the commander-in-chief, whom he had the honor of addressing. This correspondence, into which was introduced a question of grave import, terminated in satisfactory explanations on the part of the Admiral, and in his sending the commander, who had committed the offence, under arrest, and without his sword, to make a personal apology to the American Consul. Fortunately for the honor of the flag, the spirit of the commander of the Dolphin was not regulated by the size of the vessel under his command.

In 1834, the flag of the Pacific squadron was hoisted on

board a sloop of war, and her command given to a distinguished commodore, by Mr. Woodbury, the strictly economical Secretary of the Navy. In 1835, this officer found himself in the River Guayaquil, engaged with the chief of a revolutionary party in arms against the government of the Equator, in an angry correspondence concerning some aggressions upon American citizens and property. The head quarters of this party was the frigate Columbia, built by the late Mr. Eckford, for the Colombian Government. She was a ship of sixty guns, thirty-two pounders, manned by seven hundred men. The American sloop mounted twenty-four guns, twenty-four pounders, and had a crew of one hundred and seventy-five men. So great was the probability of an engagement, that the Commodore cast loose his guns, prepared his ship for action, and kept her in this state during one night. The action would have taken place in smooth water, at anchor, where superior seamanship could be of little avail. Notwithstanding the established valor of American seamen, and the low character of the Columbia's crew, which consisted principally of raw military recruits, taken from the lowest class of a degraded population, the great disparity must have rendered the result uncertain, — the more so, as there were a few, about two hundred, of Bolivar's veteran troops on board. We will venture, however, to indorse the opinion of the gallant Commodore, founded upon a careful examination of the resources and condition of the Columbia, that if he had failed himself to make her haul down her flag, "a gig might have picked her up when we had done with her." It would not be difficult to collect other instances, equally instructive, of the importance of increasing our naval force upon the several stations.

But, the argument for a large naval force, to guard against invasion, applies nearly as well to this country as to England. England is our near neighbour, by means of her American possessions. The use of steam, in the navigation of the ocean, brings us into propinquity and intimate relationship with the old world. Being, with regard to Europe, in a political view, an insular power, naval superiority removes from our happy borders the horrors of war. Recent events have supplied this argument with an apt and painful illustration. During the last two years, discussions of a serious nature have taken place between England and this country, assuming the

tones of angry menace or peaceful negotiation, as the passions of individuals, or the prudence of councils, have prevailed. To these latent causes of disagreement, has been added fresh excitement in the arrest of Mr. McLeod, and the intemperate report of Mr. Pickens. The latter, insulting in its language, loose in its statements, and looser in its composition, is, as a state paper, beneath criticism. It served, however, its purpose of aggravation. It also presented us to the world in a light at once ludicrous and humiliating, — making us assume the tone and attitude of defiance towards a nation, preëminently the greatest in the world, in naval power, with our coast and harbours unguarded and unfortified, and our rich commerce scattered over every sea, without protection; for, what would our paltry squadrons avail against the fleets of Great Britain, except to evince the courage and unflinching sense of duty of a few devoted officers and seamen? Had Mr. McLeod been condemned and executed, before English blood had had time to cool from the first excitement of his arrest, it is by no means improbable, that a declaration of war would have immediately followed. Ministers might not have been able to resist the angry feeling of the people. And the first announcement of war might well have been from the guns of English ships of the line, and steamers of war, in our defenceless harbours. This danger, which, though less imminent than it has been, some sudden *contretemps* still might realize, ought to arouse us to a sense of the imperious necessity for preparation, — not as regards this event alone, but a preparation which will enable us, at all times, to meet with calmness any of those unexpected exigencies, to which nations, like individuals, are subject. The state of the defences of our principal commercial ports, is, under the present circumstances, a fit subject of serious apprehension. A sudden declaration of war would find us so miserably unprovided, that our rich cities might be laid under contribution. When the news of the arrest of McLeod reached England, the propriety of sending ten sail of the line upon our coast, to enforce the claim for his release, was advocated in the London journals. Having nothing to oppose to this force, we must have submitted to being bullied at our very threshold.

There is, however, another point of attack, which, in case of a war with Great Britain, is, to our view, worthy of the gravest consideration. If some leading journals are any au-

thority in the case, it would be the policy of Great Britain to throw her black regiments from Jamaica into the Southern country, and to proclaim freedom to the slaves. These troops, long since organized and disciplined, have lately been increased in number. Such a design, giving to the war, in the minds of the British people, the sacred character of a crusade against slavery, would go far to render the war universally popular. The abolition of slavery is, just now, the darling object of the nation; it is the diagnostic of one of those "periodical fits of morality," as Macauley terms them, to which the English people are subject. It is the chosen mode of appeasing the national conscience, for having originated the very evil, which they are now prepared to root out with the sword. Following up her uncompromising hostility, long ago declared to the slave trade, the active cruisers of England are fast sweeping, from the face of the ocean, every trace of this accursed traffic. She has also taken the lead in the abolition of slavery itself, and probably there is no subject, except danger to the national integrity, upon which the whole British people could be brought to concur with so much unanimity. The existence of slavery in the West India colonies, prevented the entertainment of such a project during the last war. This impediment being now removed, the emancipated negroes, inspired with the desire of making their brethren in this country sharers in their lately recovered freedom, would supply the means of its execution. They would form a nucleus and military centre for the slaves, and give to insurrection, organization and support. It is dreadful to contemplate such an event, both in its immediate and future consequences. But they, who in other times have been so little scrupulous about hunting our frontier people with Indians, cannot be relied upon to be dainty as to the use of this other means of offence. And there is no more obvious resort for protection against it, than an efficient force of sailing ships and steamers, to guard the whole line of the Southern frontier. Let the Southern members of Congress look to this in time; — let them weigh the urgent necessity of a home squadron, which, on on the least alarm, may hasten to their relief. England is covering the Atlantic with her gigantic steamers, which, when wanted, are called into the public service. Ten new steamers of war are ordered to be laid down, an important addition to her immense fleet. And whilst we are inviting her to engage in

hostilities, what have we to oppose to this preparation on her part? If we are a proud and high-spirited people, we can the less brook the humiliation, which surely awaits us at the commencement of any struggle with England or France, unless we gird on our armour in time. Doubtless we have a naval and military fame, to be justly proud of; but the battle, if it come, will not be decided by past achievements. Far from it. Our successes having inspired our enemies with higher respect and greater caution, have imposed on us the duty and necessity of making greater efforts.

It may be suggested that this confession of weakness is impolitic; that by exposing our vulnerable points, we at the same time invite an attack, and supply the means of its direction. Our fear on the contrary is, that what we have been saying has of late been better understood in Downing Street, than at Washington; and certain we are, that it is only by a bold avowal to ourselves of our actual condition of weakness, that we shall learn how to manage our prudence and courage in repairing the evils of past neglect, and providing against their recurrence. It is by exposing our defects, that we hope to wake up the public mind to a due sense of the necessity for immediate exertion.

In particular, our steamers of war should be multiplied without delay, to provide for the defence of our shores and harbours. We must be prepared to meet our commercial rivals in this new mode of warfare. The application of steam to naval war is the greatest military invention of the day. It is further recommended to us by being our own. The steam frigate Fulton, built at the close of the last war, is, as far as we know, the first of that class of vessels. She, it will be recollected, was blown up by accident in 1829. We have now three large steam frigates, equal probably to any in the world for harbour defence. The number of these should not only be increased, but smaller steamers should be added, fitted to cruise in the shoaler waters of the southern coast, and adapted to answer sudden calls, and undertake desperate enterprises. The employment of the large steamers is attended with great expense, and their loss would be severely felt. The small armed steam vessels would be most advantageously employed in the revenue service, taking the place of the present cutters. We have heard the opinion expressed by intelligent merchants, that their utility in saving property

would be incalculable. If this branch of the public service were merged in the navy, these steamers would become proper men-of-war to be used as occasion might require. We can see no advantage in keeping the revenue duty distinct, provided it be properly organized. Our ships of the line, now decaying on the stocks, should be put in commission as a part of the public defence, and to qualify the superior officers for the conduct of fleets. And our smaller cruisers should be found in every quarter of the world, protecting our commerce, and exhibiting that readiness for hostilities which is the best security for the continuance of peace. The aphorism of Sir Walter Raleigh, "Whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade, commands the riches of the world," can never be safely neglected in the councils of a people who rank the second among the nations in commercial wealth.

Indeed, whatever considerations, founded upon extensive commerce, insulated position, national emulation, or the genius of the people, can be urged for the creation and maintenance of a naval force in any country, may be transferred with truth and wisdom to this. It is not too much to say that an ample naval armament is indispensable not only to the opulence and prosperity, but to the honor and even to the independence, of the United States. In free States, military, like civil, institutions, to rest upon a solid foundation, must be popular. They cannot exist permanently, unless the enlightened minds which sooner or later lead the general opinion, recognise their advantage and necessity. It needs hardly be said now, that this vital moral support upholds the American Navy with its full force. The necessity of a navy was admitted as a principle of the founders of the nation; and subsequent events have amply illustrated the wisdom of their decision. History has also taught this truth, that a navy is the only standing military establishment which is perfectly consistent with the safety of free institutions. "La force navale est la seule, qui jamais ne peut mettre en danger les libertés du peuple."

We will profit by this opportunity to offer our opinion upon one or two subjects which seem to us of sufficient importance to require the earliest attention of the Department, and of Congress. The first of these relates to a Home squadron. It is a strange and startling fact, that not since

the year 1810 has there been found at any time, in any of our harbours, a man-of-war of any class, commissioned, and *thoroughly* equipped for service, unless she were bound to, or had just returned from, a foreign station, — except during the short period when an attempt was made to keep up a small squadron on the coast under Commodore Nicholson, and whilst that miscalled man-of-war, the Schooner Experiment, was performing her trial cruises from port to port, afraid to venture out into the open sea. When, in 1838, it was reported in Philadelphia that the packet ship Susquehanna had been captured by a pirate off the Capes of Delaware, the only vessel that could be found to send immediately to her rescue was a revenue cutter of four guns. The country will not have forgotten the sensation created by this alarm, the deep distress that filled the public mind, the agonized apprehension of friends, the fearful sympathy of all. It is true that this solemn warning produced a slight effort, but it failed to lead to any permanent protection. What renders this state of things more ridiculous, is the fact, that at this very moment our ships are rotting useless upon the stocks at our navy yards. One ship of the line at the Charlestown yard, the Vermont, has been twenty-five years under cover ; another, the Virginia, twenty. Ten years may have elapsed since any foot but that of a curious visitor has trodden their decks. But we must qualify this remark, for even in their present state they not unfrequently require repairs, the expense of which would take so much from that of their equipment.

A fleet of several sail of the line, always ready for active service, accompanied by a sufficient number of smaller vessels ever on the wing, and keeping constant watch over the whole line of coast from one extremity to the other, would supply to the navy that school of practice which is a grand desideratum, a school of practice not only for the inferior, but also for the superior officers. We consider it particularly desirable for the latter class, who will otherwise be called upon to exercise the command of fleets without the previous experience indispensable to their skilful management. Such a fleet, meanwhile, would afford a degree of security against the danger of invasion, and the mortification and loss of future blockades. We will suggest that to render this protection effectual, some small steamers might be added to the fleet, to navigate along the shoal borders of the Southern States, where

our heavier ships cannot venture. It is so clearly the interest and duty of the South to provide this protection, that we cannot but repeat the expression of our surprise at its attracting so little of the attention of her statesmen.

We believe also that it would be for the interest of our commerce, if the number of small vessels were increased. To be satisfied of the efficiency and great utility of these vessels, we have only to look to the English and French marines. Every officer, who has been employed abroad for the last ten years, has had occasion to admire the beauty, active qualities, and comfortable internal economy of the French brigs. The British Admiralty are daily adding to this class of vessels, supplying the places of the old ten gun brigs (the wash tub), with new and beautiful models of Sir William Symond's construction. They suffice on ordinary occasions for the protection of merchantmen; are maintained in active service at a comparatively small cost; and the onerous duty which their command involves, falls very properly upon younger officers.

A Retired List is another subject which presents itself to our minds. There are already officers who have virtually retired, being no longer employed by the department, and for whom any active professional occupation seems to be out of the question; and we grieve to say that there are undoubtedly some unworthy of promotion, and utterly unfitted by bad habits and lost reputation for places of trust. The latter stand in the way of better men, impeding their advancement. It is well understood that the position of five or six worthless names near the head of the list of lieutenants, known to the Department to be entirely undeserving of a commander's commission, prevented the promotions that would otherwise have taken place at the close of the last session of Congress. The President did not feel authorized to pass over their names, no distinct charges against them being filed at the Department. We have authority for saying, that Mr. Van Buren assigned this as a reason for making no nominations from the grade of lieutenants, on his retiring from the Presidential chair. A Retired List would also become an appropriate refuge for such as are inclined by ill health, private circumstances, or professional disqualification (not discreditable) to seek an escape from the occupation and exposures of a sea life. The question how officers are to be placed

upon a Retired List against their will, is a serious and difficult one. We will not discuss it at present. But it is a notorious fact, as we have before asserted, that the Department have exercised an equivalent power in refusing to employ officers who have fallen under their displeasure. Instances of this must occur to every one acquainted with the details of the Navy.

The measure, however, which will result in the highest benefit to the organic improvement and discipline of the navy, and most effectually reanimate its drooping spirit, is the creation of the grade of Admirals. This measure is demanded alike by policy and justice, whilst the objections urged against it are answered with facility. For the want of this grade the navy has suffered, and will continue to suffer, from a deficiency of proper subordination in the higher ranks, where the influence of bad example is eminently pernicious. When the present division of grades was adopted, our little navy required no higher rank. But we have come now to take a stand among naval powers, and have obtained a naval distinction which is a pledge both to the world and ourselves, of future prowess. We must hereafter equip fleets. It is our sure destiny, if we continue a united nation, to become a great naval power. We must provide for the proper conduct of these fleets. The necessary knowledge cannot be acquired in the course of any service at present within the reach of the superior officers, the utmost extent of which is the command of small squadrons consisting of two or three vessels. Fleet Tactics is of itself a separate study ; and one which can only be thoroughly pursued in actual practice upon the ocean.

The creation of Admirals is essential to the wholesome subordination and discipline of the service. A marked distinction of ranks is an elementary principle of the military system. Authority and high station are, by the very nature of things (if we may use the phrase), indissolubly united. We find the argument in the constitution of society, in the constitution of our own minds. It is equally applicable to all stations. Captains require, not less than midshipmen, that the officer who commands them should be their superior. This superiority must be intrinsic. It must be the property and quality of the officer, and not an occasional and temporary investment. This seems to be a superfluous announce-

ment, yet the truth is lost sight of by those who oppose the introduction of the highest grade into our naval establishment. At present, the brevet rank of Commodore is made to supply the deficiency. This officer takes up his ephemeral dignity when he hoists his flag, and lays it down on the termination of the cruise, returning to an equality with those over whom, for a series of years, he has exercised his high command. He possesses none of the legitimate protection, the irresponsibility to inferiors, which real, and not nominal, rank alone can give.

One of the evil consequences, resulting from this state of things, is, that frequently our flag-ships are not properly officered, because the Commodore must, if he take a Captain to his ship, receive an equal. We are aware, that the lines of duty and authority are marked out by the Department. But, whoever is versed in military affairs, and reflects upon the absolute necessity for distinct subordination in them, will understand, that this is not a sufficient remedy for an inherent evil. A fresh instruction from the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, will not create an occasional and detached *sentiment* of obedience. His *fiat*, powerful as it may be, cannot originate a new principle of military subordination, or violate an old one with impunity. There are various moral influences connected with the intercourse of Commodores and Captains, which we cannot hope to make intelligible to general readers. If the Commodore be asked, whether he intends to take a fighting-Captain (as the immediate commander of a flag-ship is styled), he may reply, "that he prefers to command his own ship." It would seem, then, that with a Captain of his own virtual grade, — and such only are qualified to command a frigate, or ship of the line,—it is a matter of doubt, whether he can command the ship he sails in, though there is no doubt, that he commands every other ship in the squadron. Yet it is equally his duty to command one ship as another, and one no more than another. He might as well insist upon being the first Lieutenant of the flag-ship.

But this reply betrays another evil. The Commodore is wanting in the feeling belonging to his temporary rank. He is as much in heart and mind a Captain, and nothing more, as when he wore his pendant on a ten-gun brig. He is deficient in the enlarged views, the comprehensive regard for the general good discipline of the service, and the high sense of au-

thority and responsibility, inspired by exalted rank. How should it be otherwise? He is what his education has made him; and it has been a part, and a most important part, of his military education, to know, and, if he be touched with honorable ambition, to feel, that he never can rise beyond the rank of Captain; that the highest rank of his profession is denied him; that he cannot even hope to escape personal responsibility to his Lieutenants, who, if he lives, must eventually become his equals.

The personal intercourse between a Commodore and the Captains of his squadron, is modified in an unhealthy manner, by these same influences. It wants the cordiality and freedom of equality; neither does it possess the becoming and easy dignity, on the one hand, and the ready and complying respect on the other, which express the natural and harmonious relation between distinct ranks. It would be an endless and very difficult task, to enumerate the various occasions of collisions and misconstruction, springing from this cause, as it is a painful one to dwell upon their serious and lasting detriment to the subordination of the Navy. People of all professions and stations may learn, from their own experiences, how indispensable it is, in filling up the daily detail of duty, that each one's place, degree, and authority, should be perfectly defined. This is eminently the case in military rule, where peremptory command and implicit obedience must go together. Rank, it is further to be considered, endows the possessor with adventitious qualities and merit. Not that we mean to say, that

"A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn."

But a higher rank is a higher form of the invisible and irresistible power of the law. It addresses the sentiment of duty in a more solemn and impressive manner, sustains weakness, and represses rebellious encroachment. Rank, and its insignia, are the aids to legitimate authority, which, in all nations and all times, have been adopted by the common consent of mankind. This consent is conclusive evidence of their utility. No class of men is so perfect as to dispense safely with their help; otherwise, let us drop them altogether. They create respect, and this respect has its meaning and use. It is, in truth, the involuntary acknowledgment in the breast of him who feels it, of the right to order, and the obligation to obey.

We make bold to assert, that the superior officers *require the stimulus*, as they deserve the reward, of a higher object for their aspiration. Promotion is the very breath of military ambition; the great and constant incentive to exertion, the beginning of youthful ardor, and the end of venerable renown. It is the theme of daily discourse among military men, the active and undying hope. The stimulus is not less essential to Captains, than to other officers. No effort, or but a feeble one, can be expected of a man, who believes that he has arrived at the highest distinction within his reach. Such a belief must be paralyzing to the best impulses of his nature. Moreover, a moral effect, which belongs to preferment while it is still before the eyes of the aspirant, is to keep up a livelier sense of duty and accountability, by presenting a continually rising aim for the thoughts to fix upon. We cannot but think, that if all prospect of the creation of this new grade were taken away, the consequences would be hurtful to the spirit of the Navy. But a hope, a cheerful hope, that justice would at length be done them, has animated the older officers to continued exertions. Their services, some of them most brilliant, are entitled to this reward. They expect, that the country will place them on the same footing with officers of their age, and term of service, in the navies of other countries.

But we will not dwell upon an argument, though sound, which wears an appearance of selfishness on the part of those who most feel its force. We will observe, that we have heard, with unmingled disgust, the proposition to select the Admirals from the list of Captains, passing over those who have worn out their lives in the Navy, and are unfitted, by age and infirmity, for active duties. We trust, that no man, or set of men, will dare seriously to meditate such an act of ingratitude and injustice. The veterans have done their work; let them receive the reward. They are eminently calculated, by their age and experience, for those stations, which will bring them near the counsels of the Department. Let no such foul reproach, as this would bring upon us, stain the annals of the Navy. Let us, on the contrary, cherish the gratification of witnessing the dignified and honored retirement of these venerable public servants, who have escaped the blight of climate, "the battle-fire and the wreck."

We desire to see the creation of at least twenty-five Ad-

mirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admirals ; enough to command the principal foreign squadrons, and to preside over the naval bureaux at Washington, and over the larger and more active yards and home stations. It has been objected, that we have no appropriate commands for Admirals, assuming that fleets alone authorize their employment ; and further, that, if they were introduced into the Navy, the Department would be limited to their list in the choice of Commanders for foreign stations, whereas they may now select from among all the Captains, without giving rise to a discontent, which, it is supposed, would grow out of the neglect of a superior grade. In cases, to which our own naval experience does not extend, we may be permitted to appeal to the practice of other navies. In matters of form, we are necessarily, in some measure, copyists, and this, particularly, in cases beyond our own usage. It is the custom, in the English and French naval services, to place an Admiral at the head of a foreign squadron. The nature of military subordination is too well understood there, for an attempt to make up for a deficiency of absolute rank by transient authority, and a misapplied term. In strict military propriety, and according to established naval usage, Admirals should be employed wherever the command transcends the limited power of a Captain, that is, where several ships are acting in concert under one leader. This, however, by no means precludes the employment of Commodores, on proper occasions, in the command of smaller squadrons, or detached portions of large ones. This is the usage of foreign marines, where the title of Commodore is as distinctly recognised as with us. Neither would the Department be limited to the list of Admirals, in the selection of Commanders of squadrons. There is little likelihood, that the Admirals themselves would assert any such exclusive claim. The power, which originates the grade, leaves it under legitimate control.

There is an idea, that the title of Admiral is aristocratic, and therefore not suited to our republican institutions. We confess, that we see no other ground for this prejudice, than that the title is not in use amongst ourselves. It is simply significant of a certain naval rank and command, corresponding to General in the army, and, like the latter title, is totally destitute of social or political value. A mere prejudice will not surely be suffered to interrupt the progress of improvement.

In relation to the subject of Admirals, it is not to be forgotten that it is highly important to the interests they protect, that our naval representatives abroad should be equal in dignity to those of other countries. Our stand amongst other nations will depend, in many instances, upon this important provision. We send our *chargés* to one government, and our ministers to another, according to their position in the national scale. Our naval commanders are our representatives to the whole world. Their rank should be such as to secure to the flag they bear to every quarter of the globe, its just share of consideration and respect. Something is also due to the feelings of the officers themselves. Not only their pride of place, but their pride of country, is often wounded by unfavorable comparisons, by seeing the respect and honors accorded to other flags denied to their own, as well as by an aching, mortifying sense of the injustice which withholds from them a rank comporting with their station and command. The petty Admirals of the South American States, who dare hardly venture upon their summer seas in their crazy hulks, may take precedence of our highest officers.

We have referred to the prospect of a war with Great Britain, as a danger which it is impossible for prudence to overlook. To the grave questions of the settlement of the Northeastern boundary, and the occupation of the Northwestern Territory, are added new perplexities by the repeated search and seizure of our merchant vessels, on the coast of Africa and elsewhere. The insulting report of the chairman of our late Committee of Foreign Affairs, (nations sooner forget injuries, than insults,) and the dishonorable mismanagement of the Bank of the United States, have deeply embittered the public mind in England, and would go far to create a unanimity of feeling in a war with this country. It is notorious that the latter transaction has excited an universal, as it is a just, indignation, through sympathy with the numerous sufferers, who, not perfectly understanding the separation of the bank from the government, or relying with an undue confidence upon the judgment and integrity of its directors, have been reduced to poverty by its failure. But in reciting these grounds and evidences of ill-feeling in England towards the United States, let us not be misunderstood. We desire peace earnestly, heartily. We believe it to be the highest interest of this country, of England, of the civilized world, —

of humanity. Nevertheless, the thought of a war, if it is not to be honorably escaped, causes us no extreme anxiety. Acquainted with the resources of the United States, confident of the spirit of the people, faithfully trusting in the destiny of this wide spreading nation, the sound of war we regard not as the note of alarm, but as the call to preparation. Only, if it must come, let it find us ready at our quarters. Let us have no cause hereafter to mourn over a useless waste of blood and treasure ; to lament the extravagant expenditure which will follow upon hasty and irregular construction and equipment, and, what would be still worse, the unprofitable loss of lives thrown away in unequal combat. Remembering how much of this preparation is to consist of an efficient navy, we shall do well to take to our minds the wise suggestion of Burke, that, " of all the public services, that of the navy is one in which tampering may be of the greatest danger, which can be worst supplied upon an emergency, and of which any failure draws after it the longest and heaviest train of consequences." The ocean is the proper field for deciding any controversy in which we may be engaged, and on that field our power should be concentrated to the utmost. Thither every auspicious indication points, and there the whole heart and soul of the country will go with her defenders. This is especially true, if England is to be our enemy. England has built her citadels on the deep, and it is there we must strike to wound her mortally. There " we are touching the very apple of her eye, reaching the highest feather in her cap, clutching at the very brightest jewel in her crown." It is a glory reserved for some administration, we hope the present, by a reorganization of the naval corps, by the creation of Admirals, by a large and sustained increase of the number of active cruisers abroad, and by the equipment of an efficient squadron at home, to give a new life and impulse to the service, and effectually to secure the country from the foot of the invader. It is a distinction yet to be enjoyed by some head of the navy department, to originate a new and most important era in the existence of the navy, and identify his name with its future usefulness and honor.

We trust this distinction may fall to the lot of Mr. Badger. It is now we look, and have a right to look, for a grand and comprehensive effort. We call upon the party in power to carry out the highly favorable views they have always declared

upon this subject. We remind Mr. Badger of the deep responsibility resting upon him, and of the high expectations formed of his administration. We would entreat the President of the United States to hasten the time when, in the language of his address, "the Navy, not inappropriately termed the right hand of the public defence, which has spread a light of glory over the American flag, in all the waters of the earth, shall be rendered replete with efficiency."

Art. IV. — *Œuvres de* George Sand. Bruxelles: Meline, Cans, et Compagnie. 1839. Trois Volumes. Grand in-8.

The powers of external nature become an object of study and reflection to the man of science, not only in their quiet and ordinary operation, by which the chain of being is preserved and the machinery of the universe does its work, but also in those occasional starts and aberrations, which at irregular intervals appall the observer and seem to menace the destruction of the whole fabric. The invisible and mysterious fluid, which many consider to be the hidden cause of the secret affinities and repulsions by which the primary particles of dissimilar substances act on each other, and hence as one of the most beneficial and efficient instruments in nature's laboratory, at times collects itself in fearful force, to rain in fire from the clouds, cleaving the firm-set oak, prostrating the rock-founded labors of the architect, and stopping by a single touch the issues of life in man himself. The springs of motion around and above us, which keep the mass of the atmosphere from stagnating and generating disease, sometimes also send forth the tornado, as it were to sweep a track of ocean and land with the besom of destruction. Volcanoes and earthquakes, sudden famine and epidemic disease, are alike objects of research to the curious student of nature with those peaceful phenomena, recurring at fixed periods, which make the earth the garden and palace of man. Often, indeed, the violent and unlooked-for outbreak supplies more pregnant hints than the ordinary workings of physical agents for the explanation of Nature's laws. The exception

suggests the theory, the accident makes known the principle. And the mind also is most effectually stimulated to its work, when a sense of danger impels us to investigate causes, and knowledge is courted not merely to gratify curiosity, but to afford protection.

So it is in the moral and intellectual world. The morbid anatomy of mind is studied, that the philosophy of health may be properly understood. The corrupt and pernicious products of a diseased literary taste, a reckless will, and a licentious imagination are held up as a warning, or carefully probed in order to lay bare the seeds of the evil, which may exist also in other soils, and there again at another time bring forth their appropriate harvest of sickness and death. That is but a blind caution, which would lead us to study only the healthy manifestations of life, and to pass silently over the baneful tokens in certain subjects, which show that maladies exist, and perhaps are eating out the very core of existence. Equally unwise is it to palliate the evil, by representing it as temporary, or negative, or weak, and therefore leaving it to be eliminated by chance and the lapse of time. The violence of the symptoms proves, that a robust constitution is attacked, and the crisis of the complaint may even increase the natural strength of the patient. To speak without metaphor, literary power may exist for evil as well as good, and even transcendent ability may be, and often is, exerted in disseminating paradox, sophistry, and skepticism. The evil cannot be successfully met by underrating it, or by undervaluing the power which is scattering it abroad. Bad books may be written with wonderful talent, and the merits of their execution may be freely admitted, while we point out and strive against their destructive tendency, and mourn over the prostitution of genius that appears in their pages.

Thus much by way of apology to our readers, for calling their attention to a contemporary, who, though belonging to another nation and writing in a foreign tongue, is already known to some among us, and whom the present taste for foreign literature and novel opinions may come hereafter to make a favorite with many. Within ten or twelve years, an extraordinary change has come over the spirit of French literature. After continuing for centuries in a cold and pedantic imitation of classical models, a Romantic school has suddenly risen up, and is now working with all the vigor and activity,

which usually accompany or produce great revolutions in literary opinions. Corneille and Racine have palled upon the taste, and the appetite now calls for the more exciting and perilous food, which the writers of *la jeune France* endeavour to supply. Time was, when Voltaire called Shakspeare a barbarian, when the delicate nerves of a French audience could not bear killing on the stage, and when their scrupulous taste rejected with disgust that mixture of farce and tragedy, that alternation of smiles and tears, of which nature and the old English drama present such frequent examples. *Mais nous avons changé tout celà* since the revolution of 1830. The French are imitators still, though Shakspeare and Goethe, Hoffman and Walter Scott, are now the models, and have pushed from their pedestals those nondescript figures of Greek gods and heroes, dressed in long periwigs and laced coats, which presided so long over the fortunes of the stage and the destinies of literature. As usual, the violence of the reaction has carried taste to the opposite extreme, and the spirit of the middle ages is now caricatured as remorselessly by modern French authors, as was the genius of Greece and Rome by their immediate predecessors. What is deformed, horrible, and grotesque, is now introduced not merely as an element in art, but to the exclusion of what is calm, beautiful, and pure. Violence is now done, not merely to the rule of the unities, which so long weighed like an incubus upon the genius of Gallic playwrights, but to all the laws of probability, consistency, and homogeneousness, which form the essence of the creative and imitative process. The guests at the literary banquet now sup full of horrors ; and all the springs of terror, violence, and crime are set in motion to stimulate their diseased and jaded appetites.

Of course, the change has not come peacefully about, or without strenuous opposition from the adherents of the former school. But the defenders are only a few literary veterans, Chateaubriand and others, *donati jam rude*, who, shut up in their last fortress, the French Academy, wage a feeble warfare against their youthful and fiery assailants. Even this position is at last invaded, for after a canvass of years, and great agitation of spirits and shedding of ink, Victor Hugo, the Corypheus of the new school, has just obtained the honors of the session, and is now enrolled among the "Forty." Dumas and Balzac must soon follow, and the abolition of the

Salic law may possibly be marked by crowning Madame Dudevant with the laurels of an academician. The populace have sided with the innovators, and the stage, which at Paris has even more influence than the press, of course follows the guidance of the many. Romance and the drama, indeed, have been the chief points of success with the modern school, and the mass of readers are, therefore, enlisted under their banners.

We have no inclination to trace out the characteristics of this singular revolution, any further than they may appear in a brief examination of the merits of the writer, whose works are now before us. Nor should we have alluded to the subject, if it were not that the peculiarities of our author, when viewed only in connexion with what was the spirit of French literature some dozen years since, would appear more startling and unprecedented than they really are. George Sand is but one of a numerous school, though in point of literary power, perhaps the first among them, not even Hugo excepted. Her writings are affecting, not merely the literary taste, but the political, religious, and social opinions of her countrymen, and are deeply interesting as a study, whether we consider them as producing, or produced by, the general fermentation of spirits, that is now going on in France. *Her* writings, we say, not forgetting the distinction of genders, for it is well known, that George Sand is a mere *nom de guerre*, under which Madame Dudevant chooses to appear in the authors' lists. Respecting her personal history, little can be ascertained from the thousand rumors with which the gossips of Paris amuse themselves, while speculating on the singularities of her character and writings. It is known, however, that, being unhappily matched in early life, she chose to set at defiance the laws of morality and the opinions of the world, by eloping from her husband and forming a connexion with another person. Scandal adds many piquant particulars of her impatience under the restraints which nature or custom have imposed on her sex, and of her desire to ape the manly character; that she smokes cigars and wears a frock coat, to say nothing of other habiliments, which are usually monopolized by the lords of creation. Such tales, whether well founded or not, would not require an allusion here, if they were not in keeping with the eccentricities of her published

theories, and did not manifest the impression that her works have given, respecting her private history.

The bulk of George Sand's writings consists of tales and romances, some fifteen or twenty of which have already appeared, following each other from the press in such quick succession as to evince great fertility of invention, and a perfect command of her resources. Some of them are novels, properly so called, with a due proportion of events and characters. Often, however, there is but a slender thread of incident, on which are hung copious disquisitions upon philosophy, religion, and social life. Sometimes the story is cast in a dramatic form, though evidently not intended for the stage. But, whatever garb her works assume externally, they are all pervaded with one purpose, and tend constantly in one direction. The same morbid imagination, the same gloomy and passionate spirit, at war with the world and the allotments of Providence, and discontented with itself, appear everywhere in her writings, and give a sad image of the temperament and feelings of the author. None but a mind and heart thoroughly diseased could pour forth such effusions, while the impetuosity of manner, the vivid descriptions, the eloquent portraiture of passion, and the richness of style prove, but too evidently, that a noble nature has gone astray. In point of vigor and originality of genius, she may well be classed with Rousseau, or, if the comparison be confined to her own sex, she may be placed even higher than Madame de Staël. She is less affected than the latter, and her style, equally rich, is more condensed and energetic. For eloquent and imaginative writing, the most brilliant passages of "Corinne," when placed beside many chapters of "Indiana," or "Valentine," will gain nothing by the contrast. Her pages bear no marks of the various, but rather superficial, learning, which appears in the "Allemagne," but her observation of life, though tinged by a morbid temperament, is even more keen, while her picturesque and glowing descriptions display a more perfect appreciation of external nature.

But the parallel, which these volumes naturally suggest, lies between their author and "the self-torturing sophist, wild Rousseau." We see in each the same wayward direction of a richly gifted spirit, the same ardent delineations and intense sensibility, pictures of life shadowed with similar gloom, and an equal command over the sympathy of the reader. Both

quarrel with the present institutions of society, and, setting its laws and censure at defiance, lose themselves in dreams about another condition of mankind, as fantastic and impracticable as a sick brain and a corrupted moral sense could well devise. A similar vein of egotism pervades their writings, — a disposition to make a confidant of the whole world, and to call for its sympathy by a free disclosure of individual passions and sufferings, of wearied affections and buried hopes, of both external and inward causes of unhappiness peculiar to themselves. Such revelations mark the inconsistency and waywardness of a singularly compounded character. The assumed lover of solitude, the pretended misanthropist, really lives only in the presence and sympathy of other men, whom he strives to interest and attach by throwing open without reserve the inmost sanctuary of his being, and exposing to the public gaze those shrinking thoughts and delicate communions with self, which ordinary mortals conceal with jealous and fearful care.

There is a difference between the two writers, however, in the manner and purport of these auricular confessions to the public. Rousseau tells every thing, down to the most trivial details. George Sand exposes, not the history of her life, but her character and feelings. She is silent about the external facts, but eloquent in expounding the sentiments and passions, to which the incidents have given rise. She is continually drawing her own portrait, though not writing her autobiography. The heroine in nearly all her tales, the central figure about whom all the interest and scenery are grouped, is a sister image to Byron's half fanciful, half real personation of self, — a proper consort for his gloomy and perpetually recurring hero. Of the two conceptions, perhaps hers is the more life-like and striking; it seems to embody more of actual experience, to be copied more faithfully from the life. Such a character is that of Indiana, in the novel of the same name, a work conceived and written with a greater flow of feeling, — with more of what the French call *epanchement de cœur*, — than any other of her productions. The character is that of a woman, who unites a morbid sensibility to an ardent temperament and great strength of purpose; in whom passion may burn with an intensity, that will threaten the frail though beautiful frame-work of life; who is harassed and oppressed with the weight of ties, which others find a consola-

tion and support; and who appears, at first, wasting away under mere inanity of feeling, — the patient, but dejected supporter of an objectless existence. At last, the heart finds its object, and the once smouldering fire breaks forth in all its power. She loves "not wisely, but too well," in defiance of the world's law and to the wreck of her own hopes, with an intensity only increased by the coldness, ingratitude, and utter worthlessness, of the favored mortal. Woman's love, according to this conception of it, is like the terrible and remorseless *Fate* of the ancient mythology, ever at hand to control her existence, vanquishing her reason, overruling all foresight, precaution, and delay, and, at last, conducting with sure steps the devoted subject to the loss of happiness and life. The passion comes unasked, must be offered where it is not sought, grows by insult and neglect, and finally destroys. Man is the unworthy and impassive recipient, — the terror, the master, the tyrant, of his feeble but nobler companion.

Such is the bitter view of woman's situation and destiny, drawn by a female hand, and charged with a depth of feeling and eloquence of manner, that speak plainly of drawing from personal experience. It is the outpouring of a mind, unconscious of moral restraint or religious hope, which has needlessly courted warfare with the opinions and institutions of the world, and found the punishment of its folly and wickedness within itself. A brief but energetic expression of her creed is put in the mouth of a favorite character. We dare not copy the whole, even by leaving it without translation. "*Infâme tyrannie de l'homme sur la femme! Mariage, institutions, sociétés, haine à vous! haine à mort!*"

As a theorist, our author is not entitled to the praise of originality. She would destroy the whole constitution of society as it exists at present, but has nothing to offer as a substitute except some indefinite notions, borrowed from Rousseau, respecting the freedom, simplicity, and happiness of mankind in a state of nature. The restraints imposed by human legislation are to be done away, the yoke of superstition is to be broken, the comforts and luxuries of civilized life to be resigned, and man is to become again an inhabitant of the woods, following no rule but that of appetite and impulse. A fierce attachment to the doctrines of liberty and equality, manifested as much by hatred towards all rulers and governments, as by sympathy with the governed, or pity for

the oppressed, is the basis of her political creed. Join to these opinions the wildest form of Mary Wolstonecraft's doctrine respecting the rights of woman, and you have the whole system of opinions, the inculcation of which appears to George Sand a more important object, than to interest her readers by pictures of real life, or astonish them by the products of an ardent and fertile imagination. Such doctrines are more the growth of temperament and passion, than of unsound reasoning, or of a curious and speculative understanding. They exist as feelings rather than reflections, and are supported not by sophistical arguments, but by appeals to sentiment and by varied illustration. They are avowed and defended with perfect earnestness and sincerity; and one might even be pleased with the eloquent and fanciful garb in which they are arrayed, perfectly secure against any danger from such extravagances, if the enjoyment were not checked by the gloom and misanthropy, which are continually breaking forth throughout these remarkable writings.

There must be something wrong in the constitution of the particular society, something unsound or corrupt in public opinion and practice, where such speculations as these take root and flourish, where not only writers are found to give them utterance, but a community to read and approve them. The present state of manners in France, we fear, too plainly exemplifies this remark. Marriages commonly formed from convenience without regard to inclination, the forms of religion remaining where the spirit and practice have long since died out, the general licentiousness of conduct which is the natural effect of such causes; — these are circumstances that would nearly justify a sensitive and partially diseased mind, which has some noble aspirations left, in giving vent to anger and regret at the view of a society and institutions producing such miserable fruits. That hotbed of civilization, a corrupt European capital, where refinement has passed into the worst form of elegant epicureanism, and debauchery is licensed by examples in high places, where the minor morals are lost sight of in the search after gain, and greater laws violated in the pursuit of sensual pleasure, presents a succession of scenes, in view of which a mind of a gloomy and imaginative cast may be pardoned for looking back with regret on the rudeness, ignorance, and simplicity of savage life. But we have no patience with such speculations, as we have

sometimes heard them caught up and repeated, in places where circumstances offered neither pretext nor palliation for their enormity. Government and laws, marriage and the other institutions of society, all the refinements of civilized life, are no toys to be pulled in pieces or thrown away at the suggestion of a crack-brained theorist, a declaimer about universal liberty and equality, or an enthusiastic admirer of savage simplicity. They are the gifts of Providence to a later generation, the slowly matured inventions of ages for the comfort and support of an otherwise weak, brutish, poor, and solitary being.

There are many passages in these volumes which repel sympathy by the spirit of gloom and violence which they exhibit, and not a few which will shock merely English readers from their indelicacy. The writer is resolute in her determination to unsex herself in the general tone and execution of her works, in the boldness of her theories, and the warmth and freedom of her descriptions. But, in spite of her efforts, the woman's pen appears throughout, — in the keen-sighted observation of life, the susceptibility to strong passion excited by comparatively trivial causes, and in the feminine acquaintance with all the intricacies and windings of the human heart. Notwithstanding many objectionable passages, she does not appear an intentionally licentious writer. In many particulars a different standard of delicacy, in respect both to action and conversation, exists among the continental nations of Europe, particularly in Italy and France, from that which obtains in England and America. On this subject, there is a good deal which is merely conventional in national codes of manners. What is only delicacy and propriety in one place is esteemed prudishness and false shame in another; whilst the state of morals in practice in the two cases may be the same, or, at least, not necessarily worse in the latter place than in the former. This different rule and estimate of shame may or may not appear in the literature of the two countries. While writers are occupied on subjects apart from everyday life, or are imitating a factitious model, an equal degree of purity will be preserved throughout their works. On the point of which we are now speaking, Corneille and Racine, — even the French classical school of the present day, Delavigne and others, — are unexceptionable. But the Romanticists attempt to delineate life and manners as they are, to hold the mirror up to the present nature. Greater license, then, appears in

their writings to foreign eyes, but it is not necessarily apparent when regarded from their point of view. A Parisian is not shocked by certain expressions and passages in novels and plays, is even unconscious of any cause of offence in them, because he daily hears and sees what is there described, while an English or American reader would throw the book into the fire. Both judge and act rightly, for what is harmless to the one is poison to the other. We may take an instance nearer home. The grossness of Shakspeare's comedies cannot now be tolerated on the stage, although they were first exhibited before a virgin queen, and a portion, at least, of the remaining audience belonged to the polite and refined classes. We apprehend there has been some illiberal, because mistaken, criticism in this respect on the modern French school, and we therefore explain the grounds of dissent from the harsher judgment. There is matter enough for regret and indignation in the view of George Sand's works, but we do not believe her style to be intentionally gross and corrupting. Would that we could say as much for some living English authors, the outside of whose productions is far more pure, but the intent and the actual tendency much more debasing.

Our account of the spirit and manner of this novelist must be taken with some qualifications, if applied to the whole collection of her published works. It is intended only for those among them, which are most characteristic of her genius, which are written with the most freedom and power, as the voluntary outpouring of a mind seeking the confidence and sympathy of the public, and not as a mere author by profession. The popularity of her books, the consequent urgency of publishers, and perhaps the calls on a stinted income, have made her of late somewhat a hack writer, abusing the fertility of her talent. Some of her later tales are evidently made to sell; they repeat the objectionable peculiarities of the former ones, but do not bear the impress of equal vigor and originality of mind. Though always well written, there is a repetition in the sentiment and characters, a poverty of invention in the plot, and a general languor of execution, which mark the indolent or exhausted author. Sometimes her admiration of German models leads to an affected mysticism and inflation of style, which are not wholly redeemed by great exuberance of language and forcible delineations of passion. One be-

comes impatient of fantastic displays of the imaginative faculty, and can hardly admire brilliant passages, when ignorant of the writer's general drift.

The least exceptionable of her writings, which affords also some glimpse of her theories and shows much of her peculiar genius, is the novel of "Mauprat." The plot is exceedingly simple, and the incidents rare, which is the case indeed with most of her tales. The scene is laid a few years before the opening of the French revolution, in a wild district of the western part of France. The hero of the story, Bernard Mauprat, by the early death of his parents, is thrown into the power of his uncles, who, sprung from a noble stock, but of a fierce and brutal character, lived together in the family castle, and by their violence and excesses became the terror and scourge of the vicinity. The ruined remnant of a family long distinguished for the outrageous abuse of its feudal privileges, their necessities have at last converted them into open brigands, who, entrenched in their stronghold, set at defiance the feeble police of the district, and by cruel exactions and robberies without, obtain the means of supporting their excesses and revelries within their walls. The interior of the gloomy tower of Roche-Mauprat, the character and life of its savage inmates, and the horrible scenes created daily by their riotings and cruelties, are all sketched with great vigor and distinctness. Thrown among them from infancy, wholly destitute of instruction, and the object of his uncles' wanton barbarity during childhood, the hero grows up a young savage, as fierce, daring, and hardened as the infernal crew with whom he is surrounded. The head of a younger branch of the same family, the Chevalier Hubert de Mauprat, is desirous of rescuing his young relative from such a life, and offers to adopt him as his heir; but the older Mauprats refuse their consent, and the Chevalier, that his fortune may not come into the possession of these wretches, marries, and gains an object for his affection and cares in an only daughter, who is left motherless at an early age.

This daughter, Edmée, having lost her way in the forest after a hunt, and being caught in a storm, takes refuge in the castle, being ignorant of the horrible character of the place and her savage entertainers. She is intended by them for a fate worse than death, and is allotted as a prey in the first instance to the young Bernard. An attack of the *maréchaussée*

upon the building calls away the elders, and the two cousins, each about seventeen years of age, are left with each other. She learns from him her situation and what awaits her, and though he now ascertains for the first time their relationship, it does not alter the brutal purpose of the young brigand. An admirably managed scene follows, in which, amid the din of the assault that is going on without and all the terrors of her position, she rallies her courage and woman's wit, and endeavours by promises and appeals to his nobler nature, to shun his violence, and even to persuade him to aid her escape from the castle. She succeeds at last; but as he is deeply enamored of her beauty, it is only after an oath, confirmed in the most solemn manner, that she will afterwards become his wife, that he consents to spare her and accompany her flight. She exacts from him a pledge, however, that he will keep this oath an inviolable secret, even from her father. The cousins escape by a secret passage, and soon after the attack by the soldiery succeeds, the castle is burnt, and nearly all the older Mauprats are slain. The good old Hubert de Mauprat receives Bernard with rapture as the preserver of his daughter's honor, adopts him into the family, loads him with kindness, which he receives like a young bear, and endeavours gradually to tame his ferocious and brutal spirit, and by education to convert him into a civilized being. The whole remaining plot of the novel turns upon the gradual success of this benevolent undertaking. It is the old story of Cymon and Iphigenia, or the brute who is tamed by love. Bernard is intractable enough at first, burns his books, menaces his relatives with a dagger, and keeps the whole house in confusion and terror. The only hold upon him consists in his ardent affection for his cousin, who with admirable tact works upon his sombre and furious moods, and gradually kindles up the sparks of a better and noble disposition, that lie beneath.

The character of the noble and charming Edmée is developed with great skill, suffering hardly a taint from the writer's erratic and gloomy philosophy of woman's nature. She is early touched by seeing the sparkles of Bernard's better nature, and loves long before she has ceased to fear him, while she is yet appalled by the recollection of the terrible and secret oath which knits their destinies, while she even wears constantly a knife to protect herself by death from his brutality. Through her watchfulness and energy, by the power of alter-

nate smiles and frowns, she leads the young wolf-whelp, as it were, with a silken thread, to the successive efforts by which he becomes an instructed, gentle, and true-hearted man. We must not forget one of her coadjutors in this good work, one who has not much to do with the business of the piece, but occupies a large portion of the canvass, because he is the exponent of George Sand's peculiar philosophy. Patience, as he is termed, is a rustic and self-taught philosopher, after Rousseau's model, a stoic in morals and an infidel in religion, who lives in the woods, feeding upon roots, and passes for a wizard with the peasants and a heretic with the church. A rooted dislike of labor or restraint of any kind has kept him wholly ignorant, for he cannot even read ; but his shrewd and penetrating intellect supplies the place of books, and enables him to confound the worthy curate, who, undertaking to call back this stray sheep to his flock, ends by becoming himself more than half a convert to the dreaded heretical opinions. An incident of Bernard's childhood makes the beginning of his acquaintance with Patience after an ominous fashion ; for having wantonly shot a tame owl, the only companion of the solitary, he receives a severe castigation from the indignant old man. Some boyish magnanimity of Mauprat, who does not take vengeance when he had it in his power, afterwards conciliates the good will of the recluse, and the two finally become fast friends. We must give our readers a glimpse of this favorite character in the writer's own words, as a specimen of her manner. In the following extract, it is Bernard who speaks,—the whole novel being written in the first person. He is wandering out of doors by night, in a fit of mingled anger and shame, having just suffered some reproaches from Edmée for his rudeness and want of docility.

" I was passing through some open pasture grounds, where clumps of young trees, placed here and there, threw a shade over the soft herbage. Large light-colored cattle rested motionless upon the short grass, and appeared as if absorbed in meditation. Towards the horizon rose some gently sloping hills, and their tufted summits seemed to sport in the pure moonlight. For the first time in my life, I felt the voluptuous beauty and the sublime emanations of the night. I revelled in some mysterious enjoyment ; it seemed that for the first time I beheld the moon, the hillocks, and the prairies. I remembered having heard Edmée say, that there was no finer spectacle than that of nature, and I was surprised at not having

learned this truth before. At times I thought of kneeling down to pray ; but I knew not how to speak to Him, and I feared to offend by improper supplications. Shall I confess to you a singular fancy which came upon me like a childlike revelation of poetical love through the chaos of my ignorance ? The moon shone so broad and clear, that I could distinguish the smallest flowers among the herbage. A small meadow daisy seemed to me so beautiful, with its white kerchief fringed with purple, and its golden chalice full of diamond dew-drops, that I plucked it and covered it with kisses, crying out, — " It is you, Edmée ; yes ! it is you ! I hold you ; you can no longer fly from me." But what was my confusion, when raising my eyes, I saw that there was a spectator of my folly. Patience was standing before me.

" I was so angry at being surprised in such an act of extravagance, that by an involuntary recurrence to my old fierce habits, I fumbled at my girdle for a knife ; but I had no longer either girdle or dagger. My silk waistcoat with pockets made me remember that I was bound to stifle my cut-throat disposition. Patience smiled.

" ' Well, what now ' ? said the recluse, in a calm and gentle manner ; ' do you think I do not know what the matter is ? I am not so simple, but that I can understand something ; I am not so old, but that I can see clear. Who is it, that shakes the branches of my yew tree, every time that the dear girl seats herself at my door ? Who is it, that follows us like a young wolf, with cautious steps among the coppice, whenever I am leading back the pretty child to her father ? And what harm is there in all this ? You are both young, both handsome, you are kindred, and if you only willed it so, you might become a worthy and excellent man, as she is a pure and noble maiden.'

" All my wrath subsided, at hearing Patience speak of Edmée. I had such a strong desire to converse about her, that I would even listen to reproaches, for the sole pleasure of hearing her name pronounced. I continued my walk side by side with Patience. The old man walked with naked feet in the dew. His feet, indeed, from the long disuse of shoes, had become so callous, that the roughest path did not affect them. His only covering consisted of trowsers of blue cloth, which, for want of suspenders, fell down to his hips, and a coarse shirt. He could not suffer any restraint in his dress, and his skin, hardened by exposure, was not sensible either to heat or cold. He has been seen, up to eighty years of age, walking bareheaded under a burning sun, or with his upper covering opened to the chilling blasts of winter. Since Edmée had watched over all his wants, he had preserved a sufficient degree of cleanli-

ness ; but in the disorder of his dress, and his dislike of every thing which passed the bounds of absolute necessity, — except to avoid indelicacy, which he always hated, — might be seen the cynic of former days. His beard shone like silver. His bald head was so smooth and polished, that it reflected the moonlight like water. He walked slowly, his hands behind his back and his head raised, like a man surveying his property. But most frequently his look was turned to the skies, and at intervals he cut short the conversation to say, as he pointed towards the starry vault, — 'See, only see, how beautiful it is!' He was the only peasant, whom I have ever seen to admire the heavens, or, at least, he was the only one who took notice to himself of the admiration." — *Tome premier*, p. 408.

The attempt to inform the intellect, and refine and soften the character of Bernard, of course, is crowned with ultimate success. But Edmée wishes to obtain from him, as the last proof of generosity, the voluntary relinquishment of the secret promise extorted on their first interview, and with this intention conceals her own love, and torments him by her coquetry. For his passionate affection, uncertain of a return, this bitter sacrifice, as it appears to him, requires a strong effort. But, in a fit of jealousy, he acquires this mastery over himself, sends her release from the oath to Edmée in a letter, and then, in despair, joins the party of the young Lafayette, and comes over to America to fight the battles of freedom. His stay in this country is marked with little incident, except the formation of a friendship with the young soldier and naturalist, Arthur, whose character is lightly, but agreeably, sketched, and the sudden appearance of an old and humble friend, who comes over to join him in contending for the rights of humanity. Marcasse is a sententious and philosophical rat-catcher, an old companion of Patience, whose opinions he has imbibed, while a roving disposition and a quixotic spirit incite him to carry out these theories into action. Six years of absence, hardship, and adventure, complete the probation and establish the character of Mauprat, while his passion for his noble cousin remains still fresh as at its commencement. The following extract describes the return of the wanderers home.

"When we came near Varenne, we dismissed the post-chaise, and took a short cut through the woods, towards the chateau. When I saw the venerable tops of the trees in the park rise above the undergrowth, like a solemn procession of

Druids through the midst of a prostrate multitude, my heart beat so violently, that I was compelled to stop. 'Well!' said Marcasse, turning towards me a look almost severe, as if he blamed my weakness; but a moment afterwards I saw his philosophy put to the test by an unexpected cause of emotion. A little plaintive yelping, and the touch of a fox-like tail between his legs, made him start, and he uttered a loud cry as he recognised Blaireau. The poor animal had perceived his master afar off, and had run, with all the swiftness of his younger days, to roll himself at our feet. We thought, at first, that he was dying, for he remained motionless and bent together under the caressing hand of Marcasse; then, suddenly rising, as if struck with an idea worthy of a man, he ran off, at full speed, towards the cottage of Patience.

"'Yes, go and inform my friend, my brave dog!' cried Marcasse; 'a better friend than you, would be more than a man'; and turning towards me, I saw two big drops rolling down the cheeks of the stoical hidalgo.

"There were so many changes around the hut, that I feared I should no longer find Patience in this habitation. Then a greater fear came upon me; our voyage had lasted more than four months, and for a half-year before embarkation, we had heard nothing from the recluse. But Marcasse felt no inquietude; Blaireau had told him, that Patience still lived, and the dog's footsteps, freshly printed on the sand, showed what direction he had taken. At last, I became impatient; the path seemed interminable, though really very short, and I began to run, my heart bounding with emotion. 'Edmée,' said I to myself, 'is perhaps there.'

"She was not, however, and I heard only the voice of the solitary, who was saying; 'Ah! what now? has the poor old dog gone mad? Down, Blaireau! you would not have teazed your master thus. See what it is to spoil these creatures.'

"'Blaireau is not mad'; said I, entering; 'but have you become deaf to the approach of a friend, master Patience?'

"Patience dropped upon the table a sum of money, which he was counting, and came towards me with his old cordiality. I embraced him; he was surprised and touched at my joy. Then, looking at me from head to foot, he was wondering at the change in my person, when Marcasse appeared in the doorway. Patience, with a sublime expression, then cried out, as he raised his broad hand to heaven; 'Now would I die, for mine eyes have seen him whom I awaited.' The hidalgo said nothing, but touched his hat as usual, and then, sinking down upon a chair, he became pale and closed his eyes. His dog leaped upon his knees, and showed his affection by a feeble

and repeated yelping. Trembling with old age and joy, he stretched out his pointed muzzle towards the long nose of his master ; but he was not answered as usual, 'Down, Blaireau !' Marcasse had fainted.

"This loving soul, which knew no better than that of Blaireau, how to manifest itself in words, had sunk under the weight of its happiness. Patience ran to obtain a large goblet of common wine, and made him swallow a few drops, the strength of which revived him. The hidalgo excused his weakness, by attributing it to fatigue and heat ; he was not willing, or knew not how, to assign the real cause. There are minds which die out, after having burned with aspirations after all that is beautiful and grand in the moral world, without having found the means, even without being conscious of the desire, of manifesting themselves to others.

"When the first transports had subsided, Patience, who was as communicative as his friend was silent, exclaimed ; — 'Ah ! captain, I see you have no wish to remain here long. Go quickly, then, to the place you are so eager to visit. I promise you, they will be surprised and delighted to see you.' We walked together through the park, and on the way, Patience explained to us the change which had appeared in his dwelling and mode of life.

"On mounting the steps of the chateau, I clasped my hands, and, overcome with a religious feeling, called for heavenly aid, as if with a sense of terror. Some vague fright came upon me ; I thought of every thing, which might prevent my happiness, and hesitated before passing the threshold. Then I sprang forward. A cloud passed before my eyes, and indistinct murmurs filled my ears. I met Saint-Jean, who, not recognising me, uttered a loud cry, and threw himself before me, to prevent my entrance without being announced. I pushed him roughly aside, and he fell frightened upon a seat in the antechamber, while I bounded impetuously towards the door of the apartment. But, at the moment of reaching it, a new fear siezed me, and I opened the door so timidly, that Edmée, occupied with her embroidery, did not raise her eyes, thinking, from the little noise I made, that it was the respectful manner of Saint-Jean. The chevalier was dozing, and did not awake. This old man, tall and lean, like all the Mauprats, was now bent with age, and his pale and wrinkled head, which seemed already affected with the insensibility of the tomb, resembled one of the angular figures, carved in oak, which ornamented the back of his large easy-chair. His feet were stretched out before a wood fire, though the sun shone warm into the room, and a bright ray, falling on his white head, made it gleam like silver. But

how shall I describe to you what I felt in watching the attitude of Edmée? She was bent over her tapestry, and, from time to time, raised her eyes towards her father, as if to watch the slightest movements of his sleep. But how much patience and resignation appeared in her whole manner! Edmée disliked needlework; her mind was too serious to attach any importance to setting off one shade of color by another, or to displaying taste in the combination of various stitches. Besides, her spirits were impetuous, and when she was not absorbed in mental efforts, she needed exercise and the open air. But since her father, a prey to the infirmities of age, hardly ever quitted his easy chair, she no longer left him for a moment; and as she could not always read or find mental employment, she felt the necessity of adopting the feminine occupations, 'which are,' as she was wont to say, 'the amusements of captivity.' She had, therefore, heroically overcome the bent of her inclinations. In one of those hidden struggles with self, which often go on under our eyes, while we have no suspicion of the merit that attaches to them, she had not only subdued her character, but had changed her physical constitution. I found her attenuated, and her complexion deprived of that first bloom of youth, which is like the fresh vapor, that the breath of the morning deposits upon plants, and which disappears under the slightest touch, though it withstands the warmth of the sunbeams. But in this premature paleness and rather sickly habit of body, there was an indefinable charm. Her sunken and impenetrable look showed less pride, and more melancholy, than in former years; her mouth, more flexible, showed a more subtile and less scornful smile. When she spoke, it seemed that I saw her in two persons, the old and the new; and instead of losing, in point of beauty, in my eyes, she had completed the ideal of perfection. Yet I heard many say, that she had altered much, which meant, according to them, that she had lost much of her attractions. But beauty is like a temple, of which profane persons see only the external riches. The divine mystery of the artist's thought is revealed only to wide and generous sympathies, and the smallest detail in the great work tells of inspiration, which escapes the notice of the vulgar. One of your modern writers, I believe, has remarked this, though in other and better language. For my own part, Edmée never appeared to me less beautiful at one moment than at another; even in the hours of suffering, when beauty in the material sense appears to fade, hers became holy in my eyes, and revealed to me a new moral beauty, the reflection of which beamed forth in her countenance. Moreover, I have little feeling for the arts, and were I a painter, I could copy but one

model, that with which my heart is filled; for, in my whole life, but one woman has seemed beautiful to me, and that was Edmée.

"I remained some moments looking at her, pale, suffering, but calm, a living image of filial piety, of strength subdued by affection; then I sprang forward and fell at her feet, without power to utter a word. She said nothing, made no exclamation, but clasped my head in both her arms, and pressed it closely against her bosom. In this close embrace, in this mute joy, I perceived the impetuous feelings of our family, — I recognised my sister. The good chevalier suddenly awaked, with staring eyes, one elbow resting on his knee, and his body bent forward, gazed at us as he asked, — 'Well! what is the matter now?' He could not see my face, which was concealed on the bosom of Edmée; she pushed me towards him, and he pressed me in his old arms with a burst of generous aecfftion, which restored to him for a moment the vigor of youth." — *Tome premier*, p. 437.

The sentiment and narration in this passage are somewhat spun out, but it is beautifully written, and in a delicate and gentle spirit. *O si sic omnia.* The novel should end here, for the point of interest on which the whole plot turns, the attempt to humanize the character of Mauprat, is now exhausted, and no apparent obstacle remains to the union of the lovers. But the writer injudiciously protracts the story by a display of some idle coquetry on the part of Edmée, and by bringing to life again two of the old brigands, the uncles of the hero, whose malice embroils the action anew, and for a time threatens to be triumphant. One of them, in an attempt to assassinate Edmée, inflicts a severe wound upon her, under circumstances which seem to prove, that Bernard himself, in a fit of jealousy, had fired the fatal shot, and he is therefore put on trial for his life. This ridiculous and improbable incident is contrived, in order that Edmée, being called upon in court to explain the state of feeling between herself and the accused, may recount the whole history of her own love, and explain what seemed enigmatical in its commencement. Her narration, as given, shows a truly feminine experience with the affections, and a delicate observation of the intricacies of feeling and conduct; but the writer refines too much, and overdoes the work with a minuteness of detail, that spoils the effect. Through the evidence of Edmée, and the circumstances which are brought to light by the courage and fidelity

of Marcasse and Patience, the hero is at last acquitted, and the really guilty are seized and punished. The marriage of the cousins ends the story.

Far different from this generally pleasing tale is the novel of "Valentine," which is even more rich in flashes of genius, but shows more vividly also in its invectives against society, and in its pictures of ardent and gloomy passions, the unhappy and diseased condition of the writer's mind. There is nothing of the cynical spirit, the devilish sneer, with which some of George Sand's contemporaries and countrymen have imitated Voltaire in treating of the institutions of man and the higher interests of his better nature. Our author is too good a hater to assume this careless and mocking air, or to fight with such indifferent weapons. She wars against the moral creed, the existing opinions of the whole civilized world, with a hate that is too concentrated to vent itself in sarcasm. What the law of God and man has branded as crime, she boldly, fiercely, declares to be virtue, and the doer of the act, who suffers from its consequences, either through the natural course of events or from the punishment directly inflicted by an outraged community, is eulogized by her as a hero and a martyr. One of the principal interlocutors in her tale of "Leila,"—which, by the way, is no tale, but rather a dialogue and correspondence between a knot of individuals, all fighting most manfully against the world,—is a branded galley-slave, or, in our phrase, a genuine "state-prison bird," who has imbibed in some inexplicable fashion the most lofty and magnanimous sentiments, and now reasons against society from which he is an outcast, with all the coolness, decision, and certainty of a persecuted philosopher. The drift of the novel which is now before us, the lesson which the writer seeks to inculcate in "Valentine," if we understand it aright, is, that passion and impulse, when sincere, should be allowed their own way, for they have a sanctifying power, and purify from every taint of guilt all actions, however gross, that are committed under their influence. And the work is executed with so much power, such command of pathos in the description of suffering, and so much eloquence of invective, that the reader's feelings are enlisted before he is aware, and he goes on under a species of fascination, though tempted at every moment to throw the atrocious book into the flames.

We can give but a meagre sketch of its contents, for it

abounds in passages, with a mere abridgment of which we cannot sully our pages. The hero is a young man, born in the lowest station of life, and left a poor orphan at an early age, but who has received, through the bounty of an uncle, a wealthy old farmer, an education far beyond that of a mere peasant, and which, acting on a proud and sensitive temperament, has only made him discontented with his situation, his best friends, and himself. Though plain in person, he is gifted with some indefinable attractions, for he secures the affection of three beautiful women, with each of whom in turn he fancies himself enamoured, though his love finally centres on the heroine of the story, the hapless Valentine. One of the three is his own cousin, the only daughter of the good Lhery, to whom he is betrothed with the promise of a large dowry from the indulgent parents. But the pretty Athenaïs is a village coquette, whose airs and finery have become wormwood to the wayward Benedict, though the poor girl is ardently attached to him, and he once thought himself subdued by her charms. Another despairing *inamorata* is Louise, the daughter of the haughty De Raimbaults, whose *château* is in the neighbourhood of the farm house. She had been seduced, and consequently expelled from her family by a vindictive stepmother, and after wandering a homeless outcast for some years, has at last found a shelter under the roof of the all-benevolent Lhery, though without the knowledge of her relatives. Her superior refinement and education captivate for a time the heart of Benedict, and she really returns his affection, though she suppresses her feelings and treats him coldly, in the fear of appearing ungrateful to her kind but humble benefactors.

The story opens with a scene at the farm house, where the characters of the good farmer and his wife, of the lively and frivolous Athenaïs, and the pensive Louise, are lightly but pleasantly sketched. The party, except Louise, are on the point of setting off with Benedict to a village *fête* in the neighbourhood, where the noble families and peasants were to enjoy themselves together by a dance in the open air. As a fair sample of our author's skill and taste in describing natural scenery, we extract a portion of the account of their ride.

"They were passing through one of those green lanes, which are called *traînes* in the village dialect; — a road so narrow that the little vehicle touched on both sides the branches of the trees, which bordered upon it, and Athenaïs was able to cull a large *bou-*

quet of hawthorn, by passing her arm, covered with a white glove, through the side window of the calash. Words cannot express the beauty and freshness of these faintly marked and crooked paths, which go winding capriciously along, under a continuous arbour of foliage, disclosing at every turn a new opening among the trees, still more green and shadowy than the former. When the noon-day sun reaches even to the stems of the tall and thickset grass in the open fields, when the hum of insects is loudest, and the quail clucks forth his love in the furrows, freshness and silence seem to take shelter in these green lanes. You may walk there for an hour without hearing any other noise than the sudden flight of a blackbird startled by your approach, or the leap of a little frog, green and shining like an emerald, which was sleeping in its hammock of entwined bulrushes. The ditch itself contains a whole world of inhabitants and a forest of vegetation ; its limpid water runs noiselessly on, purifying itself through the clay, and softly caressing its banks of cress, balm, and liverwort ; the tall plants, which are called water-ribbons, and the pendant and fibrous aquatic mosses quiver continually in its little silent pools. The yellow wagtail hops along the sand with an air at once roguish and timorous. The clematis and honey-suckle shade the arbours where the nightingale hides its nest. In the spring time, all is perfume and flowers ; in the autumn, purple berries cover the branches which were the first to blossom in April ; the red haw, of which the thrushes are so fond, takes the place of the flowering hawthorn, and the brambles, spotted with tufts of wool, which the sheep have left upon them in passing, are reddened with the small wild mulberry, so delicious to the taste."

At the *fête*, Benedict, for the first time, sees Valentine, the half-sister of Louise, who comes there in company with her haughty mother and the silly and selfish old Marquise, — a capital sketch, — her grandmother on the father's side. She is escorted, moreover, by M. de Lansac, a smooth and supple courtier and man of the world, to whom she is engaged and shortly to be married. We extract the passage that describes the first impression which her beauty made upon the sickly and sensitive temperament of Benedict.

" She did not please him. He had formed to himself an image, which he did not wish to see destroyed, of a slender beauty, with a pale face, dark and glowing eyes, a Spanish air, and a light step. Mademoiselle Valentine did not realize this ideal type. She was fair, light-haired, calm, blooming, with a form well developed and perfectly beautiful in all respects. She had none of those faults, with which his sick brain had be-

come enamoured by the sight of those works of art, where the pencil, by throwing a poetical air over ugliness, has rendered it more attractive than beauty itself. Besides, Mademoiselle de Raimbault showed a gentle but positive dignity of manner, which was too imposing to charm at the first sight. In the curve of her profile, the softness of her hair, the graceful bend of her neck, and the breadth of her white shoulders, there were a thousand points to remind one of the court of Louis the Fourteenth. One could see that a whole race of noble ancestry was requisite to produce such a combination of pure and noble features, — all those semi-royal graces, which came slowly to view, like those of a swan sailing about in the sunbeams with a majestic langour.

"An hour afterwards, Benedict found himself carried by the crowd towards the ladies de Raimbault. His uncle, who was speaking to them hat in hand, came to take him by the arm, and presented him to them.

"Valentine was seated on the turf, between her mother, the countess, and her grandmother, the Marquise de Raimbault. Benedict was not acquainted with either of the three; but he had so often heard them spoken of at the farm, that he was prepared for the scornful and icy salutation of the one, and for the familiar and communicative reception of the other. It seemed that the old Marquise, by her affable manner, wished to make up for the contemptuous silence of her daughter-in-law. But through all this affectation of popularity might be seen the insolent, protecting air that belonged to a feudal age.

"'How! Is that Benedict? Is that the dear moppet, that I have seen as a baby in his mother's arms? Good day to you, my boy! I am delighted to see you so tall and looking so respectably. You are the very image of your mother. We are old acquaintances, you know. You are the godson of my poor son, the general, who was killed at Waterloo. It was I who presented you with your first frock; but you recollect nothing about it. Let me see; how long ago was that? You ought to be at least eighteen years old.'

"'I am twenty-two, Madame,' answered Benedict.

"'Bless me,' cried the Marquise, 'already twenty-two! See how time passes. I thought you were of the same age with my granddaughter. You do not know my dear girl! There, look at her! Valentine, say good day to Benedict. He is the nephew of the good Lhery, and is to marry your little playmate, Athenaïs. Speak to him, my dear!'

"This request might be translated thus: 'Imitate me, heiress of my family! Become affable and popular, in order to save your head through the revolutions that are to come, as I

have saved mine through those which are past.' But Mademoiselle de Raimbault, whether from tact, habit, or natural frankness, by her look and smile calmed all the anger which the impertinent kindness of the Marquise had kindled in Benedict. He had turned a bold and mocking glance towards her; for his wounded pride had relieved him in a moment from the bashful awkwardness of his years. But the expression of that beautiful face was so soft and gentle, the sound of that voice so soft and soothing, that the youth bent down his eyes and blushed like a young girl."

The two dance together afterwards, and on the return of the party at night, an accident brings their acquaintance with each other to a still more familiar footing. Valentine loses her way in the forest, and is met by Benedict, who not only acts as her guide, but assists her to an interview with the poor exile Louise. The meeting of the two sisters is described with great simplicity and pathos. Benedict afterwards becomes the messenger between them, and through his agency Valentine frequently visits the farm without the knowledge of her relatives. Her youth and beauty soon efface the recollection of his former loves, and he becomes desperately enamoured of her. There is nothing very strange in this, but it is highly improbable, that his affection should be returned by one in Valentine's superior station, already on the point of a marriage, to which hitherto she has manifested no particular repugnance; especially, as the young peasant is not represented as possessing any remarkable gifts either of person or address, wherewith to forward his suit. But such is the theory of the tender passion held by the modern Romanticists, that it depends on secret and mysterious sympathies, and thus most frequently manifests itself where there is least cause for its existence. Young people fall in love, as children take the measles or the hooping cough, when often no direct cause of infection can be traced, and the little patient hardly knows what his sickness means. The luckless Valentine remains ignorant of the state of her own heart, till the very eve before the day fixed for her marriage with M. de Lansac. Then an interview with her frantic lover ends only in tears and protestations, and they separate with no plan fixed for the morrow. In the mean time Benedict has quarrelled with the excellent Lhery, and refused the hand of the pretty Athenaïs, who in mere spite accepts the offer of Pierre Blutty, a wealthy young

boor of the village, and her marriage is to take place on the same day with the more splendid nuptials at the château.

The fatal eve produces some scenes of frightful violence and despair, which the writer describes with great minuteness and force, but which we must pass over entirely. On the next day the heartless Lansac goes off on a diplomatic mission, leaving his still maiden bride in a brain fever, while the miserable Benedict is picked up from a ditch near the château, having shot himself in the head. This event would seem to be the *finale* of his history, for, "the times have been, that where the brains were out, the man would die." But this law does not apply to the heroes of French romance, who have often as many lives as a cat. The ball had fractured the skull, but life remained, and there were some hopes of his recovery. He is carried to a miserable cottage near by, now his only home, and there carefully nursed by the wretched Louise. The physician having charge of the two patients sagely conceives that the fever of the one and the wound of the other may be benefited by giving them an interview with each other; this event is brought about, and the result answers his expectations. Struck by the frankness and generosity displayed by Valentine, Benedict solemnly pledges himself to respect her innocence, and the pleasure of daily interviews and of unrestrained communication with each other soon reëstablishes the health of both. The most affecting character in the group is now Louise, who, with a generous self-devotion and a broken heart, watches over and assists the progress of that love which is the death of her own hopes. The frightful vehemence of passion, which, disregarding appearances before the world, still preserves the purity of its object, is portrayed with a bold and skilful hand. This state of things continues till the return of M. de Lansac, who only takes advantage of the equivocal situation in which he finds the parties, to frighten his wife into making over the whole of her fortune to him, which is immediately sold to pay his gambling debts. The cool and mercenary husband then leaves them again to act as they please, and soon afterwards the news is received of his death in a duel. This event appears to release the lovers from all difficulties, and a union between them is immediately projected. But a frightful accident intervenes, and the history of their affection, always clouded with terror and misfortune, now ends in blood.

Since the loss of her estate, Valentine has found shelter in the house of Athenaïs, whose husband, Pierre Blutty, ignorant in great part of what has happened, discovers the stealthy visits of Benedict to the farm, and suspects that his own wife is the object of them. Mad with jealousy he waylays the lover one night, and, at the moment of his coming out of the house, strikes him dead with a rustic implement. The body is carried in, and the miserable Valentine is borne in convulsions to her chamber. Louise is summoned from the side of the corpse to attend upon her, and the following scene takes place between the sisters.

"Louise took a light, and bent down towards her sister. When these two women looked at each other, there was something like a horrible magnetism between them. The countenance of Louise expressed a ferocious contempt, an icy hatred. Valentine, her features stiffened with fright, sought in vain to avoid this terrible gaze, this vengeful apparition.

"'So,' said Louise, passing her furious hand through the dishevelled locks of Valentine, as if she was tempted to tear them out by the roots, — 'it is you who have killed him!'

"'Yes, it was I! I did it!' replied the stupefied Valentine, with a broken voice.

"'It has happened as it should,' said Louise, '*he* willed it so. He attached himself to your destiny, and you have destroyed him. Well! finish your task; take my life also; for my life was his, and I will not survive him. Do you know what double injury you have inflicted? Do you not flatter yourself with having effected so much evil? Triumph, then! You have supplanted me; you have torn my heart all the days of your life, and now you have plunged the knife into it up to the heft. It is well, Valentine; you have completed the work of your race. It was fated, that all my misfortunes should spring from your family. You have been the true daughter of your mother, — of your father, who also knew so well how to shed blood! It was you who drew me into these places, which I ought never to have seen again; you, who like a basilisk, have fascinated and kept me here, that you might devour my heart at your ease. Ah! you know not how you have made me suffer! Your success must have surpassed your hopes. You know not how I loved him, — him who is dead. You threw a charm over him, and he could no longer see clearly. Oh! I would have made him happy! I would not have tortured him as you have done! I would have sacrificed for him a vain pride and arrogant principles. I would not have made his life a torment to him. His youth, so beautiful and gentle, should

not have withered under selfish blandishments, like yours. I would not have condemned him to perish, wasted with sorrow and privation. Nor would I have drawn him into a snare in order to give him up to an assassin. No! He would have been at this moment full of freshness and life, if he had only chosen to love me. Accursed be your arts which prevented him from doing so!'

"In uttering these imprecations, Louise's strength gradually left her, and she ended by falling in a fit at her sister's side. On her return to consciousness, she recollected nothing of what had been said. She nursed Valentine with tenderness, and overwhelmed her with caresses and tears. But nothing could efface the frightful impression, which this involuntary confession had caused. In the paroxysms of fever, Valentine would throw herself into her sister's arms, and beg for pardon with all the terror of madness. Eight days afterwards she died." — *Tome premier*, p. 360.

We have had some misgivings in placing before our readers even such an imperfect sketch of this remarkable work. There is much, which is offensive to sound principle and a pure moral taste, in the very design of such a book; and its execution and details often outrage, still more directly, all the fixed opinions and delicate feelings of a well-balanced mind.

Great talent displayed in this way forms an object, which we view with mingled curiosity and alarm. It is here occupied on an apotheosis of lawless passion, on an attempt to hallow the law of impulse and appetite, as paramount in obligation to the usages of society, and to all institutions of man's device. The object of the writer is, to enlist the reader's sympathies on the side of Benedict and Valentine, on the side of criminal and misplaced affection, and against the bond of marriage and the cold and heartless people of the world, who wish, forsooth, that this sacred tie should be observed, and that the natural divisions in society should not be broken down. The compromise, which she would effect, with purer and better sentiments is curious. Passion is selfish, seeking only its own end, and in its progress slighting or breaking through the welfare and rights of others. That it may not appear wholly odious, therefore, it must be qualified with a maudlin sensibility, and a fantastic sense of honor. It must make a parade of self-denial, where indulgence would be guilt of treble dye, and take praise to itself for not rushing further than it does, into the abyss of violence and crime. This

affectation of magnanimity, this pretension to a more refined and exalted virtue, where the ordinary principles of morality are coolly set aside, or openly censured, is the most objectionable and dangerous point of all. A false estimate of the comparative value of various feelings and actions, an improper standard of excellence in point of conduct, having regard only to a romantic and impracticable generosity and a destructive vehemence of passion, is at the bottom of the pernicious influence, which writers of this class, the school of over-heated romance, constantly exert. May our own literature of fiction never be visited with a similar spirit, or undergo a crisis like that of the "Storm and Pressure" period in the history of German letters, the vigor and freshness of which form no compensation for its corrupting stimulus and debasing tendency!

We have exhibited enough of the matter, which George Sand works up into her novels, to show, that a single passion, — the favorite one, it is true, of imaginative writers, — forms the groundwork in most of her plots, and supplies the chief interest of the story. Her harp has but one string; the burden of her song is "love,—still love." It is a dangerous topic to speculate about, and her philosophizing turn gives rise to theories, which are fanciful and erratic enough. The most singular of her whims is one to which we have already alluded,—the idea of representing woman as the victim of this passion, as the first to acknowledge its power, and, therefore, as compelled to beg a return of affection from those by whom it is grudgingly yielded, or totally withheld. Nearly all her heroines fall in love before they are asked to do so, and then go whining about, complaining of the coldness of other people's hearts, when they ought only to strive against the overwarmth of their own. This notion of our author is the more remarkable and inconsistent, because, in every other respect, she shows herself such a resolute champion of the rights and superior endowments of her sex. The tyranny of man is the constant object of her invective, and the contrasts which she draws between the various characters in her novels, are often any thing but flattery to the male part of creation. Well, — the old-fashioned theories, on this point, were doubtless framed by those same "odious men-creatures," and if there is any disposition now to revise the decision of past ages, it is but reasonable, that the court should be opened, and an impartial

hearing granted to the fair advocates. We will trust, without any over anxiety, to the verdict of a jury, composed in equal proportions of the most enlightened and sensible of both sexes.

One of the most pleasing, yet melancholy, of our author's shorter stories, André, comes directly in point in this connexion. We can give but a brief sketch of it from memory, as the book is not at hand. Woman's superior fortitude and strength of purpose forms the lesson to be illustrated. Geneviéve is a poor girl, destitute of education, relatives, or friends, who leads an entirely solitary life in a small village, supporting herself by making artificial flowers, and enjoying, as her sole recreation, an occasional ramble in the fields, in search of natural ones. A beautiful picture is drawn of this uninstructed but loving child of Nature, with her innate feeling of purity, which leads her to guard by the strictest seclusion against the contaminating influence, the joyous but over-free society of those of her own sex and condition; and of her passion for plants and flowers, in studying and imitating which, she finds amusement and support. The son of a neighbouring *seigneur* meets her once or twice in her excursions, and, of course, falls desperately in love. But her shrinking delicacy, and the modest prudence of her mode of life, throw great obstacles in the way of his attachment. Still, his own amiable and timid character, and her thirst for knowledge, gradually smooth the way; beginning as her instructor, he is gradually installed as her lover. An imperious and brutal father, of whom he stands in great awe, creates all manner of difficulties; but in spite of his opposition and the pressure of circumstances, true love finds its way. The hitherto sleeping energies of this delicate and beautiful girl are finely brought out and contrasted with the sickly irresolution and moral cowardice of her admirer. He falls dangerously sick, at last, from disappointment and vexation, and she braves all obstacles, forces her way into the house, overawes even the coarse and violent parent by the dignity and resoluteness of her manner, and, by her presence and watchful care, restores the love-sick youth to health. They are finally united, and the exasperated father banishes him from the house. Absolute want now menaces the young couple, and the feeble André cannot even muster resolution enough to compel his unjust parent to surrender a small property, which is his by inde-

pendent right. His noble companion supports both him and herself by the proceeds of her unremitting toil, and strives to prevent him from sinking into utter despondency. Still, the supply obtained by her labor is scanty, and actual privation rapidly wears upon an originally delicate constitution. Her fair fame had suffered before their union, and the sense of shame, the struggle against her husband's weakness and melancholy, and apprehensions for the future, gradually waste her powers, and bring on a fatal illness. She dies just when a better fate in life had opened upon them, and her husband is content to live and mourn for her.

Nothing can be more simple and touching, than the outline and filling up of this interesting story. It is written with spirit and tenderness, the characters are sketched with graphic force, and the scenes of pathos are skilfully touched, without being over-wrought. The heroine is a charming ideal, a floweret, which seems so fragile, that a breath would scatter its leaves, yet clinging to its stem with a tenacity that marks a really vigorous growth. By her side, the poor-spirited and wavering André, yielding to the storm which he has not the resolution to face, sinks almost below pity. It forms an affecting picture, this being of superior station, education, and sex, looking for consolation and guidance to one for whom nature and circumstances seemed to point him out as a guardian and protector. But we are not sure, that the illustration will count for much in Madame Dudevant's theory and argument. The relation between the two parties in her story is striking, because it is new, and the chances are not much in favor of its frequent occurrence in real life. It is the good fortune of woman, occupying her present position in society, that exigencies do not often call forth such traits of character, even if they exist, and she ought rather to rejoice at the absence of any such occasion, than to long for a struggle with circumstances, that might exhibit her latent energies. But our author is not satisfied with this state of things, and returns to the defence of her speculations on this head in her dramatic sketch of "Gabriel." In this little work, more power is displayed, than in the one just noticed, though the morality of it is more questionable, and the chief incidents of the plot are fantastic, not to say extravagant and absurd. But there is great liveliness in the piece, and so much spirit in the characters, and variety in the action, that

we almost wonder, were it not for the abrupt termination of the play, that the Parisian theatre, which is not over scrupulous or delicate in catering for the public, does not appropriate it for the stage. The author may have written it with that intent, but we believe it has never been performed.

An old Italian prince, Jules de Bramante, has two sons, Julien and Octave, with the younger of whom he has quarrelled, and he therefore desires, that the title and estate may descend to the family of his favorite Julien. But the latter is childless, while Octave has a son, to whom, as the property is entailed upon the male heirs, it would seem that the inheritance must finally devolve. To the great joy of the old prince, however, a child is at last born to Julien, though it loses both father and mother almost at the moment of its birth. But unluckily the child is a girl, and the vengeance, which the old man had promised himself against the disobedient son, seems once more to escape his grasp. Italian cunning suggests a remedy for the difficulty. The secrecy of the nurse being secured, the infant is given out to be a son, is named Gabriel, and being sent off to a remote and secluded estate, is there actually treated and educated as a boy, under the care of an old preceptor and one or two ancient domestics. Not only is every care taken to keep the secret from the child herself, till the eve of her majority, when the truth is to be disclosed to her, but her education, which is very complete, is especially designed to inspire her with hatred and contempt for the sex, to which she actually belongs. The plot succeeds perfectly, and when the play opens with a visit of the aged Jules to the guarded retreat, he finds his grandchild perfectly versed in all manly exercises, with an open and courageous disposition, and, as yet, without any suspicion of the deceit, which has been carried on. But she has noble sentiments and a warm heart, and when the truth is disclosed, she breaks out into a passion of tears at her singular fate, at the wrong which has been done to others, and the deception to which she has been an unwitting party. Here is a fine field, evidently, for the developement of the writer's opinions respecting the injustice done to woman, and the false position, which is assigned to her by the verdict of society.

Another act opens with the adventures of Gabriel, or Gabrielle, as she must now be called, who, retaining her male

attire and designation as the young Prince de Bramante, sets off in search of her cousin Astolphe, whom she is determined to recompense for the wrong done to him by the malice of his grandfather. This Astolphe is a young scapegrace, whom imprudence and dissipation are constantly involving in difficulties, whence he is hardly rescued by fine talents and an open and courageous spirit. She finds him in a den of infamy, where she in fact saves his life by killing with her own hand one or two bravoes from a band, who attack them both in the hope of booty. When Astolphe learns that his young defender is the hated heir, who stands between him and the family honors, he at first rejects her proffered kindness; but he is finally overcome by her frankness and generosity, and consents to share her fortune. The two become inseparable friends. Some gay scenes follow, where Gabrielle plays her manly part to perfection among the wild companions of her cousin, while she insensibly falls in love with him, and he is troubled with a mysterious attraction towards his young relative, for which he cannot account. Accident at last discloses the truth to him, and as a natural consequence of the confessions which immediately follow, they are secretly married, and the young Prince de Bramante for a time disappears from the world. The remainder of the play is occupied with an entanglement of events to serve as a commentary on our author's favorite topic, — the foul ingratitude with which man repays the affection, magnanimity, and self-sacrifice of his feebler companion.

Our readers can now judge what an able and earnest champion the modern doctrine respecting the rights of woman has found in George Sand. We have exhibited more fully the portions of her works, which have a bearing on this subject, because the doctrine, whatever may be thought of its soundness, is the least objectionable among the farrago of strange opinions, which she espouses and defends with so much warmth and ability. Those who wish to know more of her views respecting the evils of the social state and the remedies which are applicable to them, may be satisfied by reading "Leila"; if curious further to ascertain something about her daring speculations on the subject of religion, we refer them to "Spiridion." For our own part, notwithstanding the vigor and eloquence with which both these works are written, far superior in point of style to either of her other publica-

tions, we have no heart to dissect and exhibit them, whether for exposure or refutation. A long wail of discontent and anger with the actual condition and opinions of the civilized portion of our race strikes harshly and gloomily upon the ear; and as we believe it proceeds from a mind incurably diseased, we are willing to let it die away without remark or censure. Though it has significance both as an effect and an omen among the countrymen of the writer, we would fain hope, that there is no congenial element to be affected by it on this side of the Atlantic, and that among us it would remain for ever without a response.

It has been remarked, that the study and imitation of German writers is frequently apparent in Madame Dudevant's writings, and our attempt to give some view of her genius in its various moods would be incomplete, if it afforded no specimen of her success in copying such models. We close this too protracted article with an extract from a very wild and Faust-like sort of drama, entitled "The Seven Strings of the Lyre," in which angels and demons play an active part. No account of the general plot and action of the piece is necessary, for it is characteristic of this species of writing, that a detached scene is quite as intelligible as the whole work taken together. The passage may stand, therefore, without introduction or comment.

"*Scene Third.* — ALBERTUS *and* HELENA.

ALBERTUS (*in great agitation.*) All my efforts are vain! It is mute for me, silent as Helena, silent as I am myself! How comes it, that my lips have so long been closed and my tongue fettered, like the vocal power within this instrument? Why have I never dared to tell Helena that I loved? Ah! the Jew has deceived me; he told me that this talisman would give me the eloquence of love; but the talisman has no power in my hand. God punishes me for having trusted to the power of phantoms, by taking away my last hope, and giving me to the horrors of despair! O solitude, I am, then, for ever thy prey! O desire, insatiable vulture, my heart is thy perpetual food. —(*He folds his arms, and looks mournfully upon Helena. The lyre falls and utters a loud sound. Helena starts and rises.*)

HELENA. It is your voice! Where are you then?— (*She looks anxiously around, and after some efforts to recover her memory, perceives the lyre, and seizes it with transport. Immediately the lyre rings loudly again.*)

ALBERTUS. What deep and frightful sounds! I no longer

believe in the power of the talisman ; but these tones fill me with anxiety and fear !

The Spirit of the Lyre. The hour is come, O daughter of men ! All my bonds with Heaven are now broken. Now I belong to the earth ; now I am thine. Love me, O daughter of the lyre ; open thy heart to me, that I may dwell there and may cease to inhabit the lyre.

The Spirit of Helena (*whilst Helena strikes the string of brass*). Mysterious being, who hast long conversed with me, and hast never shown thyself but to me alone, it seems that I love thee, for I can love nothing upon the earth. But my love is sad and congealed with fear. For I know that thy nature is superior to mine, and I fear to be guilty of sacrilege in daring to love an angel.

The Spirit of the Lyre. If you are willing to love me, O Helena ! if you dare to take me, and enclose me within your spirit, I am willing to lose myself there, to be absorbed for ever. Then we shall be united by an indissoluble marriage, and your spirit will see me face to face. O Helena, love me as I love ! Love is powerful, love is great, love is all ; God is love ; for love is the only thing in the heart of man, which can be infinite.

The Spirit of Helena. If God is love, it is eternal. Our marriage then will be eternal, and my death will not sunder its ties. Speak to me thus, if thou wilt that I should love thee ; for a thirst after the Infinite preys upon me, and I cannot conceive of love without eternity.

Choir of Celestial Spirits. Let us approach, let us surround them, let us hover above their heads ! Let the grace and power of God be here with us. The fatal hour approaches, the decisive hour for our young brother, a captive in the heart of the lyre. Soft spirit of harmony, thou canst not see, thou canst not hear us ! But thy bonds with us are broken, the strings of silver and gold no longer call us forth ; love alone brings us back to thy side. But an earthly love has seized upon thee, has taken away thy memory. Thou no longer knowest us ; thy mournful trial is accomplished ; thy fate is in the hands of a daughter of man. May she remain faithful to the divine instincts, which have preserved her hitherto from an earthly love. O powers of Heaven, let us unite, let us fill the air with the melodious beating of our wings !

Albertus. Behold her in ecstasy, as if she heard a divine language through the silence. O how beautiful is she thus ! Yes, her mind is open to the inspirations of Heaven, and her apparent madness is but the absence of the gross instincts of life. O charming creature, how I libelled thee formerly, when I doubted thy understanding ! How insane was I myself, when

I fought against the emotion which thy beauty inspired. It was an impious thought not to believe that the existence of so much outward beauty was united to that of an intellectual beauty equally perfect. Helena, the powerful tones which thou hast just caused me to hear have opened my soul to the harmonies of the higher world. I feel that thou art celebrating the fire of divine love, and this love fills my heart with delicious hope. Listen to me, Helena! I would fain say that I love thee, that I understand thee, that my love at last is worthy of thee. Listen to me, for the soul is a lyre, and as thou hast made the other vibrate by thy breath, thou hast awakened by thy look a secret harmony in the depths of my being. — (*He kneels by the side of Helena, who looks at him with surprise.*)

The Spirit of the Lyre. Helena! Helena! A powerful spirit speaks to you; a spirit still united with human life, but whose flight already measures the heavens! A spirit of reflection, of research, of knowledge! Helena, do not listen to him, for he is not, like you, a child of the lyre! He is great, he is just, he has light and hope; but he has not yet lived in the love, which is celebrated by the string of brass. He has loved men, his brethren, too much to be absorbed in thee. Helena, do not listen to him; fear the tongue of wisdom. You have no need of wisdom, O daughter of the lyre! You have need only of love. Listen to the voice which sings of love, and not to the one which explains it.

Albertus. Listen, listen, O Helena! Although the daughter of poetry, thou art bound to hear my voice; for it comes from the depths of my heart, and true love can never be devoid of poetry, however austere may be its language. Let me tell thee, young girl, that my heart desires thee, and that my intelligence has need of thine. Man alone is incomplete. He is truly man, only when his thought has inspired a soul in union with his own. Do not fear thy master any longer, O my dear Helena! The master wishes to become thy disciple, and to learn from thee the secrets of Heaven. The designs of God are obscure, and man can be initiated in them only through love. Thou who wast singing yesterday, in such a melting voice, of the crimes and misfortunes of humanity; thou knowest that blind and misguided men wander upon the slime of earth, like a flock without a shepherd; thou knowest, that man has lost respect for his ancient law; thou knowest, that he has forgotten love and polluted marriage; thou knowest that he has called with loud cries for a new law, a purer love, for broader and stronger ties. Come to my aid, and lend me thy light, thou whom a ray from Heaven has illumined. United in a holy affection, by our happiness and virtues, we will proclaim the will

of God upon earth. Be my companion, my sister and spouse, O dear inspired maid! Reveal to me the celestial thought, which thou singest upon thy lyre. Supported by each other, we shall be strong enough to beat down all the errors and falsehoods of the false prophets. We will be the apostles of truth; we will teach our corrupted and despairing brethren the joys of faithful love and the duties of families.

Helena (*playing upon the lyre*). Listen, O spirit of the lyre! This is a sacred song, a rich and noble harmony; but I hardly comprehend it, for it is a voice from the earth, and my ears have long been closed to earthly harmonies. The silver strings resound no longer, the strings of steel have become mute. Explain to me the hymn of wisdom, thou who hast descended from heaven among men!

The Spirit of the Lyre. I can no longer explain any thing to thee, O daughter of the lyre! I can only sing to thee of love. Science I have lost, I have lost it with joy; for love is greater than knowledge, and thy soul is the universe where I would fain live, the infinite into which I would plunge. Wisdom speaks to thee of toil and duty; wisdom speaks to thee of wisdom; thou hast no need of wisdom, if thou hast love. O Helena! love is the highest wisdom; virtue is in love, and the most virtuous heart is that which loves the most. Daughter of the lyre, hearken only to me; I am a living melody, I am a devouring fire. Let us sing and burn together; let us be an altar, where flame may nourish flame; and without mingling ourselves with the impure fires, which men kindle upon the altars of false gods, let us nourish each other, and slowly be consumed, until, exhausted with happiness, our ashes shall mingle together, illumined by the rays of the sun, which make the roses bloom, and the doves sing.

Albertus (*to Helena*). Alas! thou answerest me only by a sublime song, which continually kindles in me more vast desires; but there is no sympathy between thy song and my prayer. Quit thy lyre, O Helena! thou hast no need of melody; thy thought is a song more harmonious than all the strings of the lyre, and virtue is the purest harmony which man can breathe forth towards God.

Helena (*touching the lyre*). Answer me, O spirit! O thou, whom I love, and who speakest the language of my spirit! Shall our love be eternal, and shall not death break our union? It is not in the rays of the sun, it is not in the calices of roses, it is not in the breasts of doves, that I can satisfy the love, which preys upon me. I feel it mount towards the infinite with ceaseless ardor. I can love only in the infinite; speak to me only of the infinite and of eternity, if thou wouldst not that the last cord of my heart should break.

The Celestial Spirits. Infinite goodness, eternal love, protect the daughter of the lyre! Leave not the spark of this divine fire to become extinct in agony! Celestial mercy, shorten the trial of the spirit, our brother, who languishes and burns upon the string of brass! Open thy bosom to the children of the lyre, let fall the crown upon the head of the martyrs of love!" — *Tome troisième, p.* 229.

Art. V. — *Biography and Poetical Remains of the late* Margaret Miller Davidson. By Washington Irving. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 16mo. pp. 359.

Miss Sedgwick, in her biographical sketch of Lucretia Maria Davidson, contained in Sparks's "American Biography," quotes a production of her younger sister, Margaret, written at the age of eleven years, and says, "May we be allowed to say, that the mantle of the elder sister has fallen on the younger, and that she seems to be a second impersonation of her spirit?" The volume before us confirms the truth of this remark, and the resemblance between the sisters has been made complete by the early death of the younger. We find manifested in Margaret those same moral and intellectual traits which characterized her elder sister, — the same delicacy of organization, the same sensibility, the same strength of affection, and the same remarkably developed intellectual capacity. The physiologist would add that they possessed, and probably inherited, the same diseased quality of brain, which explained their precocity and made an early death almost inevitable.

The memoir by Washington Irving, is as feeling and graceful as we should naturally expect to find any thing from his pen. Much of it is supplied by the mother, Mrs. Davidson, who is evidently of the temperament of genius, and from whom her daughters derived unquestionably their peculiar physical and intellectual organization. We quote a few introductory paragraphs: —

"The reading world has long set a cherishing value on the name of Lucretia Davidson, a lovely American girl, who, after giving early promise of rare poetic excellence, was snatched from existence in the seventeenth year of her age. An interesting biography of her, by President Morse, of the American

Society of Arts, was published shortly after her death ; another has since appeared, from the classic pen of Miss Sedgwick ; and her name has derived additional celebrity in Great Britain, from an able article by Robert Southey, inserted some years since in the London Quarterly Review.

"An intimate acquaintance, in early life, with some of the relatives of Miss Davidson, had caused me, while in Europe, to read, with great interest, every thing concerning her ; when, therefore, in 1833, about a year after my return to the United States, I was told, while in New York, that Mrs. Davidson, the mother of the deceased, was in the city, and desirous of consulting me about a new edition of her daughter's works, I lost no time in waiting upon her. Her appearance corresponded with the interesting idea given of her in her daughter's biography ; she was feeble and emaciated, and supported by pillows in an easy chair, but there were the lingerings of grace and beauty in her form and features, and her eye still beamed with intelligence and sensibility.

"While conversing with her on the subject of her daughter's works, I observed a young girl, apparently not more than eleven years of age, moving quietly about her ; occasionally arranging a pillow, and at the same time listening earnestly to our conversation. There was an intellectual beauty about this child, that struck me ; and that was heightened by a blushing diffidence, when Mrs. Davidson presented her to me as her daughter Margaret. Shortly afterwards, on her leaving the room, her mother, seeing that she had attracted my attention, spoke of her as having evinced the same early poetical talent that had distinguished her sister, and as evidence, showed me several copies of verses, remarkable for such a child. On further inquiry, I found that she had very nearly the same moral and physical constitution, and was prone to the same feverish excitement of the mind, and kindling of the imagination, that had acted so powerfully on the fragile frame of her sister Lucretia. I cautioned her mother, therefore, against fostering her poetic vein, and advised such studies and pursuits as would tend to strengthen her judgment, calm and regulate the sensibilities, and enlarge that common sense, which is the only safe foundation for all intellectual superstructure.

"I found Mrs. Davidson fully aware of the importance of such a course of treatment, and disposed to pursue it, but saw, at the same time, that she would have difficulty to carry it into effect ; having to contend with the additional excitement produced in the mind of this sensitive little being, by the example of her sister, and the intense enthusiasm she evinced concerning her.

"Three years elapsed before I again saw the subject of this

memoir. She was then residing with her mother, at a rural retreat in the neighbourhood of New York. The interval that had elapsed had rapidly developed the powers of her mind, and heightened the loveliness of her person, but my apprehensions had been verified. The soul was wearing out the body. Preparations were making to take her on a tour for the benefit of her health, and her mother appeared to flatter herself, that it might prove efficacious ; but when I noticed the fragile delicacy of her form, the hectic bloom of her cheek, and the almost unearthly lustre of her eye, I felt convinced that she was not long for this world ; in truth, she already appeared more spiritual than mortal. We parted, and I never saw her more. Within three years afterwards, a number of manuscripts were placed in my hands, as all that was left of her. They were accompanied by copious memoranda concerning her, furnished by her mother at my request. From these I have digested and arranged the following particulars, adopting, in many places, the original manuscript, without alteration. In fact, the narrative will be found almost as illustrative of the character of the mother as of the child ; they were singularly identified in taste, feelings, and pursuits ; tenderly entwined together by maternal and filial affection ; they reflected an inexpressibly touching grace and interest upon each other by this holy relationship, and, to my mind, it would be marring one of the most beautiful and affecting groups in the history of modern literature, to sunder them." — pp. 109 – 112.

The memoir of a young girl, who died before she had reached the age of sixteen, is of course uneventful. It is little more than the record of the growth of her mind ; in this case, a most extraordinary one. It is full of melancholy interest. We see a brain of preternatural and precocious activity enclosed in a frame of extreme delicacy and susceptibility, and that the latter must very soon wear out, is obvious from the beginning to an observing eye. And this same organization is productive of those winning and attractive traits which make the shock of separation doubly formidable to parents and friends, — gentleness, tenderness, and depth of feeling, religious sensibility, moral purity, and the beautiful impulses of genius. In such cases the conduct of parents is too apt to be injudicious and unwise, accelerating the progress which ought to be checked, and feeding the flame which ought to be quenched. How far the parents of Margaret Davidson erred in this respect does not distinctly appear in the memoir ; we

fear that they formed no exception to the common rule. It is, however, very difficult to know how to deal with a child of such an organization. To repress is almost as dangerous as to stimulate. If the hunger and thirst for knowledge be not gratified, the effects upon the frame, of the wasting disappointment, become as visible and alarming as those of too ardent application. It is probable that the most judicious training would not have reared either of these extraordinary beings to womanhood. The fire of genius and susceptibility must burn, and must consume the delicate frame. It is the sad price at which such gifts are purchased. The cypress is entwined with the laurel. Let not the father of a hearty, rosy child, whose head is more occupied with hoops and dancing-schools than books, envy the parents of such gifted beings as Lucretia and Margaret Davidson.

The portion of this volume, not occupied by the memoir, contains the literary productions of Margaret Davidson, consisting of an unfinished prose tale, written at the age of fifteen years, and a variety of poetical pieces. These last are certainly remarkable specimens of early ripening genius, and awaken admiration and astonishment. The following bears the date of 1831, when she was only eight years old.

"TO A FLOWER.

"The blighting hand of winter
Has laid thy glories low;
O, where is all thy beauty?
Where is thy freshness now?

"Summer has passed away,
With every smiling scene,
And nature in decay
Assumes a mournful mien.

"How like adversity's rude blast
Upon the helpless one,
When hope's gay visions all have passed,
And to oblivion gone.

"Yet winter has some beauties left,
Which cheer my heart forlorn;
Nature is not of charms bereft,
Though shrouded by the storm.

" I see the sparkling snow ;
I view the mountain tops ;
I mark the frozen lake below,
Or the dark, rugged rocks.

" How truly grand the scene !
The giant trees are bare,
No fertile meadows intervene,
No hillocks fresh and fair ;

" But the cloud-capp'd mountains rise,
Crown'd with purest whiteness,
And mingle with the skies,
That shine with azure brightness.

" And solitude, that friend so dear
To each reflecting mind,
Her residence has chosen here
To soothe the heart refined." — pp. 191, 192.

The following was written three years later, at the age of eleven. It is from a poem called " Boabdil el Chico's Farewell to Granada."

" The exiled monarch slowly turn'd away ;
He could not bear to view those towers again,
Which proudly glitter'd in the sun's last ray,
As if to mock their wretched master's pain.
His weeping bride press'd trembling near his form,
While sobs convulsive heav'd her snowy breast ;
But proud Ayxa bade their sorrows cease,
With scornful glances which she scarce represt.

" ' Chide me not, mother,' cried the mourning son,
' Nor charge me with unmanly weakness now ;
I grieve that Spain the royal prize has won,
That proud Granada to her kings should bow.'
He paused, and turn'd aside his glowing cheek ;
His wandering eyes Alhambra's palace met :
Those splendid domes, those towers for ever lost,
Lost, when the sun of Moorish glory set.

" ' Yes ! yonder towering spires are seized by Spain,
Their king an exile from his native land ;
Shall I ne'er view thy princely courts again,
But yield resistless to the victor's brand.

" 'Yes, thou art gone! thine ancient splendors fled;
O'er thy gay towers the shroud of slavery thrown;
Thy proudest chiefs, thy noblest warriors dead,
And all thy pride and all thy glory gone.

" 'Farewell to Alhambra, dear home of my childhood!
Farewell to the land I so proudly have cherish'd!
Farewell to the streamlet, the glen, and the wild-wood,
The throne of my fathers whose glory has perish'd!
'Neath the crest of Nevada the bright sun is setting,
And tinging with gold yonder beautiful river,
And his rays seem to linger, as if half-regretting
They must leave the clear waves where so sweetly they quiver.

" 'Farewell, thou bright valley! I leave thee with sorrow;
Thou wilt smile as serene 'neath the sun of the morrow;
But thine ill-fated monarch shall view thee no more,
He ne'er shall revisit thy beautiful shore.'
He paused, and the accents of heart-rending grief
Were borne by the wind past each murmuring leaf."
— pp. 223, 224.

The following, written at the age of fourteen, is interesting, not only from its poetical merit, but as showing how early the vague and melancholy aspirations of genius and sensibility found a place in her heart.

" FRAGMENT.

" O, I have gazed on forms of light,
Till life seemed ebbing in a tear,
Till in that fleeting space of sight,
Were merged the feelings of a year.

" And I have heard the voice of song,
Till my full heart gush'd wild and free,
And my rapt soul would float along
As if on waves of melody.

" But while I glow'd at beauty's glance,
I long'd to feel a deeper thrill,
And while I heard that dying strain,
I sigh'd for something sweeter still.

" I have been happy, and my soul
Free from each sorrow, care, regret,

Yet ever in those hours of bliss,
I long'd to find them happier yet.

" Oft o'er the darkness of my mind,
Some meteor thought has glanced at will,
'T was bright, — but ever have I sigh'd
To find a fancy brighter still.

" Why are these restless, vain desires,
Which always grasp at something more
To feed the spirit's hidden fires,
Which burn unseen, unnoticed soar ?

" Well might the heathen sage have known
That earth must fail the soul to bind,
That life, and life's tame joys alone,
Could never chain the ethereal mind."

— pp. 268, 269.

The following was written at the same age, and has all the smoothness and easy flow of a practised writer ;

" TWILIGHT.

" Twilight ! sweet hour of peace,
Now art thou stealing on ;
Cease from thy tumult, thought ! and fancy, cease !
Day and its cares have gone !
Mysterious hour,
Thy magic power
Steals o'er my heart like music's softest tone.

" The golden sunset hues
Are fading in the west ;
The gorgeous clouds their brighter radiance lose,
Folded on evening's breast.
So doth each wayward thought,
From fancy's altar caught,
Fade like thy tints, and muse itself to rest.

" Cold must that bosom be,
Which never felt thy power,
Which never thrill'd with tender melody
At this bewitching hour ;
When nature's gentle art
Enchains the pensive heart ;
When the breeze sinks to rest, and shuts the fragrant flower.

" It is the hour for pensive thought,
For memory of the past,
For sadden'd joy, for chasten'd hope
Of brighter scenes at last ;
The soul should raise
Its hymn of praise,
That calm so sweet on life's dull stream is cast.

" Wearied with care, how sweet to hail
Thy shadowy, calm repose,
When all is silent but the whispering gale
Which greets the sleeping rose ;
When, as thy shadows blend,
The trembling thoughts ascend,
And borne aloft, the gates of heaven unclose.

" Forth from the warm recess
The chain'd affections flow,
And peace, and love, and tranquil happiness
Their mingled joys bestow ;
Charm'd by thy mystic spell,
The purer feelings swell,
The nobler powers revive, expand, and glow."

— pp. 272, 273.

Her own writings occupy about two hundred pages, and among them is a well-constructed, gracefully versified tale of two cantos, and occupying about fifty pages, called "Lenore," written in the last year of her life. From the memoir it appears that much of what she wrote has not been printed, and that she also found time to make considerable progress in a great variety of studies ; and all this is comprised within the space of a little more than fifteen years. Have the annals of recorded genius any thing to show more remarkable than this ?

ART. VI. — *Organic Chemistry in its Applications to Agriculture and Physiology*, by JUSTUS LIEBIG, M. D., Ph. D., F. R. S., M. R. I. A., &c. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen. Edited from the Manuscript of the Author, by LYON PLAYFAIR, Ph. D. *First American Edition, with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix*, by JOHN W. WEBSTER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University. Cambridge : John Owen. 1841. 12mo. pp. 436.

THIS treatise makes a contribution to the cause of an improved Agriculture, of extraordinary value. It has been received with great interest in England, and will be read with equal eagerness by a large portion of our own people. Intelligent minds among us are everywhere awake to the immense and universal importance of the subject to which it relates. As a practical art, involving necessarily the existence of all other arts, and directly the uses and aids of many of them, the importance of the agricultural art cannot be overestimated. In an economical and political view, with the exception of the intellectual and moral interests of the community, which are also in some degree in abeyance to it, it is obviously by far the most important of all its interests, — the department of its industry which most deserves the attention of the patriot, the philosopher, and the philanthropist, as the means of subsistence, and comfort, and the foundation of national wealth. Extensive as are the commercial enterprise and the manufacturing industry of Great Britain, yet her agricultural interests far transcend them. In France, more than one hundred and twenty million pounds of sugar are annually produced from the soil, where, little more than thirty years since, not a pound was grown ; to say nothing of her products in silk and wine, which are in proportion. It is easy to see what a stake she has in agriculture. In China, a nation almost exclusively agricultural, for her various manufactures are mainly concerned in the products of her agriculture, where, besides her vast exports, more than three hundred and thirty millions of people are subsisted upon these products, we gather some impression of the immense importance of this art. There, likewise, the art has been carried to a higher perfection than in any other part of the

world. Among ourselves it would be vain, in the present youth of the country, to attempt to calculate the extent to which the art is destined to be carried. The forthcoming census of its agricultural products will exhibit results, which will excite universal surprise. An annual crop, in the Southern States, of more than 2,000,000 bales of cotton, of 249,000,000 pounds of sugar in Louisiana, of 42,000,000 bushels of Indian corn in Tennessee, of 18,000,000 bushels of wheat in Ohio, and more than 10,000,000 pounds of maple sugar in New York, great as these results appear, are yet only the first steps in the progress of this gigantic interest.

These facts show how essentially agriculture concerns the condition of the whole country. This interest, likewise, is certain to increase in an equal ratio with the growth of her population ; and let her commerce be ever so extended, or her manufactures as numerous and improved as invention and skill and art can make them, yet they must always be subsidiary to her agriculture. It is her agriculture which freights the barks of commerce, and drives the wheels and spindles of her manufactories in their rapid and infinite gyrations. At her breasts, without a single exception, the whole of the human family are to be sustained, nourished, and comforted.

The perfection of agriculture, as an art, implies the obtaining the greatest amount of product from the earth, with the least injury to the land, and at the least cost of labor. It has been often remarked, that the actual productive powers of an acre of land have never yet been fully tested ; the maximum of product has not been reached. Magnificent and surprising results have been attained, but in no case can it be said, with confidence, that more might not have been effected. In general, the agricultural art falls far below the condition of productiveness and improvement, which it might obviously attain ; and the aversion among farmers to change their established habits, and the slowness with which agricultural improvements of great and decided advantage extend themselves, even into neighbouring districts, are well known and sufficiently remarkable. Something of this has been owing to the stationary habits of farmers, to a want of education, and neglect of reading and inquiry necessarily growing out of this ; and much to prejudice, the natural child of ignorance, against scientific suggestions and the application of

science to an art, which, so far as they are concerned, is wholly of a practical character. This prejudice against the applications of science to agriculture, or to what in vulgar parlance is called *book-farming*, has, we confess, found some natural encouragement in the fact, that many persons, wholly destitute of practical knowledge and skill, have undertaken to apply purely theoretical rules, without regard to differences of soil, climate, nature of the crop, and nameless circumstances by which the application of these rules should be varied, or might be rendered unseasonable or futile ; and that, in truth, many persons have undertaken to make books, and to give directions in husbandry, who were grossly ignorant of its great principles, and possessed little knowledge of its various practical details and rules. It must, at the same time, be admitted, that science has as yet accomplished but little ; and that, beyond that knowledge which any intelligent, practical, and experienced man easily and almost necessarily acquires of soils, manures, vegetation, and crops, little has been ascertained of a practical value ; and the profound secrets of vegetable life, or what is properly termed *vital action* in vegetable organism and growth, remain in all their original abstruseness and mystery. The little success, therefore, which scientific men have had in their attempts to resolve and explain them, and especially the little practical utility which has come from their theoretical explanations, have created, with the purely practical, a prejudice against such inquiries, as invincible as it is unworthy of sensible men.

Yet it will not be denied, in this case, that we know as much of vegetable as we know of animal life. Anatomy may be termed an exact science; it is to a great extent matter of sensible observation and measurement ; but the operations in the human organism, which are strictly vital, are altogether undisclosed. We know in truth as much how the stems and leaves and fruit are formed and perfected, as we know how the food, which we receive, is converted into blood, and serum, and bile, and muscle, and fibre, and tendon, and bone ; and we know no more. Shall we despair of going further ? By no means. There seems, indeed, in this case, to be a limit to inquiry ; an impassable barrier, where human sagacity and inquisitiveness are at once repelled ; the darkness is intense before, above, and around us, and the mere rush-light, which we hold out to guide us, serves no

purpose but to render this darkness visible. Shall we then be discouraged in all attempts at further advancement? Not at all. It may be indeed that we have reached the end of our line; and that, until new endowments are bestowed, the mind can soar no higher in its flight. But with equal, nay, with much more reason may we suppose, that the cause of failure is not so much attributable to the limitation or impotence of our faculties to proceed further, as to the imperfection or error of our modes of approach and inquiry. The philosophical mind, valuing truth and knowledge as the highest of all attainments, will never rest satisfied with present acquisitions; will regard that which is conceivable as knowable; like a vigilant and skilful officer before a besieged fortress, whose direct approach is precluded, will be continually seeking some private or concealed mode of access; or, like the man in the Scriptures knocking at his neighbour's door at midnight, and hoping presently to be heard for his importunity.

The immense importance and value of knowledge in this case no sensible man can doubt. If knowledge and science are useful in any art or department of business, why should they not be in agriculture, an art which involves many others, and which in its success combines the influence and operation of more elements than any other? It is well ascertained that certain plants will grow only in certain situations, and under certain circumstances; that different soils have different properties, prejudicial to the growth of some plants, favorable to the perfection of others; in some cases distinguished by an exuberant fertility, in others by an almost incurable barrenness, but yet in most cases capable of modification, remedy, or improvement; that the operation of various manures is various; and that their efficiency or injury depends upon their condition, preparation, or modes of application. It is equally well ascertained, that by some modes of cultivation, double the produce is obtained on the same land that is obtained under a different cultivation, and the land, at the same time, placed under a progressive improvement. It is ascertained that by the application of gypsum, or potash, or soda, or salt, or various animal substances, an extraordinary productiveness follows, and the crops are often trebled and quadrupled. How shall we pretend, then, that there is not here the most ample room for the application of science in the resolution of these remarkable facts, and in profiting by these remarkable

means for the improvement of the soil and the increase of its productiveness? Separate, however, from the obvious utility of such inquiries, it is difficult to conceive of subjects more interesting to a philosophical curiosity than all those connected with animal or vegetable life and growth; for what in nature is more wonderful than the birth and progress of a human being, or the germination of a dried seed and its advancement to the perfection of its uses and fruits?

There are besides grounds of encouragement in this case, which the philosophical mind will duly appreciate. In the ordinary course of nature there is no such thing as accident or miracle. As far as man's sagacity has penetrated into the material world, — and of the spiritual world, we know nothing but by divine revelation, — all the phenomena of nature are found to proceed upon fixed principles and laws, and to be the results of nicely established and well balanced, compounded, and adjusted influences and forces. Many of these operations man is capable of imitating, and the most extraordinary results are obviously at his command. We cannot have a doubt, therefore, that the most recondite as well as the most familiar operations of nature are all the result of established principles and laws. Many of these laws we have already ascertained, and they are of daily application and use in the common business of life. How much further we may proceed in the discovery of them, time only can tell. As yet we have only placed our foot on the first step of the threshold. It is not an idle nor criminal presumption to seek to penetrate further into the temple of nature, until perhaps we may reach the Holy of Holies, where the Creator sits enthroned in his effulgence, and where we may adore him in the full blaze of truth.

Professor Liebig illustrates the spirit of which we speak. He is a bold inquirer of nature for the laws which govern her operations. He is for explaining the phenomena of vegetable life and growth upon the established principles of chemistry, as far as their application can be traced; and he is not willing to take a general answer where a particular answer can be obtained. He does not feel satisfied to be checked in his inquiries under the presumption of inexplicable mystery, when further inquiry would untie the Gordian knot, and show that some of the problems, hitherto considered most difficult, are perfectly explicable upon the established principles of chemical science.

"A rational system of agriculture," says he, "cannot be formed without the application of scientific principles; for such a system must be based on an exact acquaintance with the means of nutrition of vegetables; and with the influence of soils and the action of manure upon them. This knowledge we must seek from chemistry, which teaches the mode of investigating the composition, and of studying the characters, of the different substances from which plants derive their nourishment." —p. 7.

"Innumerable are the aids afforded to the means of life, to manufactures and to commerce, by the truths which assiduous and active inquirers have discovered and rendered capable of practical application. But it is not the mere practical utility of these truths, which is of importance. Their influence upon mental culture is most beneficial; and the new views acquired by the knowledge of them enable the mind to recognise in the phenomena of nature proofs of an infinite wisdom, for the unfathomable profundity of which human language has no expression." —p. 6.

The work is devoted to an explanation of the proper food of plants, and the modes in which, and sources from which, they receive this nourishment. Connected with these matters, come, of course, the value and uses of manures, and the true art of culture. These subjects are all obviously of the highest importance; and it is exceedingly interesting to see how a mind so powerful and learned discusses them. The author speaks with just respect of that distinguished man, the late Sir Humphrey Davy, who first taught systematically the application of chemical science to agriculture; and he shows himself not an unworthy pupil of so eminent a master. We can do but imperfect justice by an abstract of his views; yet it is all for which we have room.

The elements or constituents of all plants are carbon, water, (or its elements, hydrogen and oxygen,) nitrogen, and some earthy or alkaline salts. The food of plants can be received only in a gaseous or soluble form, and it must come from the atmosphere, from the earth, or from both. No earthy substance can ever be received into a plant unless in a dissolved or combined state; and though crude substances, incapable of assimilation, may in some cases be taken up by the roots of the plant, which seem to have no power of selection in regard to their food, yet they will be exuded from the roots in the state in which they were received. The alkaline substances received and assimilated by plants can only be as-

certained by their ashes after incineration, and constitute a very minute portion; but, however minute, they are evidently essential to the perfection or fructification of the plant. Besides these there are certain organic acids, which are found in the juices of plants and usually combined with some inorganic bases. The alkaline bases or earths must exist in the soil, or they cannot be found in the plant. In some cases, however, one kind may be substituted for another.

The author discusses at large the doctrine of humus, humin, ulmin, humic acid, apotheme, geine, all referring to one substance, as the food of plants. This matter is generally understood to be a certain brown or carbonaceous substance resulting from vegetable decomposition. Some portions of it are soluble in water or alkalies; other portions are insoluble but by extraordinary means. The common opinion has been that it constituted directly the food of plants, and required only to be dissolved to be taken up by the roots of the plants and assimilated by them. Others have maintained that it requires to be dissolved by the application of alkalies, and combining with them in the form of an acid, it becomes then prepared for the food of plants. Our author wholly denies these positions by showing that so far from humus being extracted from the soil, it is in fact increased by cultivation, as in the case of a forest, the more abundant the growth of wood upon it, the greater the amount of humus in the soil, where the *débris* of the wood is suffered to remain upon the land.

"A certain quantity of carbon is taken every year from the forest or meadow in the form of wood or hay; and, in spite of this, the quantity of carbon in the soil augments; it becomes richer in humus." — p. 68.

"The opinion that the substance called *humus* is extracted from the soil by the roots of plants, and that the carbon entering into its composition serves in some form or other to nourish their tissues, is so general and so firmly established, that hitherto any new argument in its favor has been considered unnecessary; the obvious difference in the growth of plants according to the known abundance or scarcity of humus in the soil, seemed to afford incontestable proof of its correctness. Yet this position, when admitted to a strict examination, is found to be untenable; and it becomes evident that humus in the form in which it exists in the soil does not yield the smallest nourishment to plants." — p. 61.

He attempts to prove his position, that the carbon of the plant cannot be derived from the soil, by a calculation of weights and measures. Humic acid, or the humus of the soil, can only be absorbed by the plant in combination with some inorganic bases or metallic oxide. We do not think it important here to give any thing more than the results of some of his calculations. He supposes that upon an average 40,000 square feet of land, Hessian measure, yield annually 2650 lbs. of dry fir wood, which contain 5.6 lbs. Hessian of metallic oxides. Now it is ascertained in what proportion humic acid combines with the metallic oxides, with lime for example. Having determined the metallic oxides existing in such a product, he easily determines the amount of humic acid thus introduced into the trees ; and, allowing humic acid to contain 58 per cent. of carbon, this would correspond only to the production of 91 lbs. Hessian of dry wood. But 2650 lbs. of fir wood are actually produced. These calculations are well worth examining, and, if accurate, it is difficult to deny the inference which follows from them, that the humic acid existing in a soil, supposing all its carbon to be taken up and assimilated, will supply but a very small portion of that which exists in the crop, grown upon the soil.

The same remarks are applied to a crop of wheat. From the known properties of metallic oxides existing in wheat straw (the sulphates and chlorides also contained in the ashes of wheat straw not included), it would be found, that the wheat growing on 40,000 square feet Hessian of land would average 1780 lbs. Hessian of straw, independently of the roots and grain, and the composition of this straw is the same as that of woody fibre. Now, according to well-ascertained properties, it could receive but 57½ lbs. of humic acid, which would supply with carbon only 85 lbs. Hessian of straw.

Another calculation respects the amount of humic acid which plants can receive through the agency of rain water. The amount of rain falling in one of the most fertile districts of Germany, during the months of April, May, June, and July, is estimated to be 17½ lbs. Hessian upon every square foot of surface, or upon 40,000 square feet Hessian, 700,000 lbs. Hessian of rain water. Now this extent of land averages a product of 2850 lbs. Hessian of corn (wheat) ; 390 lbs. of humic acid calculated to be absorbed in this case, cannot account for the quantity of carbon contained in the roots and

leaves alone, even if we suppose the whole of the rain water to be absorbed by the plants, whereas a large portion of it must necessarily be lost or pass off in some other form than through the organs of the plants. If these calculations be correct, it is evident that a small portion only of the carbon existing in plants can be derived from the humus of the soil. Another idea is suggested, viz. that as humus results from the decay of plants, none existed at the time of the creation to form the pabulum of the primitive vegetation. This must have had other sources of supply. Dr. Dana is of opinion that geine or humus is an original creation, coeval with the creation of hydrogen and oxygen and carbon. The conjecture is sufficiently plausible, but it would be idle to advance any opinion on the subject. The only fact which can be said to favor one opinion above the other, is, that the plants found in the earliest coal formation are plants with small roots and expanded foliage, implying that they drew their chief nourishment from the air.

The inquiry which next arises, is, if plants do not derive their carbon, or but a very small portion of it from the soil, whence is it obtained ? This interesting question Liebig discusses at large, and certainly with much ability. The seed itself contains the first supply of nourishment for the roots of the infant germ of the plant. Before it appears above the surface, the humus in the soil quickens and invigorates its growth by the supply of carbonic acid. This supply of carbonic acid is furnished by the accession of atmospheric air from the loosening of the soil, the carbon of the humus combining with the oxygen of the air to produce nourishment for the young plant. When it rises above the surface, and its external organs of nutrition, its stem and its leaves, are fully developed, it ceases to draw nourishment from the earth and obtains all its carbon from the air. It is not a new doctrine that plants absorb carbonic acid from the atmosphere. This fact has been long established ; but it is new that this is the principal source ; and the inquiry naturally arises whether the atmosphere, containing, as it does, only a thousandth part of carbonic acid, can furnish in this way a supply of all the carbon which is required by the plant. To this inquiry Liebig replies as before, by making it matter of exact calculation.

"It can be shown, that the atmosphere contains 3,000 billion Hessian lbs. of carbon ; a quantity which amounts to more

than the weight of all the plants, and of all the strata of mineral and brown coal, which exist upon the earth. This carbon is therefore more than adequate to all the purposes for which it is required." —p. 74.

The absorption of carbonic acid from the air, in his opinion is a purely chemical process. Many others have chosen to regard it as a vital operation ; and have considered the leaves as respiratory organs, resembling the lungs of animals. He does not admit the analogy, and thinks that the cause of science is injured by the supposition of a resemblance, where no similitude exists. The absorption of carbonic acid from the air, the assimilation of its carbon, and the return of its oxygen to the air, are chemical processes, effected under the operation of light and heat. Without the aid of chemistry, they are inexplicable ; with it, they become perfectly intelligible. The vital action creates nothing. It does not produce carbon, oxygen, or hydrogen ; but it puts them into activity ; and they then arrange themselves according to chemical principles ; each organ of the plant having its own specific influence in the production of the results.

The author discusses, at large, the nature and action of humus. Humus is merely decayed vegetable substance, whose decay or destruction is effected by the absorption of oxygen from the air. Exclude it from the external air, and the decay would cease ; but would be renewed again as it should be brought in contact with the oxygen of the air. Woody fibre, in a state of decay, consists of carbon and the elements of water. Alkaline substances assist its decay. Humus, however, is not composed exclusively of woody fibre ; other substances are associated with it. We have not the room to follow Liebig in his curious and profound remarks on this subject, and can only give a summary of his views. The constant tendency of humus is to form carbonic acid by the abstraction of oxygen from the air. The stirring of the soil, and opening it to the effects of light and heat and moisture, assist this process, by bringing it in contact with the decaying humus. It forms around itself an atmosphere of carbonic acid, and supplies carbonic acid to the plant in the first period of its growth. The roots of the plants, in the beginning and before their formation, perform the functions of the leaves. They extract from the soil the carbonic acid generated by the humus. When a plant is matured, and

when the organs, by which it receives its food from the air, are perfected, the carbonic acid of the soil is no further required. Humus does not afford nourishment to plants, by being taken up into their vessels in an unaltered state; but only by the supply of carbonic acid, which it generates from the presence of atmospheric air.

Hydrogen is another constituent of plants; for woody fibre is composed of carbon and the elements of water. Water is decomposed under the power possessed by plants of separating its elements, and of assimilating its hydrogen, and dispensing with that portion of its oxygen not required by the plant in other processes of its growth. Nitrogen is another constituent, found in all plants; abounding in some, and supposed to form the principal portion of the nutritive properties of some of the cereal grains. The nitrogen of the air cannot enter into combination with any element excepting oxygen. The combination of nitrogen with hydrogen, in the proportion of one volume of nitrogen and three of hydrogen, produces ammonia. It is in the form of ammonia, that plants receive their nitrogen. This ammonia is furnished to the roots of the plants by the decomposition of animal matter in the soil, and to their leaves by the effluvia arising from decayed and decaying animal and vegetable substances. This decay is continually going on, and, together with the excrements of animals, supplies the ammonia contained in the atmosphere. There are, indeed, some natural subterranean sources of ammonia, connected with volcanic action; and ammonia is found in many springs, which, Liebig supposes, derive it wholly from the atmosphere. The principal part of the nitrogen, which is found in plants, is, in his opinion, obtained in the form of ammonia in rain water. Though it appears that it has been discovered by others, that rain water contains ammonia, yet it is believed that Liebig has been the first to announce the fact. He goes on to show, by the elements made use of in a former calculation, that by means of the rain falling annually upon 40,000 square feet of soil, the field must receive 80 lbs. of ammonia, or 65 lbs. of nitrogen, which is more nitrogen than is contained in the amount of crops usually produced upon such a surface. The experiments made to ascertain the presence of ammonia in rain water, are decisive, and this interesting fact may be considered as now established. He likewise detected ammonia in the juices of the ma-

ple and the birch tree; this, being obtained remote from any house, was evidently derived from the atmosphere.

There are facts here connected with cultivation, and showing the effect of different manures upon the quality of the products, which are extremely curious. Different wheats are found to contain very different proportions of gluten, of which nitrogen forms an important constituent. Some French wheat was found to contain 12.5 per cent. of gluten, while Bavarian contained 24 per cent. Davy obtained 19 per cent. from winter, and 24 from summer, wheat. Sicilian wheat afforded 21 per cent.; Barbary wheat, 29; Alsace, 17.3; wheat grown in the *Jardin des Plantes* 26.7, and winter wheat 3.33 per cent. In regard to these differences, Liebig remarks;

"An increase of animal manure gives rise not only to an increase in the number of seeds, but also to a most remarkable difference in the proportion of gluten, which they contain. Animal manure acts only by the formation of ammonia. One hundred parts of wheat, grown on a soil manured with cow dung (a manure containing the smallest quantity of nitrogen), afforded only 11.95 parts of gluten, and 64.34 parts of amylin or starch; whilst the same quantity, grown on a soil manured with human urine, yielded the maximum of gluten, namely, 35.1 per cent. Putrified urine contains nitrogen in the forms of carbonate, phosphate, and lactate of ammonia; and in no other form than that of ammoniacal salts." — p. 136.

As illustrative of the value of ammonia in vegetation, Liebig refers to *guano*. This is the excrement of sea-birds, and found in large quantities on several islands in the South Sea. The effect of this manure is understood to be most powerful. It renders the soils, which consist of clay and sand, and contain, as is represented, no organic matter, highly fertile. This manure is composed principally of salts of ammonia, and a few earthy salts.

Liebig, if his theory be well founded, has solved the secrets of the operation of gypsum. It has been supposed, that gypsum acted upon plants as a stimulus, or like intoxicating liquids upon animals. But plants are not animals. They have no nerves, which may be tightly drawn or relaxed; and such suppositions, which serve only to betray our ignorance, are without foundation. No substance can cause the leaves of plants to appropriate an excess of car-

bon from the atmosphere, when the other constituents of the plants are wanting. The influence of gypsum is to fix the ammonia which is brought into the soil, and preventing its evaporation, give it out as the plants may receive it. This effect is produced by the double decomposition of the carbonate of ammonia, and of the gypsum or sulphate of lime, by which sulphate of ammonia and carbonate of lime are formed. His notions on this subject, being the first satisfactory attempt at a solution of the mystery always connected with the application of this extraordinary substance, are curious and interesting.

"In order," he says, "to form a conception of the effect of gypsum, it may be sufficient to remark, that 100 lbs. Hessian of burned gypsum fixes as much ammonia in the soil, as 6,250 lbs. of horses' urine would yield to it, even on the supposition, that all the nitrogen of the urea and hippuric acid were absorbed by the plants without the smallest loss, in the form of carbonate of ammonia."—p. 143.

He is equally original in his explanation of several other facts.

"The advantage of manuring fields with burned clay and the fertility of ferruginous soils, which have been considered as facts so incomprehensible, may be explained in an equally simple manner. The oxides of iron and alumina are distinguished from all other metallic oxides by their power of forming solid compounds with ammonia. Minerals containing alumina or oxide of iron also possess, in an eminent degree, the remarkable property of attracting ammonia from the atmosphere and of retaining it."—p. 144.

Powdered charcoal is another element, which powerfully absorbs ammonia; and will take up ninety times its volume of ammoniacal gas, which it gives out upon being wet with water. Decayed wood resembles charcoal in this property, absorbing seventy-two times its own volume. This explains further the operation of humus, which supplies not only carbonic acid, but likewise nitrogen, to the growing plants.

A beautiful reflection with which Liebig concludes this chapter, we cannot forbear quoting.

"Carbonic acid, water, and ammonia contain the elements necessary for the support of animals and vegetables. The same substances are the ultimate products of the chemical

process of decay and putrefaction. All the innumerable products of vitality resume, after death, the original form from which they sprang. And thus death, — the complete dissolution of an existing generation, — becomes the source of life for a new one." — p. 147.

The next subject of discussion with Liebig, relates to the inorganic constituents of plants. These are potash, soda, lime, magnesia, oxide of iron, manganese, silica, and other substances. The plants cannot be perfected without them. Alkalies of one kind may often be substituted for those of another ; but they are always found in equivalent proportions. These inorganic substances are admitted to the plants in combination with some acid. They exist independently of the plant, and are not the product of vital action. They are found in different soils, and are the result of the decomposition of various rocks. Potash is an important constituent of most felspars. Some of the salts are evaporated in sea water, and in that way carried far into the interior, and after being spread upon the earth, are carried down by the rains. They are returned to the soil in decayed vegetable and animal matter, and in the excrements of animals. They are found in the ashes of plants in the form of carbonates ; and by careful analysis their amounts in different cases have been accurately ascertained. The amount of alkaline substances required by plants is very minute. But that amount is requisite to the perfection of the vegetation. It is easy to conceive how small an amount is required in the soil, when it is understood that sea water contains only $\frac{1}{12400}$ of its weight of carbonate of lime, and yet that is sufficient for the formation of all the banks of coral in the ocean, and the various shells of the marine animals.

Having given this account of the constituents of plants, and the sources whence they are derived, Liebig proceeds to discuss the art of culture and the action of manures. We should be glad to quote the whole of this chapter, but we must limit ourselves to a brief sketch. Humus is not soluble in water ; if it were, a great part of it would be carried off the ground by rains. Its office is, by the presence of water, to convert the surrounding oxygen into carbonic acid, which plants absorb and then return to the soil a large portion of carbonaceous matter, that they abstract from the air, so that

the humus of the soil is not diminished. The frequent ploughing of the soil, so as to promote, by admitting the oxygen of the air to the humus, the formation of carbonic acid, the application of alkaline substances, and whatever tends, as Liebig expresses it, to put the organic matters of the soil in a state of oxidation, increase the fertility of the soil. The oxygen then assists in the formation of carbonic acid to go to the nourishment of plants.

Knowing the substances which go to form the plants, the object of a wise agriculture will be to supply them, and to render them accessible to the plants. Potash, the most common and important of the inorganic constituents of plants, is more universally and abundantly diffused over the earth than any other alkaline substance. But the alkalies, by continual cultivation, may be exhausted, and the soil cease to be productive. This indicates the necessity of a fallow or rest to the soil, by which, under the operation of air and moisture, a further disintegration of the rocks may take place so as to furnish the necessary alkalies to the soil, or, without resting, they may be artificially supplied. Plants themselves in their decay return alkaline substances to the earth; and it is well ascertained that plants themselves act powerfully in the disintegration of rocks.

Some crops may be repeated on the same soil more frequently than others, because some consume more of the alkalies than others. One hundred parts of the stalks of wheat yield 15.5 parts of ashes; The same quantity of barley, 8.54 parts; and of oats, only 4.42. The ashes of these different plants are of the same description, but it is obvious that the demands which they make upon the soil must be different.

The interchange or rotation of crops and the application of manures are materially connected with this fact, and with another in the habits of plants to which we shall refer. Plants of different kinds absorb or take up different substances, from the soil; and one kind therefore may flourish, where another would fail. The same kind of plants cannot be cultivated in succession on the same soil for any length of time without declining in productiveness. Some plants, as flax for example, will not bear a repetition on the same soil oftener than once in five years. It has been supposed that plants assimilate to themselves, and consume in their growth, certain ingredients in the soil necessary to the perfection of

the plant, which should not be repeated on the same ground until this material is again supplied. But this is not all. No artificial supply of any ascertainable ingredient can control this general law of the necessity of a change in the rotation, growing out of other circumstances. Decandolle suggested, and may be said to have established, another theory, namely, that plants excrete from their roots certain substances, which are innutritious or hurtful to the same kind of plant in succession, but which may serve as the food of other plants. But there are difficulties, in respect to this subject, upon which we cannot dwell, which Liebig's theory solves with remarkable ability and equal reasonableness. The exudations or excretions of plants may be considered of two kinds. Plants, as we have before said, have no selection in their food but take up with little discrimination what is accessible to their organs of nutrition, and in a condition to be absorbed. They consequently may take up many things, which they can assimilate but in part, or not at all. These are exuded, and may serve as the food of other plants of a different character. But there is another class of excretions, or properly speaking excrements, which are purely the result of the vital action of the plants, and which, in the form of gum or otherwise, after having served the purpose designed in the nutrition of the plants, pass off by the appropriate organs into the soil. These, of course, cannot serve as the food of the same kind of plants, or of any other in their present condition ; and these go to assist in forming the humus of the soil. In their unchanged condition,these excrements are pernicious to the kind of plants from which they were discharged, and, it may be, to others ; but after becoming converted into humus, under the operation of air and moisture, the effects are the same as those of humus.

After all, where the crops are removed from the soil in the forms of seeds, roots, and leaves, the soil is of course deprived of many of the constituents requisite to a healthful and productive vegetation. The substances removed are then to be supplied by manure. The seed of the plant contains within itself the food which it first requires in order to the protrusion of its radicles. The humus in the soil will give out its carbonic acid, until the plant rises above the ground, and the leaves and other portions of its organism are formed, to enable it to gather, in the form of carbonic acid,

its food from the air. Its inorganic constituents must be found in the soil or in the manure in the form of silicates, carbonates, or phosphates, and may be supplied in a crude form as in potash, ashes, lime, bones, &c. Its nitrogen is to be supplied, in the form of ammonia, from decayed animal or vegetable substances in one way or another. The excrements of some animals are in this respect much richer than those of others. The excrements of man are much richer in nitrogen, than those of any other animals, and those of men living upon animal more so than those of men living upon vegetable diet. In the urine of animals nitrogen is found in much greater abundance than in the solid excrements. In respect to nitrogen, 100 parts of the urine of a healthy man are equal to 1300 parts of the fresh dung of a horse. This ammonia is supplied in the soil ; or floating in the air, it is taken up by rain water or by snow, and supplied to the vegetation in that form. The manures of different animals likewise return to the soil the inorganic constituents of plants, the various salts which have formed a part of the vegetable products, which have been taken from the fields and been consumed by the cattle ; and thus every thing goes on in an eternal round of reciprocity.

We have thus given a general and imperfect sketch of the main principles of the work of Liebig. We have confined ourselves to the part, which is principally agricultural. The second part, on chemical transformations, fermentation, putrefaction, decay, and various kindred subjects, is equally interesting ; but we cannot now examine it. We regard the work of Liebig as a work of extraordinary philosophical acumen, and conferring upon him the highest honor. The more it is examined, the deeper will be the interest which it will create, and the stronger the admiration of the ability with which it is written. It is not a work to be read, but studied ; and if further inquiries and experiments should demonstrate, as seems to us from many facts within our own knowledge in the highest degree probable, the soundness of his views, his work, not merely as a matter of the most interesting philosophical inquiry, but of the highest practical utility, will be invaluable.

We are much indebted to Dr. Webster for giving this handsome edition to the public, enriched with several valuable notes. We could have wished that the introduction, intended as explanatory of the general principles of chemistry,

compiled from another work of Liebig, and designed to assist the unlearned reader, had been appended instead of prefixed; for either from an inherent fault of expression, or from badness of translation, some portions of it are so intensely obscure (witness for example the 129th and 195th paragraphs among many others), that it must operate as a great discouragement to the perusal of the main work with many persons, serving as it now does, instead of an explanation, in some cases only to render darkness visible.

There are various notes, appended to the volume, of great interest. It is mentioned that Mr. Hayes, who stands in the foremost rank among our practical chemists, had discovered the presence of ammonia in the rain waters in Vermont; but it does not appear that he had given the fact to the public. A long and highly interesting note is appended, containing some letters from Dr. S. L. Dana, of Lowell, to Dr. Hitchcock, of Amherst College, and taken from the forthcoming third edition of Dr. Hitchcock's "Geology of Massachusetts," on geine or humus, and some views of Dr. C. T. Jackson, of Boston, on the same subject.

The views of these gentlemen in some measure conflict with each other, and with those of Liebig. We do not propose to arbitrate between them, but only to remark on them, in a very few words, with a perfect respect for all the parties concerned. The eminent Swedish chemist, Berzelius, had discovered in several vegetable substances, a residuum, which he regarded as the proper food or pabulum of vegetables, and which he denominated *humus* or *geine*. Dr. Dana, by his independent researches, had arrived at the same result. This geine or apotheme was found to be the uniform result of decayed vegetation; and soils are in general found productive or otherwise, as this vegetable substance or residuum is more or less abundant in them. The opinion of Dr. Dana has been that geine in a dissolved state is taken up as the food of plants. If obliged to relinquish this ground, and with Liebig, regard geine as only a source of carbonic acid to plants, he would regard its value to vegetation in the same light. But he obviates in a most ingenious manner one of the difficulties of Liebig, in respect to the solubility, or, we may more properly say, the solution of geine, by showing that it contains within itself the instrument, to a considerable degree, of its own resolution, in the water formed by the union of the hydrogen of

the geine with the oxygen of the atmosphere. "The amount of water produced in this case," he remarks, "is truly astonishing. It has been found equal per hour, from an acre of fresh ploughed sward, to 950 lbs. This is equal to the evaporation per hour from an acre, after most copious rains. To show that this depends upon the decomposition of the geine, the quantity of water evaporated per hour in the day time, from a well-manured acre, was found equal to 5000 lbs."

That humus or geine does not constitute the actual food of plants would seem to be established by various considerations. Liebig has shown by several calculations, as exact as the nature of the case would seem to admit of, that the amount of humic acid contained in any soil is insufficient to supply the carbon in the average product of that soil, in the proportion of 91 to 2650. Secondly, volcanic salts, containing not the slightest trace of vegetable matter, as is evident from their origin, with a due mixture of earths are among the most fertile in the world. The ashes being exposed to air and moisture, a soil is gradually formed, and the decomposed lavas furnish alkalies in abundance, which, by being exposed to air and moisture, become the source of rich nourishment to plants. A third reason, and certainly a strong fact in the case, is, that the humus in a forest, so far from being diminished by the growth of wood, is continually increasing. It is so, likewise, in a cultivated field, where the produce of that field is returned in the form of manure.

Berzelius is reported to have altered his opinions of the nature of geine, by a more exact analysis of its composition, and now denies its existence as a proximate principle; and Dr. C. T. Jackson, who has distinguished himself as a chemist by his analytical researches, appears to have made, without knowing what had been done by Berzelius, the same discoveries, in ascertaining that the substance called geine is only a combination of crenic and apocrenic acids, with some other substances, all of which are not yet determined. How many of these may have been, as suggested by Dr. Dana, the mere product of chemical manipulation, or whether any of them, are questions, which, in the present state of the inquiry, cannot be determined. Upon the supposition that these are original and fixed elements in the composition of geine, we consider Dr. Jackson entitled to much honor for his investigations. All truth is valuable; but, in the present condition of our knowledge, in

a practical view, these points are not of great importance, or rather not of immediate utility. According to the principles of Liebig, Raspail, Dana, Jackson, Hitchcock, and others, the presence of humus in a soil is, *quoad hoc*, an indication of fertility. Now, whether it be a proximate element, or a mere combination of crenic and apocrenic acids with other substances, though exceedingly interesting to the philosophical inquirer, is, without some further light on the subject, of little moment to the farmer. Dr. Jackson has not, as we understand, discovered either of these acids in the plants themselves; he has not shown us how they are to be used, or what part they perform in vegetation. He is not able by any artificial process, which he can adopt, separate from the vegetable organism, to produce an atom of geine; and, however nearly he may have approached it, and we commend him for every step in his progress, he has by no means reached the *ultima Thule*; for crenic, and apocrenic, and ulmic acids, are themselves resolvable into certain proportions of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen. The question, however, whether geine constitutes in itself the food of plants, in its solution by water or by some alkaline substance, or whether it merely acts as an instrument of the supply of carbonic acid to the plant in the first stages of its progress, is another question, which is certainly not without its difficulties. We are not able to understand by what process it is ascertained, that, after the leaves of the plant are formed, it ceases to draw any nourishment from the earth. This is a fact in vegetable physiology, of which at present we are without the proof. Dr. Dana has never denied that plants receive much of their nourishment from the air. His inquiries were limited wholly to what they gather from the earth. Nor do we see any difficulty in the supposition that geine may serve, in its decomposition, as the food of plants. For, if geine, according to Dr. Jackson, is a mixture of crenic or apocrenic acids, and if crenic and apocrenic acids are resolvable into carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen, these are the very elements of vegetable substance; and we may leave it to the subtile operations of that vital action, wonderful and mysterious as it is in its operations, to accomplish what human skill and sagacity have as yet in vain essayed, the separation and appropriation to itself, by the living plant or animal, of the proper materials of its own growth.

It is exceedingly gratifying to see men of science engaging

in these, we will not say humble, for scarcely any are more important, but useful subjects of investigation. Every department of nature abounds in matters of interesting inquiry; and none more than that of organic life. Nature in her various changes, transformations, and productions, is everywhere full of the miracles of wisdom, power, and goodness. The perfections of the Creator are written all over her in letters of living light. The highest duty of rational beings is "to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them."

In looking at the infinitely multiplied productions of the vegetable world, in observing a small seed rising into a towering plant, an acorn changed into an oak, and what seems a minute pellicle, driven about by the wind, growing up into a mighty and wide-spreading elm, we must be lower than the beasts, which repose under its grateful shade, if we do not ask, How can these things be? When we see the earth in a measure obedient to our commands, and in return for our labor pouring into our laps the means of subsistence and luxury with an unstinted liberality; when we see the dependence everywhere existing between what we do and what we receive, what we sow and the harvest we gather; when we observe the changes of the seasons, and the obvious effects of light and heat, and moisture and manure, we can hardly claim the character of rational beings, if we do not seek to understand how these things are. It is idle to pretend that the mysteries of nature are too sacred for inquiry. The gift of understanding and the power of its use imply the duty of inquiry. It is as idle to pretend, that they are mysteries which never can be understood. The human understanding has its limits, doubtless, beyond which it cannot pass; but how far is it at present from having reached them? Every day is disclosing to us some new truth. Many things, once enveloped in all the terrors of mystery, are now familiar to the understanding of a child. The works of God and the courses of his providence are not so many isolated facts, but they are facts compacted together, and under the control of general laws; so that beyond all question, many of the most extraordinary phenomena, which present themselves in nature, are explicable upon the simplest principles. In many cases a single key will open the most complicated lock, and is at the same time applicable to a thousand others. The discussions of Liebig furnish some beautiful illustrations of these principles.

In order to solve the secrets of vegetable life and growth, we must watch the plant from its germination to its maturity, and remark, with all possible exactness, the various influences which bear upon it. We must study its nature, its relations, its changes; its relations to the soil, to the climate, to the light, to the moisture, and to its whole culture. Botany, considered as a mere form of classes and a mere catalogue of arbitrary names, is a meagre and comparatively worthless science; but, when it involves the whole physiology of plants in all their aspects and conditions, in their growth, culture, maturity, and uses, it becomes a profound philosophy. Chemistry, likewise, must here come to our aid. In order to know what the plant needs, we must know what it is composed of; in order to learn what it obtains from the soil, we must ascertain what the soil has to yield to it; and we must consider the condition of the plant, in reference to the condition of the soil in which it is planted. Manures, likewise, everywhere the acknowledged means of fertility, require the most exact examination. Ascertaining, by the aid of chemical inquiry, the elements of the plant, we shall at least learn something of what it requires; ascertaining the nature of the soil, we shall see how it is suited to the plant cultivated; and knowing the composition of the manures, we may come to understand their operations. Chemical analysis seems to offer the only means of solving these mysteries.

It has already made distinguished advances; but yet they can be regarded only as first steps. There are difficulties in the case, which it would be in vain to deny. All chemical analyses are necessarily destructive of the subjects to which they are applied. We cannot take the separate elements from the analysis of a plant, a manure, or a soil, and put them together again like the pieces of a dissected map. We can easily infer from a thousand facts, which chemistry has already disclosed, how much depends upon the form of combination of the most simple elements; and when we consider of what an almost infinite number of permutations and combinations a few simple substances admit, we perceive difficulties in the nature of the case which must certainly very much qualify our confidence of success. They should at least check all haste in our conclusions, and disarm all severity of judgment in respect to the conclusions of others, how much soever these may differ from our own. Truth

should be our great and only object. Philosophy stimulates to the pursuit of it as the most precious of all gems. Nothing should abate our zeal ; nothing should discourage our efforts in the search. Fifty years ago chemistry was hardly known as a science. Now, what triumphs has it accomplished, and what a world of wonders has it opened to our view ! In its application to agriculture it presents itself as the natural solvent of its now difficult mysteries ; its whole tendency and aim, in this matter, unlike many other of its applications, is to confer unmixed good upon mankind. It discloses to our adoration more and more of those mighty operations of a beneficent Providence, by which, in an unbroken circle of dependence and subserviency, the most offensive substances are converted into all that is nutritive, delicious, and beautiful. It shows us how, by the exact and wonderful combination of a thousand subtile influences in the earth, the air, the rain, the light, the dew, daily and hourly the table of the Divine bounty is spread for all that live ; and not one of his great family is, by the master of the feast, ever sent empty away.

ART. VII. — *Tragedie ed altre Poesie* di ALESSANDRO MANZONI. Settima Edizione. Parigi. 1830. 12mo. pp. 487.

IN our Number for last October,* we gave some account of Manzoni's celebrated novel, " I Promessi Sposi." We took no notice of the poetical performances of this most distinguished living poet of Italy, except that in a note at the close we made a slight allusion to what he had done in this his favorite department, and ventured to call his " Ode upon Napoleon," the finest that has ever been written upon that most attractive but difficult subject. We propose at present to add a little to that allusion, and to say a very few words upon those tragedies and shorter metrical pieces, upon which his fame as a bard has been established.

The genius of Manzoni, melancholy, contemplative, tender, is specially suited to the ode, and to those subjective compositions, in which the sentiments and feelings of the

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 337 *et seq.*

writer himself are to be fervidly expressed. It seems to us to be essentially lyrical. Though the tragedies make the principal figure in the present volume, they rather confirm than contradict this judgment ; their lyric choruses showing a marked superiority over their dialogue. Indeed, delicate as they are in their tone, beautiful as many passages and even scenes are, they are rather poems than plays. They want the compass, the variety, the fire, the deep insight into human passions, that belong to a master in this most arduous field of invention. The highest and sternest tragic elements are altogether wanting. The great goddess Force is not present. They are graceful, but not strong ; statue-like, and yet not absolutely Greek. Their structure is so simple as to give scope for no ingenuity, and to admit of no unexpected turn of incident or feeling ; and their spirit is so quiet, even when bloody things are doing, that they never stir us to the true dramatic point.

The first of these in the volume, which is the first also in the date of its composition, is " Il Conte di Carmagnola." It has found discontented critics in its own country, nor has it succeeded elsewhere in exciting any general applause. There is appended to it, in the volume before us, a critical commendatory notice, translated into French from Goethe's " Kunst und Alterthum." It is doubtless there for honor's sake. But we never desire to see a colder or more hesitating way of pronouncing a eulogy. It admits that the work may not meet entirely the German taste ; but says, that " considering the design of its author, we have found it interesting, and conformable to what art and nature require ; and we have at last convinced ourselves, by the most scrupulous examination, that he has accomplished, like a master, the task that he had proposed to himself." Such a method of discovering the merits of a tragedy will seem singular enough to those, who are looking for something that can open the fountains of terror and tears. The Count di Carmagnola, a *condottiero* of the fifteenth century, is a sort of feudal Coriolanus. Belonging to Milan, he leads the Venetian forces victoriously against the Milanese ; and there perishes, a victim to the jealousy of the government in whose cause he had triumphed. This is literally the whole story, which contains no diversities, and can be scarcely said to have any plot. There is a chorus, however, at the close of the second act, when the two armies are

about to join battle, which is indeed of a rare excellence. It wails over the miseries of war ; describes the malicious joy of the stranger, as he looks down from the Alps upon the civil strifes of poor Italy ; and exhorts to universal peace and brotherhood.

The second tragedy, " Adelchi," published two or three years afterwards, carries us back to the age of Charlemagne and the final overthrow of the Lombard power in Italy. There is certainly more interest in this than in the former work, — more of the movement and spirit of life. But there are the same defects here also. It is monotonous, feeble, undiscriminating ; wielding no dramatic energy ; reaching to no bold height. It presents us rather a succession of scenes than an artistic whole. Its characters want character. They are marked with none of those peculiarities of the race, the age, the individual heart, which the hand of the true dramatist is so quick to seize and so proud to portray. Here are scholarly Latins from the Papal Court, and rough Pagan conquerors of the Roman soil, and the haughty Frank from the other side of the mountains. But they all talk alike, and one is hardly to be known from the other in any better way than by his theatrical costume. The old Lombard King utters nothing but what is perfectly becoming. Adelchi, his colleague and son, is a knight of the days of chivalry, as full of tenderness as of valor, and sentimental as one of the wild heroes of Ossian. The Great Charles has no particular trait in him of any kind. After a series of incidents, costing no skill either to select, invent, or arrange, the heroic young prince dies upon the stage, of wounds received in a last desperate effort ; and the childless Desiderius remains a captive in the hands of the Frank King.

Such is the account that we feel bound to give, in all critical honesty, of these tragedies. They enjoy neither the sober advantage of the unities, nor the higher advantage that may be gained by a noble departure from them. They neither possess the severe beauty of the classical, nor catch the wild graces of the romantic school. But our hearts already begin to reproach us for having said so much in dispraise. We are half inclined to take back a part of what has been written, as if it were unjust to so admirable a poet. But we do not mean to be unjust. Our object has been not so much to find fault, as to justify our own position at the

outset, that the talent of Manzoni is peculiarly and eminently lyrical; not suited to the stormy passions and "sceptred pall" of "gorgeous tragedy," and the boards of a theatre; but delighting to pour out its generous and solemn heart in snatches of earnest melody. We would say to his muse;

> "Come, but keep thy wonted state,
> With even step and musing gait,
> And looks commercing with the skies,
> Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes."

And she is coming again, in a form from which the best things may be expected. A late number of the "Foreign Quarterly Review" announces a new poem called "Italia." This is the very subject for a pen and heart like Manzoni's. We shall look for it with unusual interest.

The "Sacred Hymns" are five very short pieces on the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, Pentecost, and the name of Mary; conceived in the full spirit of the Roman Catholic Church, to which the poet is attached with a profound enthusiasm. "Goethe praised them not a little," says our preface, "although he was of another Communion; while a good Catholic has been found to complain of them as being obscure." As we are not aware that poetry belongs to any sect, we cannot think this a circumstance any way surprising, or very well worth the mentioning. We cannot help thinking, however, that the charge of obscurity is not wholly groundless; and we must confess for our own part, that we have not been able to make much out of these hymns. No one, we think, can take them up without disappointment, who has first read "The Fifth of May";—as the fine ode on Napoleon is named, from the day of the Emperor's death.

Though we are fully conscious that all poetry, especially in its highest kinds, is essentially untranslatable, yet we have not been able to keep ourselves from attempting to present in an English dress what has been admired so much on the Continent of Europe. The following version will be found at least scrupulously exact.

THE FIFTH OF MAY.

> "He was;—and as his latest sigh
> Devoid of motion left
> The poor remains, unconscious now,
> Of such a breath bereft;—

"So, struck at once aghast and still,
Stands at the tidings Earth;
Mutely reflecting on that hour,
The last one of the Man of Fate; —
Nor knows she when another tread
Of mortal foot, that proud one's mate,
To trample on her bloody dust
Will spring to birth.

"My Genius saw his sparkling throne,
Saw, and had nought to say; —
And when in Fortune's rapid change
He fell, — arose, — and lay;
With thousand voices shouting round
It mingled not one cry.
But now, from servile flattery pure,
From coward insult free,
It rises, — mov'd that splendor such
Should fade so suddenly, —
And scatters o'er the urn a chant,
That may not die.

"From the Alps to the Pyramids,
From the Rhine to the Manzanare,*
Of that sure one the thunder-bolt
Sped with the lightning's glare; —
He shot from Scylla to the Don,
From one to the other sea.
Was it true fame? — For other times
That high decree. We low
The forehead bend before that Power
Supreme, which chose to show
What vaster print of its great will
In him could be.

"The stormy and the trembling joy
Of a grand enterprise, —
The burning care of a tameless heart
With kingdoms in its eyes, —
Were his; — and then the palm he won
'T were mad to have hop'd from fate.
All he pass'd through; — the height of fame
Heightened by perils o'er; —

* We take the same liberty with the name of this Spanish stream, that we find in the original, — cutting off the final *z*.

The headlong flight, — the victory, —
The palace, — exile's shore.
Twice was he cast into the dust,
Twice consecrate.

" He nam'd himself ; and ages twain,
Arm'd with a mutual hate,
Submissively repair'd to him,
As if to know their fate.
He silenc'd them, and umpire sat,
Between them, but above.
He vanish'd ; and his vacant months
Clos'd on that shore's small bound ; —
Object of envy measureless, —
Of pity, too, profound, —
Of enmity unquenchable,
And quenchless love.

" As on the head of a wreck'd man
The billow whirls and weighs ; —
That billow, o'er whose top the wretch
Stretches his eager gaze, —
Straining his sight, but all in vain,
To spy the distant land ; —
So o'er that mind the foaming weight
Of recollections roll'd.
Oft strove he to the times afar,
His very self to unfold ;
And on the everlasting page
Fell the tired hand.

" How often, as the idle day
Was dying into rest,
His flashing looks upon the ground,
His arms across his breast,
He stood ; — and of the days that were
Came up the memories thick !
He thought upon the shifting tents, —
The rampart's battered force, —
The lightning of the infantry, —
The surges of the horse, —
And of the hurried battle-word,
Obeyed as quick.

" Alas ! in such a strife, perhaps,
The panting spirit fled,
And disappeared ; but then a hand
Strong from the Heaven was spread,

" And to more respirable air,
Pitying, that soul conveyed ;
And bore it o'er hope's flowery paths
To everlasting fields ;
Where waits that prize, whose ready gift
More than our wishes yields,
And where the fame that pass'd is all
Silence and shade.

" Lovely, immortal, bountiful, —
Faith, — used to triumph ever !
Write this new victory, and rejoice ;
For haughtier height has never
To the reproach of Golgotha
Bow'd down its humbled crest.
Thou from his weary ashes keep
Each word that 's harshly spoken !
The God, who prostrates and lifts up,
Who breaks and heals the broken, —
On that lone pillow, at his side,*
Vouchsafed to rest."

Art. VIII. — *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa. A Journal of Travels in the Year* 1838, *by E. Robinson and E. Smith. Undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations.* By Edward Robinson, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York ; Author of " A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament," &c. With New Maps and Plans in Five Sheets. Boston : Crocker & Brewster. Vols. I., II., III. pp. 571, 679, 721. 8vo.

There has been no lack of travellers to the Holy Land. Tourists from nearly all the civilized countries of the West have flocked thither, in every succeeding century since the birth of Christ. First, we have an uncounted number of credulous story-tellers, prepared to put faith in every thing, and to retail signs and wonders to multitudes as wise as them-

* This alludes to the crucifix, that lay on the pillow of the dying Emperor.

selves. Every rock, with them, is the scene of a miracle; all the old oaks sheltered some venerable patriarch; caves and wadys, without number, are hallowed as the last resting-place of prophets and apostles, except the honored relics have been exported for the benefit of less favored regions. We have heard of itinerant merchants, in a certain district of New England, who were accused of leaving their conscience on a particular plain, till they could conveniently accommodate the troublesome guest on the homeward journey. So, it should seem, has it fared with many who have made the tour of Western Asia. They have not permitted their good sense to cross the Red Sea, or they have left it when they were disembarking at Smyrna or Akka. No better account can be given of the incredible mass of silly or of lying legends, which have been palmed off upon the Christian world.

Another class of travellers in Palestine, are the imaginative. They visit the plain of Sharon and Mount Tabor, in order to write poetry. Their fancy had long revelled in the dreamy and delicious East. They had anticipated the ecstasies which they should feel, if they could but tread the paths of holy seers and evangelists. They go, not to collect instruction, but to be excited. Their journals are not trustworthy records of what they saw and heard, but highly wrought descriptions of the ever-changing hues of their own feelings and imaginations. It is fortunate, if they do not so mingle truth and fiction, that we are lost with them in a labyrinth of ingenious fancies. The reader of taste and intelligence is often utterly wearied, if he is not fatally misled. How little valuable knowledge does one get from the pages of Chateaubriand! The object at which he aims is not, if we may judge from our own experience, at all secured. We have no power to accompany him in his poetic flights, or to sympathize in his wordy declamation. We should much prefer the honest fables of some good, easy monk of the middle ages. It is due to one tourist of this class, M. Lamartine, to say, that he gives the reader fair warning. When we can find no correspondence between the descriptions of this French poet and the real objects of nature, we are to remember, that we were candidly advertised, that such might prove to be the case.

In the journals of a third class of travellers in Syria, we

discover much which is attractive. Their object is to provide entertainment. They give us lively sketches of manners and customs. They deal with the living inhabitants, rather than with the memorials of the past. As their principal design is to furnish agreeable narratives or startling incidents, they are more apt to communicate first impressions than well-reasoned and consistent results. Such travellers however fulfil an important purpose. Many of the habits and customs of the oriental world suffer no change in the lapse of centuries. What a sharp-sighted observer sees and reports now, gives us a faithful impression of the contemporaries of Moses and Solomon. The Midianite of the Pentateuch reappears in the predatory Bedawy of 1840; the Sheikh, who has seen Admiral Napier face to face, is a fair representative of the patriarch who "stood in the door of his tent," before the Exodus from Egypt. Hence a journal like that of our countryman Mr. Stephens helps to illustrate the incidents recorded by Joshua, or the apothegms uttered by the sage son of King David.

The remaining class of travellers in the Holy Land and Arabia, that we shall notice, are unhappily few in number. When we have mentioned half-a-dozen names, like those of Maundrell, Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Rüppell and Seetzen, our list is exhausted. Such men have gone forth with some adequate sense of the responsibleness of their errand, determined to use their own eyes, and to be rigidly honest in the investigation and statement of facts. Into the besetting sin of journalists, — fanciful embellishment, exaggerated coloring, — they did not fall. They had no intention of imposing on the credulity or ignorance of their readers. They scorned to practise the arts of the mere book-maker, or of him who is resolved, at all events, to tell an interesting story. With such men, carelessness is not a venial offence. Why be at the trouble, they would ask themselves, to visit distant countries, and submit to an intelligent public a report of our observations, unless we make that report as accurate and as complete as it is in our power to do? Our libraries have enough already of fables and fancy sketches.

It may here be worth while to inquire, why the number of veracious and well-trained travellers in Syria and Arabia has been so limited. Why has not Germany sent out a second Niebuhr? Why could not England, which swarms with

literary men, commission a score of accomplished travellers, like Irby and Mangles in Syria, or Wilkinson and Lane in Egypt? It is not on account of the distance or inaccessibleness of the country. Palestine is on the confines of Asia, Europe, and Africa. It is washed by a sea, which should seem to have been intended to bind three continents together. It is easily accessible from Damascus, through the Red Sea and Egypt, and by many harbours along a coast which is comparatively quiet.

Neither is the unsettled state of the country an adequate cause of the lack of accomplished travellers. The government of Palestine has been bad enough. The hazards connected with exploring it have sometimes been serious. But so it is with Persia. A more inefficient police than is professedly kept up by the Shah, does not exist on the face of the earth. A population more thoroughly corrupt than that of Modern Persia, has rarely been found. The same things are true of the countries immediately on the west. And yet able travellers have not been deterred from boldly entering the country, and faithfully examining it. The conscientious labors of such men as Rich, Malcom, Kinneir, and Frazer, have supplied ample materials for an intelligent acquaintance with the character and institutions of the Persians, and with the interesting monuments of the past, which exist in many places. But in Palestine there has been no attempt at an accurate scientific survey, like that accomplished by Kinneir in Persia. Some of those individuals, who were the best qualified to travel in the Holy Land, were compelled to pass hastily through it. Niebuhr's visit to Jerusalem was hurried. All that Burckhardt effected in Syria and Arabia was incidental; his ultimate aim was discovery in Africa. The well-written and accurate journals of Irby and Mangles have never been published.

We are not to attribute the deficiencies in question to want of learning. Some of the travellers in Palestine were well-read scholars. Pococke had a high reputation in certain departments of literature. Dr. E. D. Clarke was a man of science, and his journals are enriched with historical illustrations of much value. German and French writers of no small literary pretension have visited the sacred places of our faith.

A principal cause of our ignorance of the geography and

antiquities of Palestine, is the fact, that it is called *The Holy Land*. From the time of the good monk Jerome, and the pious Saint Paula (with whose peregrinations he appears to have been enamoured), down to the present hour, Palestine has been a land of marvels. Its soil is too pure to admit the spade of the antiquary. Its precious ruins ought not to be desecrated by the hammer of the scientific explorer. Faith, and not reason, should accompany us, when we ascend the Mount of Olives or journey over the hills of Galilee. The traveller in other regions of the globe has submitted to the trouble of personal examination, has carefully weighed evidence, has elicited truth by severe cross-questioning. But Palestine is a sacred region. We must walk softly and reverentially over its hallowed ground. We must not lightly disturb the traditions of centuries. It would be impiety to doubt the correctness of testimony which is venerable by age, and which originated with men who lived in near communion with God. Thus we have had the same stories repeated, substantially, year after year. One journalist has copied the errors of his predecessor. A mass of tradition, partly true but mainly false, the gradual growth of fifteen centuries, has rolled down to our times. The number of wretched absurdities, in respect to the site of many places mentioned in the Scriptures, is incredible. One has but to cast his eye on the maps of the Holy Land, which have been in vogue among us, to be convinced of the credulity or rather gullibility of travellers, map-makers, and their patrons.

Many of the deficiencies in question, however, are to be attributed to another cause. Travellers to Palestine have not been masters of the languages of the country. Some of them have been learned in classical Greek, but they were not familiar with the dialect of Josephus and Philo. Skilful botanists have plucked up the shrubs of the Great Desert, or analyzed the rose of Sharon, while they could not read the Hebrew Scriptures. With the native population, agricultural or nomadic, they could enjoy no intercourse, except through a blundering interpreter. The hundreds who have passed through the country since the period of the crusades, have been ignorant, almost without exception, both of the spoken and of the ancient Arabic. In this primary and indispensable qualification, Burckhardt stands nearly alone; and even his knowledge of the language was by no means com-

plete. How should we regard the antiquary or the traveller, who should profess to give us an exact account of the existing and of the ancient condition of Italy, while he was altogether ignorant of the Italian and Latin languages? Yet we have tome after tome upon the ruins of Jerusalem and Samaria and Galilee, by men who were as little familiar with Hebrew and Arabic, as they were with the Sanscrit or the Japanese. They were thus cut off, in a great measure, from the stores of local knowledge, comparatively uncorrupted by monkish tradition, which the native peasantry could have supplied.

The appearance of the volumes, whose title is given at the head of this article, we hail as the indication of a better day, as the commencement of a happier method of investigating the condition and antiquities of the Holy Land, and indeed of any other land. These Researches will serve as a guide to future explorers. They will point out, not only *what* to observe, but *how* to observe. It will be regarded, we apprehend, as among their especial merits, that they will be the means of deterring incompetent travellers from undertaking to enlighten men by words without knowledge. They demonstrate that specific preparation must be made by him who would worthily describe either of the more important oriental countries. The value of accurate and profound Biblical learning was never seen to better advantage than in these admirable journals. But we must hasten to justify our opinion by going into some details, in respect to the authors of the work, and their method of proceeding.

One of the gentlemen, the Rev. Eli Smith, after having pursued his studies, particularly in the languages, with much success, both at Yale College and at the Andover Theological Institution, was sent, in 1826, as a missionary to Western Asia, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. At Malta he pursued the study of Italian, Arabic, and other languages. He was soon after employed, together with the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, now of Constantinople, on an extensive survey of the northern part of Asia Minor, Armenia, and other neighbouring districts. As the fruit of this journey, flourishing missions have been established among the Nestorians of Western Persia. The journals of Messrs. Smith and Dwight were published in Boston in 1833, and were soon after reprinted in London. A second edition of

these Researches will speedily appear in this country. By the publication of this work Mr. Smith gained a high character for accuracy, discrimination, and sound learning. Since 1834 he has resided, with the exception of a visit to Germany and the United States, at Beirût, on Mount Lebanon. During this period he has been able to make several important tours of observation in almost every part of Syria and Arabia Petræa, including a journey to the Haurân, a country east of the Jordan, which had scarcely been visited by preceding travellers. No individual within the sphere of our knowledge combines more qualifications for an oriental traveller than Mr. Smith. To a familiar and accurate knowledge of the Arabic language, he joins an acquaintance with the people of the East, and large experience gained in former extensive journeys. To his taste for historical and geographical studies, and to his tact in eliciting and sifting the information to be obtained from an Arab population, his companion gratefully ascribes the more important and interesting results of the journey. To his profound knowledge of the Arabic, particularly of the spoken dialects, honorable testimony has been given by such men as Gesenius and Roediger of Halle. Indeed, to to show this, we need only to glance at some parts of the present work. In the appendix to the third volume, he has given in a brief but very satisfactory essay, the principles which govern the pronunciation of the spoken Arabic at the present day ; an essay which, we are sure, will be a welcome present to all Arabic scholars. This is followed by lists of the Arabic names of places, many of which Mr. Smith had previously procured as they were written down by educated natives. They were subsequently verified and corrected from various sources, as well as by himself on visiting the respective districts. They were written down from the pronunciation of the Arabs, and according to the established rules of the language. The essay and the lists occupy one hundred and six pages.

Of the eminent qualifications of Dr. Robinson for the work which he has completed, many of our readers are well aware. He has made this journey to Palestine in the full maturity of his powers, and after a long course of diligent preparation. Early in his literary career, he edited a very acceptable edition of a part of the Iliad. As the fruit of his subsequent Biblical and classical studies we have admirable translations of

Wahl's "New Testament Lexicon," Buttmann's "Larger Greek Grammar," and Gesenius's "Hebrew Lexicon." The first four volumes of the "Biblical Repository," as well as the "Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament," bear ample witness to the diligence, sound judgment, and accurate scholarship of Professor Robinson. A residence of six or seven years in Germany, at the fountain-heads of Biblical and oriental learning, has placed before him means and facilities for study, such as perhaps no one of his countrymen has enjoyed. These various privileges he has turned to the best possible account.

Dr. Robinson had contemplated, for many years, a journey to the Holy Land. In 1832 he agreed with Mr. Smith, who was then on a visit to the United States, that they would, if possible, make such a journey together at some future time; and the same general plan was then marked out, which they have since been enabled to execute. Mr. Smith returned to his missionary labors at Beirût, while Dr. Robinson directed his attention to the preparation of a work on Biblical Geography. On the 17th of July, 1837, he embarked for Liverpool. On the 13th of November he went from Berlin to Halle, where Gesenius, Tholuck, and Roediger, suggested many topics of importance in respect to the researches on which he was about to enter. He then passed through Italy, and sailed for Alexandria from Trieste, by way of Corfu, Athens, and Syria. The first two months of the year 1838 Dr. Robinson spent in Egypt, visiting the principal cities and the more celebrated monuments. Here he was joined by his companion, Mr. Smith, and also by the Rev. James Adger, of Charleston, S. C. On the 12th of March, the party set off from Cairo for Jerusalem, by the way of Mount Sinai and Akabah. We shall not follow them in their various wanderings through "the great and terrible wilderness," nor after their feet had entered the Promised Land. Our limits will not permit us to refer to a tithe of the attractive topics which are crowded into the journals of the travellers. We shall select a few points which may be of special interest to the general reader, or upon which new light is thrown by their investigations. We shall be obliged for the most part to abridge, materially, the extended descriptions of our author, and to state results rather than go into detail.

It is well known to Biblical scholars, that there is an unsettled controversy in regard to the site of the Land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt during their residence in Egypt; and, also, in relation to the point at which they crossed the Red Sea. Dr. Robinson's researches strongly corroborate the opinion, that the Land of Goshen lay along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, on the east of the Delta, and comprehending the part of Egypt which was nearest to Palestine. That it lay upon the Nile, is apparent from the circumstances, that the Israelites practised irrigation; that Goshen was a land of vines, figs, and pomegranates; that the people ate of fish freely; while the articles of food, for which they longed in the desert, correspond well with the list given by Mr. Lane, as the food of the modern Egyptian Fellâhs. Goshen, probably, extended further west into the Delta, than has been supposed. It was "the best of the land"; and so it remains down to the present time. In the year 1376, the province now called *esh-Shurkiyeh*, was valued at a larger sum than any other province, with one exception. It is now considered the best district in Egypt. Its great fertility is owing to its being intersected by canals. It is more easily irrigated than other parts of the country, as the surface of the land is less raised above the level of the Nile. There are here more flocks and fishermen than anywhere else in Egypt; yet there are many villages wholly deserted. Another million of people at least might be sustained in the district.

From Goshen, as thus indicated, the only route to the Red Sea was along the valley of the ancient canal. From Rameses, (where the Israelites rendezvoused, "on the fifteenth day of the first month,") to the head of the Gulf, would be a distance of thirty or thirty-five miles; which might have been easily passed over by the people in three days. On the first day they came to Succoth, a name signifying *booths* which might be applied to any temporary encampment. On the next day they reached Etham, "in the edge of the wilderness," perhaps not far from the present head of the Gulf, and possibly on or near the strip of land between the Gulf and the basin of the Bitter Lakes. From Etham they "turned" more to the right; and instead of passing along the eastern side, marched down the western side of the arm of the Gulf, to the vicinity of Suez. This movement, apparently so much out of their direct course,

might well lead Pharaoh to say, "they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in." Migdol, Pi-haheroth and Baal-Zephon, were probably on or near the great plain back of Suez, which could afford ample room for the encampment of the Israelites.

In respect to the part of the sea where the passage took place, the narrative of the sacred writer presents two points on which the whole question may be said to turn. First, "the Lord caused the sea to flow out *by a strong east wind.*" The miracle, therefore, is represented as mediate; it was not a direct suspension of the laws of nature, but a miraculous adaptation of those laws so as to produce a required result. It was wrought by natural means supernaturally applied. An east wind, in the Hebrew phraseology, would include the prevalent northeast wind. From an inspection of any good map of the Gulf, like that of Niebuhr, it is obvious that a powerful northeast wind, acting here upon the ebb tide, would necessarily drive out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, and also from the end of the Gulf itself, leaving the shallower portions dry. At the same time, the more northern part of the arm, which was anciently broader and deeper than at present, would still remain covered with water. Thus the waters would be divided, and would be a defence to the Israelites "on the right hand and the left." On no other part of the entire Gulf would a northeast wind thus act.

The second point relates to the time of the passage. "The Lord caused the sea to go out *all night;*" and when the morning appeared, it had already returned in its strength. If the wind, thus miraculously sent, acted upon the ebb-tide to drive out the waters during the night to a far greater extent than usual, we still cannot assume that this extraordinary ebb, thus brought about by natural means, would continue more than three or four hours at the longest. As the wind must have acted some time before the required effect could have been produced, we cannot well assume that the Israelites, though on the alert, would set off previously to midnight. Before two o'clock they had probably completed the passage, for the Egyptians were destroyed in the sea before the morning appeared. As the Israelites numbered more than two millions of persons, besides flocks and herds, they would of course be able to pass but slowly. On the most favorable

supposition, there would remain only time enough, under the circumstances, for the body of the Israelites to have passed, at the furthest, over a space of three or four miles. The place of passage seems, therefore, to be limited to the neighbourhood of Suez. The part left dry might have been within the arm which sets up from the Gulf, which is now two-thirds of a mile wide in its narrowest part, and was probably once wider; or it might have been to the southward of this arm, where the broad shoals are still left bare at the ebb, and the channel is sometimes forded. In either case there is room for all the conditions of the miracle to be fully satisfied.

On their journey from the Red Sea to Mount Sinai, our travellers visited the remarkable monuments of Surabit el-Khadim, first discovered by Niebuhr, in 1761. Within an enclosure, one hundred and sixty feet long by seventy broad, are seen about fifteen upright stones, like tombstones, and several fallen ones, covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics; and also the remains of a small temple, whose columns are decorated with the head of Isis for a capital. At the eastern end is a subterranean chamber excavated in the sold rock, resembling an Egyptian sepulchre. The whole surface of the enclosure is covered with fallen columns, fragments of sculpture, and hewn stones. They are said to bear the names of different Egyptian kings, but no two of them to have the name of the same monarch. According to Major Felix, the name of Osirtisen I. is found on one of them, whom Wilkinson supposes to have been the patron of Joseph. These inscriptions are remarkably distinct, though they are soft sand stone, and have been exposed to the air and weather for many ages. The origin and design of these singular remains are buried in profound darkness.

With no portion of Dr. Robinson's "Researches" have we been more gratified, than with those which pertain to Mount Sinai. The accounts of preceding travellers respecting the mountains and the Peninsula, are, in some important particulars, very loose and confused. The topography of the region, according to their representations, seemed to be not at all adapted to some of the circumstances mentioned in the book of Exodus, as attending the promulgation of the law. No site sufficiently ample had been found for the accommodation of the immense multitudes, who were gathered in terror around the mountain "which might be touched."

The names of *Horeb* and *Sinai* are used interchangeably in the Pentateuch, to denote the mountain on which the law was given. The most obvious explanation has been to regard one (Sinai) as the general name for the whole cluster, and the other (Horeb) as designating a particular mountain. So the Arabs now apply the name Gebel et-Tûr to the whole central granite region ; while the different mountains of which it is composed, are called Gebel Kâtherin, Gebel Mûsa, &c. Professor Robinson comes to the same conclusion, though he applies the names differently, regarding Horeb as the general name, and Sinai as the particular one. Two circumstances seem to favor this conclusion. One is, that before and during the march of the Israelites from Egypt to the mountain, the latter is called Horeb ; while during the sojourn of the people before the mountain, it is spoken of (with one exception) only as Sinai, and after their departure it is again mentioned exclusively as Horeb. The other and main proof is, that while the Hebrews were encamped at Rephidim, Moses was commanded to go on with the elders before the people, and smite the rock in Horeb, in order to obtain water for the camp. The necessary inference is, that some part of Horeb was near to Rephidim ; while Sinai was yet a day's march distant. It is conjectured that Rephidim was near the point where the great valley or Wady, now called *esh-Sheikh*, issues from the high central granite cliffs. The valley just mentioned is one of the largest and most celebrated in the Peninsula. It takes its rise in the very heart of Sinai, whence it issues a broad valley, at first in an eastern direction, and then sweeping round north and west, receives another valley, and takes the name of Feirân. As such it is well-watered, has gardens of fruit and palm trees, and runs quite down to the sea. The lower and easier road to Sinai is through this valley, though portions of it are long and circuitous. Dr. Robinson and his companions took a shorter path, striking directly towards the convent, and ascending in part by a narrow and difficult pass. In the afternoon of March 23d, they commenced the slow and toilsome ascent along the narrow defile, between blackened, shattered, cliffs of granite, some eight hundred feet high, and not more than two hundred and fifty yards apart, which seemed ready at any moment to fall upon their heads. The whole pass is filled with large stones and rocks, the *débris* of those cliffs.

As they advanced the sand was occasionally moist, and on digging into it with the hand, the hole was soon filled with fine sweet water.

At half past three o'clock they reached the top of the defile, from which the Convent was two hours distant. The interior and loftier peaks of the great circle of Sinai soon began to open upon them, — black, rugged, and desolate summits; and as they advanced, the dark and frowning front of Sinai itself (the Horeb of the monks) began to appear. They were still gradually ascending, and the valley was gradually opening; but as yet all was a naked desert. Afterwards, a few shrubs were sprinkled round, and a small encampment of black tents was seen on their right, with camels and goats browsing. The scenery was uncommonly wild and desolate, strikingly resembling the mountains around the *Mer de Glace* in Switzerland.

As they advanced, the valley still opened wider and wider with a gentle ascent, and became full of shrubs and tufts of herbs, shut in on each side by lofty granite ridges, with rugged shattered peaks a thousand feet high, while the face of Horeb rose directly before them, when they involuntarily exclaimed, "Here is room enough for a large encampment." Reaching the top of the ascent, a fine broad plain lay before them, sloping down gently towards the south-southeast, enclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern, naked, splintered peaks and ridges of indescribable grandeur; and terminated at the distance of more than a mile by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly in frowning majesty, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height. It was a scene of solemn grandeur, wholly unexpected, and of overwhelming interest. On the left of Horeb, a deep and narrow valley runs up south-southeast, between lofty walls of rock, as if in continuation of the southeast corner of the plain. In this valley, at the distance of near a mile from the plain, stands the convent. The deep verdure of its fruit-trees and cypresses is seen as the traveller approaches, an oasis of beauty amid scenes of the sternest desolation. The whole plain is called *Wady er-Râhah;* and the valley of the convent is known to the Arabs as *Wady Shu'eib*, that is, the "Vale of Jethro."

Still advancing, the front of Horeb rose like a wall before the travellers. One can approach quite to the foot and touch

the mount. As they crossed the plain, their feelings were deeply affected, finding here, so unexpectedly, a spot perfectly adapted to the Scriptural account of the giving of the Law. No one has hitherto described this plain, nor even mentioned it, except in a slight and general manner; probably because most travellers have reached the convent by a different route, without passing over it. Another reason may be the fact, that neither the highest point of Sinai, (now called *Jebel Mûsa*,) nor the loftier summit of St. Catharine, is visible from any part of it. The breadth of the plain, at a particular point, was found to be nine hundred yards; though in some parts it is wider. The length, in another direction, was two thousand three hundred and thirty-three yards. The northern slope of the plain was estimated to be somewhat less than a mile in length, by one third of a mile in breadth. The whole surface, including one or two recesses or wadys, amounts to nearly two square miles. It is obvious, that here was room enough to satisfy all the requisitions of the narrative in Exodus, so far as it relates to the assembling of the congregation to receive the law. Here, also, one may see the fitness of the injunction, to set bounds around the Mount, that neither man nor beast might approach too near.

The northern brow of Horeb, which overlooks the plain er-Râhah, rises perhaps five hundred feet above the basin. The distance to the summit is more than half a mile. The extreme difficulty, and even danger of the ascent is well rewarded, by the prospect which is spread out from the top.

"Our conviction," continues Dr. Robinson, "was strengthened, that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where 'the Lord descended in fire,' and proclaimed the Law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount which one could approach and touch, if not forbidden; and here the mountain-brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick clouds would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trumpet be heard, when 'the Lord came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai.' We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene."

We subjoin a few additional notices from a private and unpublished letter, which was written by one of the travellers.

"Only a narrow ravine separates the plain from the mountains on the northeast, in which the Greek Convent is situated.

To the southeast it is exposed, and it overlooks a sea of mountains to a great distance. The whole mountain (on which it is supposed that the Law was given) is granite, mostly of the rose-colored species, and of the coarsest texture. Peaks of this rock rise up in every direction, dividing the whole summit into narrow valleys, ravines, and recesses, of a wild, and, in some instances, grand character. The peak, which we were seeking, was above us, a giant mountain of one naked, solid rock, only cracked here and there by some convulsion of nature. Even our old Bedawy guide said, that it was impossible to ascend the summit. We determined to make the attempt, and stripped ourselves of all unnecessary appendages. I tied my Hebrew Bible in my handkerchief, upon my back, and balanced it by a hammer on my breast. We made one false attempt, and were compelled to retrace our steps. Our second effort was more successful. Climbing round the point of the peak, we worked our way, more with our hands than with our feet, from crag to crag, and crevice to crevice, until we were within about ten feet from the summit. Here a projecting shelf arrested us. It afforded a small cover which formed a defence from the cold wind that was blowing. I was the first to reach it; and while my companions were overtaking me, I opened my Hebrew Bible, and read the Ten Commandments in the very words in which they were originally spoken by Jehovah himself, probably from the rock just above my head. The plain, in which the trembling Israelites stood, was all spread out in full view beneath me, surrounded by lofty mountains, forming an amphitheatre of almost unequalled magnificence.

"Our ascent to Mount St. Catherine was more fatiguing, it being steeper, and about five hundred feet higher. The principal interest is the prospect which it affords. On one side, the Red Sea could be seen to a long distance towards Suez; on another side the gulf of Akabah could be discerned; and on a third, an extended ridge of mountains, which bound the desert that reaches to Palestine."

The road which Dr. Robinson and his companions took in travelling from Egypt to Hebron, by the way of Mount Sinai and Akabah, is about four hundred and fifty miles in length.* The whole desert south of Hebron is almost utterly destitute of grass. Only two or three spots of it were seen. There are no oases in the desert; nothing on which, as it would appear, horned cattle could live. Yet in nearly every valley

* The brethren of Joseph probably took the middle route from Beersheba to Egypt between Sinai and the Mediterranean.

there are herbs which grow almost without water. On these, camels, sheep, and goats live, which are the only domestic animals raised here, with the exception of a few asses.

On the 11th of April, there was a violent Sirocco. The wind had been all the morning at northeast, but at eleven o'clock, it suddenly changed to the south, and came with violence and intense heat, till it blew a perfect tempest. The atmosphere was filled with fine particles of sand, forming a bluish haze; the sun was hardly visible, his disk exhibiting only a dun and sickly hue; and the glow of the wind came upon the face as from a burning oven.* Often one could not see ten rods around; and the eyes, ears, mouth, and clothes were filled with sand. It was with the utmost difficulty that a tent could be pitched, or when pitched could be kept upright. The storm was probably as terrific as most of those which have given rise to the exaggerated accounts of travellers. Yet here was no danger of life. To a traveller feeble and exhausted, and without water, such a tempest might prove fatal.

On the 12th of April, our travellers reached the end of the desert, and were greeted with the first sight of the mountains of Judah. They came upon an open, undulating country; the shrubs ceased, or nearly so, and green grass was seen along the lesser water-courses. On the same day, they had the high gratification of discovering the ruins of the ancient Beërsheba, which have been apparently unvisited and unknown for five centuries, with the exception of a slight notice which Seetzen obtained respecting them, from the Arabs. Upon the northern side are two deep wells, which are still called *Bîr es-Seba.* They are some distance apart, circular, and stoned up very neatly with solid masonry. The larger one is twelve and a half feet in diameter, and forty-four and a half feet deep to the surface of the water; sixteen feet of which, at the bottom, are excavated in the solid rock. The other well lies fifty-five rods west-southwest, and is five feet in diameter and forty-two feet deep. The water in both is pure and sweet, and in great abundance. Both wells are surrounded with drinking-troughs of stone for camels and flocks; such as were, doubtless, used of old for the flocks which then fed on the adjacent hills. The low hills

* "He shall rain crooked lightning, fire and sulphur, and a burning wind," &c. Ps. xi. 6.

north of the wells are covered with the ruins of former habitations, the foundations of which are still distinctly to be traced, though hardly one stone remains upon another. The houses appear not to have stood compactly, but were scattered over several little hills, and in the hollows between. Eusebius and Jerome describe the place only as a "large village," with a Roman garrison. The ruins are spread over a space half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth.

On the 14th of April, Dr. Robinson reached Jerusalem. His emotions on drawing near to this venerable city, he thus alludes to.

"The feelings of a Christian traveller on approaching Jerusalem, can be better conceived than described. Mine were strongly excited. Before us lay Zion, the Mount of Olives, the Vales of Hinnom and Jehosaphat, and other objects of the deepest interest; while, crowning the summits of the same ancient hills, was spread out the city where the God of old had dwelt, and where the Saviour of the world had lived and taught and died. From the earliest childhood I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot; now I beheld them with my own eyes; and they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among cherished scenes of childhood long unvisited, indeed, but distincly recollected; and it was almost a painful interruption, when my companion (who had been here before) began to point out and name the various objects in view."

More than three hundred pages of Dr. Robinson's "Researches" are devoted to Jerusalem, its topographical and historical relations, its site, its hills, its dales, its remains of antiquity, the traces of its ancient population; in short, every thing connected with it that could have a bearing upon the illustration of the Scriptures. A number of missionary friends, who had been long upon the ground, were ready and desirous to lend a helping hand; once and again the more important spots were visited; while these repeated observations were compared with the accounts of ancient writers and former travellers, until at length conjectures or opinions were ripened into conviction or gradually abandoned. In the examination of Jerusalem, as well as of the Holy Land generally, Dr. Robinson and his companion early adopted two guiding principles. One was, to avoid, as far as possible, all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks; to examine everywhere for themselves, with the Scriptures in their

hands ; and to apply for information solely to the Arab population. The second was, to leave, as much as practicable, the beaten track, and direct their journeys and researches to those portions of the country which had been least visited. The nature of the long series of foreign tradition has been recognised and lamented by travellers and others ; while that of the native Arab population has been, for the most part, overlooked, and its existence hardly known. After the Muhammedan conquest, when the Aramæan language gradually gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places, which the Greeks could never bend to their orthography, found here a ready entrance ; and have thus lived on upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Moslem, townsmen or Bedawîn, even unto our own day, almost in the same form in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures.

It will not be in our power even to advert to many of the more interesting researches and historical investigations, with which the sections upon Jerusalem are crowded. We can only select two or three topics. We will begin with some account of the important discoveries made by Dr. Robinson in relation to the site of the temple.

According to Josephus, the temple stood upon a rocky eminence in the eastern part of the city, on which at first there was scarcely level space enough for the fane and altar ; the sides being everywhere steep and precipitous. Solomon built first a wall around the summit. He built up also a wall on the east, and filled in on the inside apparently with earth, on which he erected a portico or covered colonnade. The temple was thus left naked on three sides. In process of time, however, the whole enclosure was built up and filled in, quite to a level with the hill, which was in this way enlarged, a three-fold wall being carried up from the bottom, and thus both the upper enclosure and the lower parts of the temple were constructed. Where these last were the lowest, it was built up three hundred cubits, and in some places more. Nor yet was the whole depth of the foundations visible ; for, to a great extent, the valleys were filled in with earth. In the construction of this work, the builders used stones of the size of forty cubits. The enclosure, thus constructed, was a quadrangle, four stadia in circumference. The interior was surrounded by porticos or covered colon-

nades along the walls ; and the open part was paved with variegated stones. This became a place of great resort, and was sometimes called the *Court of the Gentiles.* Within a second court, which neither foreigners nor the unclean might pass, was the third or most sacred enclosure, which none but the priests were allowed to enter ; consisting of the *Naos* or temple itself, and the small court before it, where stood the altar. It was this *Naos*, or the body of the temple, which was rebuilt by Herod, who also built over again some of the magnificent porticos around the area. But no mention is made of his having had any thing to do with the massive walls of the exterior enclosure. On the West side of the great outer court, four gates led into the city ; the southernmost of which opened upon the bridge connecting the area of the temple with the Xystus on Mount Zion.

That the Grand Mosque of Omar occupies in part or in whole the same general location that the Temple did, would seem to be hardly a matter of question. But how far there exist traces which may serve to mark a connexion between the ancient and modern precincts, or perhaps establish their identity, is a point which appears never to have been discussed. The general construction of the area or court within the walls of the mosque, does not differ from that of the ancient temple ; though its present extent is much greater than that assigned by Josephus to the ancient one.

The southeast corner of the enclosure stands directly on the brink of the steep descent, and impends over the valley of Jehoshaphat ; which is, at this point, about one hundred and thirty feet deep. The height of the wall at this angle is at least sixty English feet. On the north the area is skirted for nearly half its breadth by the deep pool or trench usually called *Bethesda*, and vaults connected with it. At the northwest corner is a barrack which probably occupies in part the site of the ancient fortress Antonia. The wall on the west is mostly hidden by the houses of the city, except near its south end. There are on this side four entrances, to which streets lead down from the city. Near the southwest corner the wall is again exposed, and is about sixty feet in height. The wall on the south is the highest of all ; for here the ground appears originally to have sloped down more rapidly from the top of Moriah than in any other part. This

wall was apparently built on the side of a declivity, and not on the brow of a valley.

The upper part of these walls is obviously of modern origin; but it is not less obvious, that the huge blocks which appear only in portions of the lower part, are to be referred to an earlier date. The appearance of the walls in almost every part, seems to indicate that they have been built up on ancient and massive foundations. The large stones are perhaps most conspicuous at the southeast corner. Here are several courses, alternating with each other, in which the stones measure from seventeen to nineteen feet in length, by three or four feet in height; while one block at the corner is seven and a half feet thick. Towards the northeast corner, one of the stones measures twenty-four feet in length, by three feet in height and six feet in breadth. The corner-stone on the west side of the southwest corner, is thirty feet ten inches in length, by six and a half feet in breadth. The manner in which they are hewn gives them also a peculiar character. They are, what is called, *bevelled;* that is, after the whole face has first been hewn and squared, a narrow strip along the edges is cut down a quarter or half an inch lower than the rest of the surface. In the upper parts of the wall, which are obviously the most modern, the stones are not *bevelled*, and they are small.

"At the first view of these walls," remarks Dr. Robinson, "I was led to the persuasion, that the lower portions had belonged to the ancient temple; and every subsequent visit only served to strengthen this conviction. The size of the stones, and the heterogeneous character of the walls, render it a matter beyond all doubt, that the former were never laid in their present places, by the Mohammedans; and the peculiar form in which they are hewn, does not properly belong, so far as I know, either to Saracenic or Roman architecture. Indeed, every thing seems to point to a Jewish origin; and a discovery, which we made in the course of our examination, reduces this hypothesis to an absolute certainty." — Vol. I. p. 424.

On the first visit to the southwest corner of the area of the mosque, it was observed that several of the stones jutted out from the western wall, which at first sight seemed to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake. But little regard was paid to the circumstance at the moment. Subsequently, however, the remark was

dropped in conversation, that the stones had the appearance of having once belonged to a large arch.

"At this remark," continues Professor Robinson, "a train of thought flashed upon my mind, which I hardly dared to follow out, until I had again repaired to the spot, in order to satisfy myself with my own eyes, as to the truth or falsehood of the suggestion. I found it even so! The courses of these immense stones, which seemed at first to have sprung out of their places in the wall, in consequence of some enormous violence, occupy, nevertheless, their original position; their external surface is hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the foot or commencement of an immense arch, which once sprung up from this western wall in a direction toward Mount Zion, across the valley of the Tyropœon. This arch could have belonged only to THE BRIDGE, which, according to Josephus, led from this part of the temple to the Xystus on Mount Zion; and it proves incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs." — *Ibid.* p. 425.

The traces of this arch cannot be mistaken. Its southern side is thirty-nine English feet distant from the southwest corner of the area, and the arch itself measures fifty-one feet along the wall. Three courses of its stones still remain; of which one is five feet four inches thick, and the others not much less. One of the stones is twenty-four and a half feet long. The part of the arch which remains is, of course, but a fragment; but of this fragment the chord measures twelve feet six inches; the sine, eleven feet ten inches; and the cosine, three feet ten inches. The distance from this point across the valley to the precipitous natural rock of Zion, is about three hundred feet. This gives the proximate length of the ancient bridge. The existence of these remains of the ancient bridge, seems to remove all doubt as to the identity of this part of the enclosure of the mosque, with that of the ancient temple. One cause why they have remained so many ages unseen by any writer or traveller, has probably been the want of knowledge, that any such bridge ever existed. It is mentioned by no writer but Josephus; and even by him only incidentally. The bridge was, doubtless, broken down in the general destruction of the city. It should be remarked, also, that the spot is approached only through narrow and crooked lanes, in a part of the city where the monastic guides of later travellers would not care to ac-

company them ; and which they themselves could not well, nor perhaps safely, explore alone.

Here, then, are indisputable remains of Jewish antiquity, consisting of an important portion of the western wall of the ancient temple-area. They are probably to be referred to a period long antecedent to the days of Herod. His labors seem to have been confined to the body of the temple and to the porticos. The magnitude of the stones and the workmanship seem also to point to an earlier origin. In the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel, no mention is made of these exterior walls. The first temple was destroyed by fire which would not affect these foundations ; nor is it probable that a feeble colony of returning exiles could have accomplished works like these. There seems, therefore, little room for hesitation in referring them back to the days of Solomon, or rather of his successors, who, according to Josephus, built up here immense walls " immovable for all time."

" Ages upon ages have since rolled away ; yet these foundations still endure, and are as immovable as at the beginning. Nor is there aught in the present physical condition of these remains, to prevent them from continuing as long as the world shall last. It was the temple of the living God, and, like the everlasting hills on which it stood, its foundations were laid ' for all time.' " — *Ibid.* pp. 427, 428.

One of the most important inquiries in a topographical point of view, was that respecting the exact situation of the ancient tower Hippicus, which Josephus assumed as the starting point in his description of all the city walls ; and which was to be sought for at the northwest corner of the upper city or Mount Zion. On this spot, a little south of the Yâfa Gate, lies at present the fortress or citadel of the modern Jerusalem. It is an irregular assemblage of square towers, surrounded on the inner side towards the city by a low wall, and having on the outer or west side a deep fosse. It bore, for a long period, the name of *The Tower of David* ; among the Franks, it is still so called. Within this fortress, as the traveller enters the city by the Yâfa Gate, the northeastern tower attracts his notice ; and, even to the unpractised eye, bears strong marks of antiquity. The upper part is apparently modern, and does not differ from the other towers and walls around ; but the tower part is built of larger stones, *bevelled* at the edges, and apparently still occupying their origi-

nal places. It early occurred to Dr. Robinson, that the lower part was probably a remnant of the tower of Hippicus, erected by Herod, and which Titus left standing. This impression was daily strengthened ; and, after measurements and a careful inspection, confirmed. The height of the antique portion is forty feet, but there is much rubbish in the fosse at the bottom, and an allowance must be made of from five to ten feet more on this account. The large stones of which this part is built have evidently never been disturbed. One of the stones is nearly thirteen feet long. The identification of this tower is a point of very considerable importance, as it furnishes a sure starting place for further investigations.

After a full topographical and historical examination, Dr. Robinson comes to the conclusion, that the Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord. The alleged discovery of them by the credulous and aged Helena may have been the work of pious fraud. If it be asked, where, then, are the true sites of Golgotha and the sepulchre, it must be replied, that probably all search will be in vain. We know nothing more from the Bible, than that they were near each other, without the gate, and nigh to the city, in a frequented spot. This would favor the conclusion, that the place was probably upon a great road leading from one of the gates ; and such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Joppa or Damascus.

The present population of Jerusalem is estimated at eleven thousand, of whom four thousand five hundred are Mohammedans, three thousand Jews, and three thousand five hundred Christians. Of all this native population, as well as throughout Syria and Egypt, the Arabic is the vernacular language ; as much so as the English in London, or the French in Paris. The greater part of the Jews now resident in Palestine are such as have come up from various countries to the land of their fathers, in order to spend the remainder of their days, and die in one of the four sacred places, — Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, or Safed. Most of them appear to be of Spanish or Polish origin. Of all Jews, they are the most bigoted, and the least accessible to the labors of Christian missionaries.

The markets in Jerusalem are supplied by the peasants

from the neighbouring villages. There seem to be no gardens of any importance around the city, except those below Siloam. Wheat appears not to grow well near Jerusalem, and is brought from other quarters. The city has few manufactures, and no exports except of articles carried away by the pilgrims. There are nine establishments for the manufacture of soap. There are also nine presses for making the oil of sesame. The chief articles fabricated by the Christians, are rosaries, crucifixes, models of the Holy Sepulchre, and the like, carved in olive wood, the fruit of the Dôm-palm, said to be brought from Mecca, mother of pearl, or sometimes in the species of black, shining stone, found near the Dead Sea. Some of these are neatly executed. The concourse of pilgrims at Easter converts the city into a sort of toy-shop or fair.

The climate of the mountainous tract on which Jerusalem is situated, differs from that of the temperate parts of Europe and America, more in the alternations of wet and dry seasons, than in the degrees of temperature. The variations of rain and sunshine, which in the west exist throughout the whole year, are, in Palestine, confined chiefly to the latter part of autumn and winter; while the remaining months enjoy, almost uninterruptedly, a cloudless sky. The autumnal rains, the *early rains* of Scripture, usually commence in the latter half of October, or the beginning of November; not suddenly, but by degrees; which gives opportunity for the husbandman to sow his fields of wheat and barley. During the months of November and December, the rains continue to fall heavily; afterwards they return only at longer intervals, and are less heavy; but at no period during the winter, do they wholly cease. Snow often falls in Jerusalem, in January and February, to the depth of a foot or more; but does not usually remain long. Rain continues to fall, more or less, during the month of March, but is rare after that period. During April and May, the sky is usually serene, the air mild and balmy, and the face of nature, after seasons of ordinary rain, still green and pleasant to the eye. Showers occur occasionally, but they are mild and refreshing. In ordinary seasons, from the cessation of showers in spring, until their commencement in October or November, rain never falls, and the sky is usually serene. If, during the winter, there has been a sufficiency of rain, the husbandman is certain of his crop; and is also perfectly sure of fine weather for the ingathering

of his harvest. The high elevation of Jerusalem secures it the privilege of a pure atmosphere; nor does the heat of summer ever become oppressive, except during the occasional prevalence of the south wind, or sirocco. In autumn, the whole land has become dry and parched; the cisterns are nearly empty; the few streams and fountains fail; and all nature, physical and animal, looks forward with longing to the return of the rainy season.

While Dr. Robinson and his companion made Jerusalem their home, they visited Bethel, Wady Mûsa, the Dead Sea, Jericho, Hebron, Gaza, and other towns in ancient Philistia. From the lengthened and very interesting journals pertaining to these excursions, we select and condense some notices respecting a few of the prominent scenes and objects.

The following is from the description of the approach to Wady Mûsa, which the travellers, in accordance with the common opinion, understand to be the ancient Petra in Edom.

"The heat (May 29) in the Wady was so great, and the prospect of the country so very limited, that we concluded to travel during a part of the night; stopping now to dine and rest, and intending to set off again at midnight. The evening was warm and still; we therefore did not pitch our tent, but spread our carpets on the sand, and lay down, not indeed at first to sleep, but to enjoy the scene and the associations which thronged upon our minds. It was truly one of the most romantic desert scenes which we had yet met with; and I hardly remember another in all our wanderings, of which I retain a more lively impression. Here was the deep, broad valley in the midst of the Arabah, unknown to all the civilized world, shut in by high and singular cliffs; over against us were the mountains of Edom; in the distance rose Mount Hor in its lone majesty, the spot where the aged prophet-brothers took of each other their last farewell; while above our heads was the deep azure of an oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm. Near at hand were the flashing fires of our party; the Arabs themselves, in their wild attire, all nine at supper around one bowl; one after another rising and gliding through the glow of the fires; the Sheikh approaching and saluting us; and beyond all this circle, the patient camels lying at their ease, and lazily chewing the cud." —Vol. II. pp. 499, 500.

The usual road to Wady Mûsa from the north, passes up

the Arabah through Wady er Ruba'y, and so around Mount Hor, entering Wady Mûsa from the southwest. Our travellers, however, determined to approach the place from the east, so as to enter by the celebrated chasm in the mountain on that side. Accordingly, (on the 31st of May,) they reached the valley from the east, and followed it westwards along the fine little brook, which was skirted with an abundance of oleanders, then in full blossom. The valley is then shut in by sandstone cliffs, at first forty or fifty feet high, leaving between them a space of about fifty yards for the breadth of the ravine. Here is the commencement of this wonderful necropolis. The tombs begin immediately on the right; on the left, there are none for some distance further down. On the right, are three tombs which resemble some in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They are isolated masses of rock, about fifteen or twenty feet square. A little further down, on the left, is a tomb with a front of six Ionic columns. Directly over this is another sepulchre, the front of which, above the door, bears, as an ornament, four slender pyramids sculptured in the same rock; similar to pyramids which are said to have surmounted, in like manner, the sepulchres of Helena at Jerusalem, and of the Maccabees at Modin. This appears to connect the later sepulchral architecture of Palestine with that of the adjacent Arabia Petræa. The height of the rocks is first eighty or one hundred feet; the bottom has a rapid descent, and the sides become higher towards the west, varying from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, or perhaps two hundred and fifty feet. The height of these cliffs appears to have been greatly exaggerated; Burckhardt alone giving the true estimates.

All at once the beautiful façade of the Khŭzneh ("the treasure" which the Arabs ascribe to Pharaoh) in the western precipice, burst on the view, in all the delicacy of its first chiselling, and in all the freshness and beauty of its soft coloring. This is one of the rare instances, where the truth of the reality exceeds the ideal anticipation.

"Nothing I had seen of architectural effect in Rome, or Thebes, or even in Athens," remarks Dr. Robinson, "comes up to it in the first impression. It does not bear criticism as to its architecture; though this at least is symmetrical. The broken pediment and other ornaments are not all in a pure style. But here its position as a part of the lofty mass of col-

ored rock, over against the imposing avenue ; its wonderful state of preservation ; the glow and teint of the stone ; and the wild scenery around ; all are unique, and combine into a power of association and impression which takes complete possession of the mind." —*Ibid.* pp. 518, 519.

Further down, on the left, is the theatre, wholly hewn out of the living rock. The diameter of the bottom is one hundred and twenty feet, with thirty-three rows of seats, rising one above another, in the side of the cliff behind. Above the seats is a row of small chambers, excavated in the circle of the rock, looking down upon the scene below. Burckhardt estimates the theatre as capable of containing three thousand persons. This seems too low a number, for each row of seats would probably contain, on an average, more than one hundred persons. The cliffs on both sides are full of tombs ; while in front, along the face of the eastern cliffs, the eye of the spectator rests on a multitude of the largest and most splendid sepulchres. " Strange contrast ! Where a taste for the frivolities of the day was, at the same time, gratified by the magnificence of tombs ; amusement in a cemetery ; a theatre in the midst of sepulchres ! "

Pharaoh's Castle (Kûsr Far'ôn) is the only structure of mason-work now standing in Wady Mûsa. It is a mass of walls mostly entire, but of inferior workmanship. On the south of this structure and of the triumphal arch, stands the lone column, called by the Arabs Zub Far'ôn. It is composed of several pieces, and is connected with the foundations of a temple. Preceding travellers have scarcely referred to one prominent fact, that the remains above referred to are but single objects amidst a vast tract of similar ruins. Indeed the whole area was once obviously occupied by a large city of houses. Along the banks of the stream, the violence of the water has apparently swept away the traces of dwellings ; but elsewhere, the whole body of the area, on both sides of the torrent, and especially on the north, is covered with the foundations and stones of an extensive town. The stones are hewn ; and the houses erected with them must have been solid and well-built. These foundations and ruins cover an area of not much less than two miles in circumference ; affording room enough, in an Oriental city, for the accommodation of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants. The rock, in which all these monuments are sculptured, is

the soft, reddish sandstone of this whole district, resting on lower masses of porphyry, and extending a great distance, both north and south. The forms of the cliffs are often exceedingly irregular and grotesque. The only high point of all the sandstone tract, is Mount Hor. The softness of the stone afforded great facilities for excavating and sculpturing; though it has operated against the preservation of the monuments, except where sheltered from exposure.

A very remarkable circumstance is the color of the rocks. They present an endless variety of bright and living hues, from the deepest crimson to the softest pink, verging also sometimes to orange and yellow. These varying shades are often marked by waving lines, imparting to the surface of the rock a succession of brilliant and changing teints, like the hues of watered silk, and adding greatly to the imposing effect of the sculptured monuments.

Two styles of architecture are obviously predominant, the Egyptian and the Roman-Greek; or rather, it is the mixture and union of these two, which constitutes the prevailing style. The Egyptian is principally seen in the body or masses of the façades. The more classic orders of Greece and Rome are conspicuous in the columns and other ornaments. But even here all is florid and overloaded, indicating a later age and a degenerate taste. This amalgamation of styles may be accounted for, by the prevalence, first of the Roman influence, and then of the Roman dominion, which penetrated hither both by way of Asia Minor and Syria, and also from Egypt. This took place about the beginning of the Christian era. To that time and the following centuries, are probably to be ascribed the architectural skill and monuments, which now excite the wonder of travellers.

Most of these monuments were obviously tombs. The abodes of the dead were regarded in Palestine, as well as in Egypt, with profound veneration. They were constructed even with greater pomp and splendor than the habitations of the living. Nor is there any necessity for the supposition, that these excavations were intended, in part, as dwellings for the inhabitants. The wide-spread ruins which are visible, attest that a large and extensive city of houses, built of stone, once occupied this spot. Some of the larger and more splendid structures, however, seem not to have been sepulchres, but were more probably temples of the gods. Such exca-

vated temples were known in Egypt. The character of the front of the beautiful Khŭzneh, is decidedly that of a temple. So also was, probably, the structure described by Irby and Mangles, as having arched substructions built up in front, and afterwards used as a Christian church.

Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith visited the Dead Sea on two occasions; in the first instance, carefully examining the western shore from Ain Jidy (Engeddi) to Jericho and the entrance of the Jordan; and in the second case, visiting the southern end, in their journey up the Ghôr and the Arabah to Wady Mûsa. We select some interesting facts, respecting this Sea, from various parts of the "Researches."

The whole length of the Dead Sea is about fifty English miles. The length appears to vary not less than two or three miles in different years, or seasons of the year, according as the water extends up, more or less, upon the flats towards the south. The bed of the Dead Sea is only a portion of the Ghôr, or great valley, which here retains its usual breadth, and does not spread out into an oval form, as is the case around the Lake of Tiberias. The breadth, at Ain Jidy, was estimated at eleven or twelve miles. At the same point the height of the western cliffs was judged to be fifteen hundred feet; and that of the highest ridges of the eastern mountains, lying back from the shore, at from two thousand to two thousand five hundred feet above the water. The Sea lies in its deep caldron, surrounded by lofty cliffs of naked limestone rock, and exposed for seven or eight months in each year to the unclouded beams of a burning sun. Nothing but sterility and death-like solitude can be looked for upon its shores, except in those parts where there are fountains or streams of fresh water. The stories, so long current, of the pestiferous nature of the Dead Sea and its waters, are merely fabulous. The coasts of the Sea have been inhabited from time immemorial, and are yet so in a degree. The Arabs, who accompanied Dr. Robinson, had never seen or heard of any noxious vapor arising from its bosom. The burning heat of the climate is, in itself, unhealthy; and, in connexion with the marshes, gives rise in summer to frequent intermittent fevers. Many circumstances testify to the volcanic nature of the whole region. The buoyancy of the waters of the sea is owing to the great specific gravity of the water, arising from the heavy solution of various salts contained in it, chiefly those of mag-

nesia and soda. According to the testimony of all antiquity, and of most modern travellers, there exists within the waters of the Dead Sea no living thing,—no trace, indeed, of animal or vegetable life. "Our own experience," says Dr. Robinson, "goes to confirm the truth of this testimony. We perceived no sign of life within the waters." The shells, which travellers have met with, were probably those of land animals; or, if they belonged to the lake, they existed only near the mouth of the Jordan, where there is a large intermixture of fresh water. At the south end of the Sea is a mountain, the whole body of which is a solid mass of rock-salt. The ridge is in general very uneven and rugged, varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in height. The very stones beneath the feet of the travellers were pure salt. This continued to be the character of the mountain, more or less distinctly marked, through its whole length, — about five geographical miles. The existence of this immense mass of fossil salt, accounts for the excessive saltness of the Dead Sea. In the vicinity of this mountain lay, doubtless, the "City of Salt," where the Hebrews, on two occasions, gained decisive victories over Edom.

It has been commonly assumed, that the Dead Sea has existed only since the destruction of Sodom, as recorded in Genesis; and the favorite hypothesis of late years had been, that the Jordan, before that time, had flowed into the Elanitic branch of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Akabah, leaving the present bed of the Dead Sea a fertile plain. But this obviously could not have been the case. On the contrary, the waters of the Arabah itself, and also those of the high western desert, south of the Akabah, all flow *north* into the Dead Sea.* Every circumstance goes to show, that a lake must have existed in this plain, into which the Jordan poured its waters, long before the catastrophe of Sodom. It is very manifest, that the main features in the configuration of this region, are coëval with the present condition of the surface of the earth in general, and not the effect of any local catastrophe at a subsequent period. It should seem, also, that the Dead Sea anciently covered a less extent of surface than at present. The cities which were destroyed, must have been situated on the south of the lake as it then existed; for Lot fled to Zoar, which was *near* to Sodom, and Zoar lay almost

* See also *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 221.

at the southern extremity of the present sea. The fertile plain of Sodom, therefore, lay also south of the lake "as thou comest to Zoar." "It was well watered, like the land of Egypt." So more streams now flow into the valley at the south end of the Sea, from wadys of the eastern mountains, than are to be found so near together in all Palestine. In the same plain were "slime-pits," wells of bitumen or asphaltum, which appear to have been of considerable extent. Did these disappear in consequence of the catastrophe of the plain?

The southern part of the Dead Sea has a remarkable configuration. There is a long and singular peninsula connected with the eastern shore by a broad, low neck; the bay extending up further south, is, in many parts, very shallow; while beyond, there are low, flat shores, over which the lake, when swollen by the rains of winter, sets up for several miles. The whole of this part of the Sea is like the winding estuary of a large American river, when the tide is out and the shoals are dry. Masses of asphaltum, floating in the Sea, sometimes appear suddenly; a phenomenon occurring at the present day only rarely, and immediately after earthquakes, and confined, as it should seem, to the southern part of the Sea.

"In the view of all these facts," says Dr. Robinson, "there is but a step to the obvious hypothesis, that the 'fertile plain of Sodom' is now occupied in part by the southern bay; and that, by some convulsion of nature, connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities, either the surface of this plain was scooped out, or the bottom of the sea was heaved up, so as to cause the waters to overflow and cover permanently a larger tract than formerly. In either case it would follow, that the sources of bitumen would, in like manner, be covered by the sea; and the slimy substance becoming hardened and fixed by contact with the waters, might be expected to rise occasionally, and float upon the surface of this heavy flood."—*Ibid.* p. 604.

The country is subject to earthquakes, and exhibits also frequent traces of volcanic action. It would have been no uncommon effect of either of these causes, to heave up the bottom of the ancient lake, and thus produce the phenomenon in question. The historical account implies also the agency of fire. Perhaps both causes were at work; for volcanic action and earthquakes go hand in hand, and the accompanying electric discharges usually cause lightnings to play and thunders to roll. In this way we have all the phe-

nomena, which the most literal interpretation of the sacred records can demand.*

We regret that we cannot proceed further in the presentation of these deeply interesting facts and observations. We would gladly follow our learned and indefatigable countrymen in their discoveries in the "South country," where the five lords of the Philistines once ruled, in the sacred places around the holy city, in the unvisited region of Bethel and Ai, in their wanderings to "Jacob's well," in their ascent of Gerisim and Tabor, and in the graphic details of their visit to the lake of Galilee, the "sea-coasts" of Zebulon, and the "haven of ships" of Asher; but we must forbear.

The disproportion between the size of these volumes (almost *two thousand* octavo pages,) and the brief time employed in the researches, may strike the reader as a serious objection; as implying the introduction of irrelevant matters, or the employment of a common device of a mere book-maker. But to such an objection there are several satisfactory replies. In the first place, instead of being the hasty result of a six months' ramble, they may be viewed as the well-considered conclusions of six years' observations. These journals are made up in part from Mr. Smith's notes. That gentleman, as we have before stated, had been long a resident in the Holy Land; the vernacular language of which, he could use with the utmost readiness. He had before travelled in Egypt; had crossed the great desert in various routes; had followed Burckhardt's steps in the countries on the east of the Jordon; had traversed Mount Lebanon, and the hills and valleys between it and Damascus in every direction; and had kept notes of these various journeys. With such a companion, Dr. Robinson had advantages which no other traveller in Palestine has enjoyed. From this circumstance alone, his researches must have been followed with rich fruits. In consequence of Mr. Smith's acquaintance with the Arab language and manners, much time was gained in the present journey, and many serious inconveniences were prevented.

* "It is quite probable, that this accumulation [of bitumen at the bottom of the Dead Sea] may have taken place in remote times, as well as in our day; and if some volcanic action, an elevation of the soil, or shocks of earthquakes, have brought to light masses of asphaltum analogous to that which you describe, (a phenomenon of the highest importance, hitherto unknown,) we can very well conceive of the conflagration of entire cities, by the inflammation of materials so eminently combustible."—*Extract of a letter to Dr. Robinson, from L. Von Buch, a distinguished geologist of Berlin,* Vol. II. p. 674.

Again, we have been continually struck with the enthusiasm and spirit of indefatigable perseverance which marked the course of our countrymen. No time was wasted in indolent repose, in vacillating between one place and another, or in over-hasty movements. They possessed the genuine spirit of Christian scholars; who felt that they were treading on sacred ground; who had no desire to trifle with the feelings of the Christian or the scholar; and who were willing to submit to any reasonable hardship, that they might be the means of throwing light on the venerable records of the Jewish and the Christian faith. We may here adduce a single instance of their zeal in overcoming difficulties. This was an effort to determine whether there is a subterranean passage between the Fountain of the Virgin, near Jerusalem, and Siloam. They first attempted it at Siloam. At the end of eight hundred feet, the passage became so low that they could advance no further, without crawling on all fours, and bringing their bodies close to the water. They then traced their names on the roof as a mark of their progress, and concluded to try again another day from the other end. This they did three days afterwards. The passage here was in general much lower than at the other end. In several places, they could get forward only by lying at full length and dragging themselves along on their elbows. The way seemed interminably long; and they were for a time suspicious, that they had fallen upon a passage different from that which they had before entered. At length, after having measured nine hundred and fifty feet, they arrived at their former mark of eight hundred feet traced with smoke on the ceiling.

Once more, a principal feature in these "Researches" is the elaborate historical and topographical investigations which they contain, and which, in our opinion, impart to them an inestimable value. The actual observations were completed in the summer of 1838. The two following years Dr. Robinson resided at Berlin, exclusively occupied in preparing his manuscripts for the press. The Prussian capital, it is well known, is the fountain head of knowledge on Oriental subjects. In the unrestricted use of that noble institution, the Royal Library, and of the very valuable private collections of Ritter, Neander, and Hengstenberg, he had access to all the literary means which he could desire. These volumes are not, therefore, mere journals of travels. They are a digest of the

history and geography of Palestine. All which preceding writers had done to elucidate or mistify the subject is here patiently examined; the truth is vindicated, and the error is exposed. The long series of writers from Josephus and Jerome, down through the fathers, monks, pilgrims, crusaders, Arabian writers, the early and late travellers, from Benjamin of Tudela to Berton and Schubert, are referred to, and the most valuable of them frequently quoted. At the end of the first volume, there are thirty pages of illustrative notes and observations; at the close of the second, about forty pages; and of the third, two hundred and forty-six. These last contain a chronological list of such works on Palestine and Mount Sinai as were consulted in the preparation of the volumes, with brief remarks on the character of most of them. The list comprises more than one hundred and fifty authors. Then we have a Memoir on the maps accompanying the work by H. Kiepert, of Berlin.* This is succeeded by full itineraries; by the Essay on the Arabic language and lists of Arabic names, before referred to; and by the Indexes, one of Arabic names and words, another pertaining to ancient geography, antiquities, &c., and the third enumerating the passages of Scripture illustrated. These statements will give our readers some conception of the magnitude of the work, and of the thoroughness with which Dr. Robinson has accomplished it.

The amount of details, with which the "Researches" are crowded, may be a matter of reprehension on the part of some readers. There are minute records of the bearings, and the latitude and longitude, of innumerable places; the time which was taken up in travelling is noted; uncouth and barbarous proper names are, it may be thought, needlessly multiplied; in short it is an itinerary, and not an agreeable

* The following is the introductory paragraph in this Memoir: "The entire transformation wrought in the geography of Palestine and the countries adjacent on the South, by the discoveries of Messrs. Robinson and Smith, and the materials collected by them; and also the great changes exhibited in the maps drawn out by me from these materials, in comparison with all former labors of the like kind; seem to require a full report upon all the important points of the construction, and an enumeration of the other sources to which reference has been made." (Vol. III. p. 29.) These maps, contained on five sheets, a German copy of which we have before us, have been constructed with the utmost care. After one has perused the "Researches," with the maps lying before him, the strong language of Mr. Kiepert will not appear extravagant.

journal of travels ; it may be accurate, but it is not entertaining.

In reply to such allegations, it may be said that the authors do not profess to have made it their object to amuse. They have given us researches, not romances ; well authenticated observations, not highly wrought narratives of "hair breadth 'scapes, and perilous accidents by flood and field." The journey was "undertaken in reference to Biblical geography" ; to settle disputed topographical questions ; to discover ancient monuments ; and, by all means practicable, to assist the student of Revelation in his pursuits. Hence minute accuracy was indispensable. The authors invite the closest examination. By calling in question, to so great an extent, what some of their predecessors have said and done, they virtually challenge the free expression of opinion upon their own labors. But they must furnish adequate materials for this. They must put the reader in possession of the requisite data. In other words, they must be exact in all their movements, and particular in all their statements.

At the same time we cannot admit that the volumes are uninteresting. To us they are full of the deepest interest. There is an honesty and a conscientiousness which are eminently attractive. There is that perspicuity in the style, and that order in the arrangement of the different parts, which are the result of clear conceptions and definite views, and which are always pleasing. And then, the volumes are by no means devoid of stirring incidents. The Arab character and habits furnish occasion for not a few spirited delineations. The phenomena of climate, and the peculiarities of Oriental scenery, are described with good effect. Some wild adventures, also, come in to startle us ; like the robbery at the south end of the Dead Sea, the hostile movement of the Bedawin in Wady Mûsa, and the narrative of the terrible overthrow of the Christian hosts by Saladin.

The great utility of these "Researches" consists in the flood of light which they will pour on the interpretation of the Scriptures. Since we have perused them, we feel a new interest in the historical portions of the Old Testament. Real significancy is given to many hitherto dark passages. Geographical and topographical details are no longer unintelligible. We feel an unwonted confidence in the honesty of the sacred records. He who sheds real light upon the exposition

of the Bible, we may be permitted to say, is no ordinary benefactor. He confers substantial benefits on millions. He will receive a tribute of silent yet heartfelt gratitude from the unnumbered multitudes of children and youth in every part of the Christian world, who are statedly rehearsing the Psalms of David, or following "the man of sorrows" in his errands of love.

We must also add, that we have another proof that literary men, and the world generally, are under no slight obligations to the Christian missionary. These "Researches" would not perhaps have been undertaken at all, if Mr. Smith had been unable to lend his assistance. Dr. Robinson also acknowledges his obligations to other American missionaries. We are likewise informed, that Mr. Smith has returned to Beirût, taking with him instruments of the best kind, in the hope of being able, during his occasional journeys, to verify or correct former observations; and also to extend his examinations over other parts of the country. The materials thus furnished, Dr. Robinson proposes to use in the preparation of a systematic work on the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land.

The labors of Mr. Smith are but a single instance out of many which might be adduced, in proof of the incidental yet eminent literary advantages of modern missions. Dr. Parker's course in China is well known to our own medical and mercantile community. An unpretending, yet well written volume, from the pen of Dr. Grant, another missionary physician, has just appeared, in which a most interesting country is described (the mountains of Independent Koordistan), hitherto inaccessible, for ages, to civilized man. But we cannot add to the list, which we might swell to an indefinite extent.

These "Researches," we say in conclusion, are an honor to the country. It is no exaggeration to predict, that they will supersede every thing which has hitherto appeared on Palestine. If they should not be *welcomed* in England, which we do not assert, they will assuredly work their way into favor even there; for their substantial merits will overcome prejudice. They are now known and highly appreciated by some of the most learned men on the continent. With the spontaneous testimony of one of the ablest of these, Ritter, the celebrated geographer of Berlin (who has himself written one

of the best books on the Holy Land), we shall close this article. "I cannot often enough express," says Professor Ritter, "what an uncommon amount of instruction I owe to this valuable work. It lays open, unquestionably, one of the richest discoveries, one of the most important scientific conquests, which have been made for a long time in the field of Geography and Biblical Archæology. I can at present say this the more decidedly, because, having had opportunity to examine the printed sheets nearly to the end of the second volume, I can better judge of the connexion of the whole, than was before possible. Now I perceive how one part sustains another; and what noble confirmation the truth of the Holy Scriptures receives from so many passages of these investigations, in a manner altogether unexpected and often surprising, even in particulars seemingly the most trivial and unimportant. The accompanying maps too, justify, step by step, the course of the investigations. Thus now first begins, since the days of Reland, the second great epoch of our knowledge of the Promised Land."

ART. IX. — *Notices of the War of* 1812. By JOHN ARMSTRONG, late a General in the Army of the United States, and Secretary of War. New York: George Dearborn. 1836. 1st Vol. pp. 263. Wiley & Putnam. 1840. 2d Vol. pp. 244. 12mo.

WHEN the first volume of these "Notices" was issued in 1836, the public was informed, that the second volume would follow "with all convenient despatch," — a phrase of most convenient latitude, though probably, in the opinion of that public at least, not warranting the four years which have deferred the fulfilment of its expectations. No title could be more modest and unpretending, than that which has been assumed for this work, none which could authorize a more summary or detached treatment of the subject in hand, as it admits of almost any selection or omission of the various facts presented, and any method of comment upon them. Accordingly, the author has made his work rather a military *critique* than a history, the several prominent campaigns of the war being something like texts for his critical commentaries.

It is said, with much truth, that "the late war"* has not yet been made the subject of history. Many detached accounts have been written of it, which embody materials for the future historian. These "Notices," sententious and unpretending as they are, may perhaps be regarded as the nearest approach to a connected record of the military events of that period, which the public has received. Symptoms, however, have already appeared (on the publication of the first volume), which show that its correctness or fairness is questioned, and even openly impeached. We do not think that a veteran soldier, well versed in the doubts and contradictions that envelope the deeds of war, especially battles, will be surprised at this. He must know, that probably no battle, in which more than a company, or so, has been engaged, has ever been related in precisely the same manner by two witnesses. The difficulties in the way of agreement, in these descriptions, are obvious. Military engagements have much to occupy and confuse the attention. Scarcely any two persons are likely to observe the same occurrences, at least under the same aspects. Nearly every one, excepting the chief in command, has his attention confined to more or less limited portions of the field, and cannot be supposed, under the deep responsibility resting upon him to sustain with all his energy and devotion the distinct part allotted to him, to have cast more than hasty glances at other parts, which could probably be but imperfectly seen even under a more steady examination.

Those who have had some experience in military events, and have been accustomed to reflect on the difficulties here referred to, and the hopeless task of endeavouring to record them, in all their details, with perfect truth, or so as to reconcile the testimony of all spectators, will feel convinced, that little more than the main results of such events will at last be satisfactorily fixed in history. Contemporaneous accounts are ever conflicting, and it is only after they have been taken up with some of the sobermindedness and impartiality of posterity, and brought into a degree of conformity with those results,

* This phrase, "the late war," which was very appropriate many years since, is still much used, — though with less and less propriety, of course, each year, — by the officers engaged in that war, partly from habit, and partly, perhaps, from a faint hope that it will disguise the quarter of a century that has elapsed since it closed.

that the record becomes authoritative, or generally received as determinate. When new generations have sprung up, there is little interest felt in questions as to personal character, or pretensions of rival corps. The strongest appeals may be made for the reversion of what are termed hasty and unwarranted judgments, yet a work of established reputation and wide circulation is likely to prevail as the standard of history, in spite of the supposed errors it may have sanctioned, or the imputed wrongs it may have inflicted.

General Armstrong's qualifications for writing a history of the war of 1812, would appear to be very manifest. He bore an elevated and active part in that war; and had long been recognised as a skilful writer, having given, as is well known, proofs in this respect, early in life, while an officer of the revolutionary army. An apprehension was felt, by many, that his somewhat caustic humor would be likely to infuse too much severity into his accounts. It was notorious, that he had enemies whom he might wish to punish, and he was supposed to have friends, whom he might be well pleased to reward;—feelings which most naturally exercise an unfavorable influence over the strict justice of a writer's decisions. How far the charge of having submitted to influences of this kind lies against the distinguished author of the "Notices," we shall have occasion to remark as we pass them under review. We believe that, when the first volume appeared, it was generally admitted to have been written in a more moderate and liberal spirit than had been anticipated.

From a brief but distinct account of the "causes of the war," the historian proceeds to the condition of the defences of the country at the time when hostilities were undertaken. It would have been well if he could have recorded that we showed as much prudence as we had received provocation. In this respect, there was little to say to our credit. The author of the "Notices" might have justly and properly dwelt with still greater severity on the singular want of this quality, which was exhibited in nearly all our preparations for this war of our own choosing. Had the initiative been taken by our antagonist, many excuses might rise up in our favor. The time, however, was our own choice. It was deferred or hastened at our own option. We are well aware of the often stated unsuitableness of a government, constituted like ours, for warlike preparation. It is not to legislative reluc-

tance or tardiness to act until the hour of extreme necessity arrives, that we here allude. All acknowledge this, and it is in vain to reiterate lamentations over it. We are now regarding only executive agency in such cases. Here are few or none of the clogs that embarrass other departments of the government. The Executive has the power, even under our constitution, to use the means confided to its hands for national defence, with the utmost necessary latitude. The army and navy, whatever may be their force, are at its command. When the war with Great Britain was approaching, and considered unavoidable, were those means prepared, strengthened, and applied to the emergency with due care, forecast, and energy? This is a question which it is proper to ask, and which it is the province of history to answer, for the benefit of posterity.

Our army, at the opening of hostilities, was small, but had been unnecessarily and inexcusably reduced below its legal force, by a relaxation in the recruiting service during the years immediately preceding them. It is a singular fact, that, between 1809 and 1812, within which interval there was scarcely a moment when our foreign relations, particularly with England, were not of a threatening and alarming character, the Secretary of War reported funds, appropriated by Congress for this service, as having been unexpended, while the army lacked many hundreds, not to say thousands, of its proper complement. We had, nevertheless, some few thousands of men who had much efficiency, being well officered, and accustomed to subordination. We had maritime fortifications, and some on the interior frontier, — imperfect and dilapidated, it is true, but capable of defence. As soon as war was declared, the navy went forth in full readiness for battle. So far, the executive arm was fully nerved. But on land, no post, no corps, was awakened to heed by any precautionary orders. The fact, that many of our out-posts were behind antagonist posts in hearing of the declaration of war, is sufficiently mortifying, but should not have lessened the ability of each one to meet the emergency according to its means. It was not necessary that this declaration should be made, in order that every soldier should be on the *qui vive*, that every arm should be put in serviceable order, and that the national defences should be in a condition to meet hostility. There was no necessity that Mackinaw should fall,

because the British first heard the news of war, as there was certainly no reason why the wings of Mercury should have been formed in readiness to waft it on one side only. Months before the outbreak, the commanding officer of that post might have been forewarned of the necessity of vigilance and preparation, and should have had (as in fact he had) no excuse for allowing an armed body of men to approach his post with so little observation, as to knock at his gate before its presence was even suspected. Such an approach, which ought to have been duly seen, was a sufficient proclamation of hostility, at least so far as regarded that post. Resistance, under such circumstances, became justifiable and even imperative, whether a national war existed or not. This remote and important post had been permitted to slumber in fancied security, without any efforts to strengthen its decayed defences, and had only a subaltern in command at the time it was taken. The most common dictates of prudence would have led to some care of these guards on the outer wall, when danger was approaching, and even close at hand. But war seems to have found our army, most of our maritime fortifications, and all our frontier posts, just as many years of peace had left them. They were all nearly, or quite, as unprepared for such an event, as if there had been no reason to apprehend that that peace would soon end. It is of want of preparation in these respects, that we complain, — a want that finds no excuse in any defects of our republican government. Our army, — several thousands strong, as we have before remarked, — might have been in perfect readiness for action, and all our posts could have been well apprized of the necessity of being constantly prepared for defence. A change from the state of peace to that of war, should have been supposed to make no other change in their condition, than that of giving them the authority to act on the offensive. Fitness for defence belonged alike to both conditions.

We attach little importance to the circumstance that General Hull, when advancing to the northwestern frontier, did not receive intelligence of the declaration of war as soon as the British; though we dwell with amazement on the blunders of the arrangement, which, starting off two letters written by the war department to him, on the 18th of June, one communicating information of the declaration of war (declared on that day), and the other silent on that subject, permitted the latter to

reach him on the 24th of that month, and left the former to loiter on the route until the 2d of July. The "Notices" account for this inversion of the rule of speed, by stating that the last letter went by an express or private hand, while the first was abandoned to the ordinary mail facilities, which terminated at Cleveland at that time. Chance, or special instructions, alone provided for any advance beyond that point. The calculations of the War Department doubtless were, that the mail would outstrip the individual. This was probable, but the case would appear to have demanded an arrangement that should have outstripped both these means. The loss of the schooner and its contents, which was consequent on the omission to inform General Hull of the war in the shortest possible time, would have defrayed the extra expense of such despatch many times over.

We think, however, that General Hull was engaged in an expedition that called for nearly all the vigilance and precaution of a state of avowed hostility. He was advancing, at a time when such a state of things was hourly expected, with a strong force, on a point which threatened a weak flank of the *quasi* enemy, and had reason to anticipate a readiness on the part of the British to take advantage of the first hint of a rupture. It was clearly his duty to be prepared for open hostility, and to have incurred no hazard which that state of things would have forbidden. Disincumbering his army, about to take a march through a wilderness of some seventy miles, by embarking his sick in a schooner at the Maumee, was, perhaps, an excusable measure ; but there was no excuse for exposing his returns and confidential papers to any hazards at all. This was a miscalculation that amounted to wanton heedlessness. The capture of those papers no doubt eventually turned the scale of the campaign. Instructions, returns, correspondence, — all that an adroit enemy could wish to acquire, were there thrown into his possession ; proving a want of ordinary foresight, and, it is said, so many other defects of character in his antagonist, as to warrant General Brock, in that hardy, almost fool-hardy, course of operations, with which he shortly afterwards overawed rather than overpowered that antagonist.

The critical remarks with which this first chapter (after a manner that prevails throughout the work) is closed, will probably receive the assent of most military men. They are

based on maxims which are admitted to have weight, and which cannot be violated with impunity. In this opening of the war on the northwestern frontier, the author sees nothing but blunders and disasters, excepting in the affair at Maguaga, which was well fought and successful, the main body of the regulars there having already tried their courage and steadiness at Tippecanoe.

The errors of government, as well as of General Hull, are passed under this critical review. The "Notices" do not repeat the common remark, that the appointment of this general was one of those errors. The author's revolutionary recollections led him to know that General Hull stood high, for his rank, in the opinion of one whose estimation was considered as decisive of merit. The position he held at the time of his appointment in Michigan peculiarly fitted him for the command confided to him. The capital error was, omitting to make any efforts to secure ascendancy on Lake Erie. A little forecast, and a little expense, would have effected this object. Another, and hardly less error was, omitting to occupy the enemy on the Niagara frontier. His force there was liberated by an armistice just in time to become applicable to the northwestern frontier. The first error may not have been so obvious to those who committed it. The last was a blunder that seems to mock all attempts at justification or palliation.

The "Notices" dwell long and somewhat minutely on the disastrous campaign of the northwest. Misfortunes would be dearly bought indeed, if they were not made subservient to the instruction of posterity. The general who has connected his name prominently with them must be content to point the moral. This is the best compensation he can make for his miscalculations or ill luck.

General Hull's surrender, darkened by the like fate of Mackinaw, and the miserable tragedy at Chicago, and scarcely relieved by the gallant but fruitless success at Maguaga, came upon the public like a heavy fog; preparing it, however, for the calamities that followed at the River Raisin. The "Notices" take up the narration of this melancholy sequence to Hull's campaign, with an evident desire to vindicate General Winchester at the expense of higher authority. The anxiety on the part of General Winchester to protect the small settlement on that river was generous, but could have been safely

indulged only by throwing forward a force competent to meet that which was well known to be at Malden. Frenchtown, left to itself, would doubtless have suffered, though the laws of war protect an unresisting people from violence. Ineffectual protection, however, is worse than utter abandonment. The unhappy residents of that place suffered, in the end, tenfold calamity, in consequence of their importunity for protection.

The criticisms of the veteran author on this train of evils have much force and correctness. He exhibits most obviously the errors committed in the arrangements for the second action, which, with better dispositions, might have resulted so differently. We are surprised, however, to see the speech of Colonel Allen inserted; not that the speech itself, as given, is not eloquent, and of a generous spirit. Addresses of this kind, purporting to usher in a military movement, have long since been omitted, as unnecessarily encumbering historic narration. Besides, in this case, the speech contained but few reasons which should have swayed a grave military council. These criticisms, however, as we have before remarked, exhibit throughout a tinge of disfavor towards the General-in-chief on that frontier. The misfortunes of General Winchester are made to hinge on movements of the commanding general, when the commonly received opinion is, that they were produced by a departure from express instructions from that quarter. It was not intended that General Winchester should obtrude himself, in that attenuated form, within reach of the enemy; and when, through an excited or liberal spirit, he resolved to incur hazards not strictly warranted by his instructions, or the rules of war, he became responsible for all the misfortune or disgrace which followed. If at any moment the steps he had taken were sanctioned by his senior, it was doubtless when Colonel Lewis's gallant repulse of the first attempts of the enemy to dislodge him, encouraged a belief that General Proctor was less strong or less enterprising than there had been just reason to expect. Notwithstanding all the kind efforts of the "Notices" to relieve General Winchester from that responsibility which has generally been fixed upon him, by public opinion, as to the River Raisin events, we believe that that opinion will remain the same. It was his act which led to the occupation of this salient point, and it was his disposition of the troops before the second attack by General Proctor, that would

appear to have led to that general's triumph and his own captivity. Nor can his order, or recommendation, — let it assume what name it may, — dictated, as it was, under the threats of his captor, and sent in to the battalion of brave men still defending the stockade, ever be justified upon any military principles, or even any reasons of expediency. His command had ceased, as well as his capacity to judge of what might be expedient or necessary on the part of those, who were then apart from his observation, and as independent of his control as if he had no longer existed. Captivity as effectually forecloses all authority in such cases, as death. He might safely have confided in the judgment of men, who, by their conduct, had shown themselves his superiors in skill, if not in bravery, and must have known that his message, however couched, whether in authoritative or recommendatory language, when sent in under such circumstances, would most naturally have a dispiriting influence over his late comrades, whose straitened condition called for every incentive to daring, even to a desperation of perseverance. The commander, whose want of heed or adroitness has led to his capture, should not increase the evils his ill luck or unskilfulness have drawn upon his command, by taking any steps which may involve others in the same predicament. General Winchester, when he could no longer be instrumental of good, should not have permitted himself to be instrumental of evil, as he undoubtedly did, though from kind motives. But such motives are not to govern under such stern circumstances of war.

The simultaneous retreat of the two belligerents, General Harrison from the Rapids, and General Proctor from the scene of his victory, — exhibiting, as it did, a seeming misapprehension on both sides, — furnishes the veteran author with ground for much severity of comment. No doubt one of the parties, at least, could have safely avoided such a retrograde. But circumstances are not always obvious until it is too late. In the present instances, it was not without reason that both parties came to the conclusion that prudence required a falling back upon stronger ground. General Proctor, notwithstanding his success, had reason to apprehend that his enemy, only a part of whose strength he had met, would be moving rapidly forward to arrest or avenge the disasters, which the imprudence of his advance seemed likely to bring on. He therefore withdrew with his captives and booty to Malden. On the

other hand, General Harrison, weakened by the destruction of his advance corps, and knowing that the ice made an easy communication along the lake shore with the Maumee, had ground for distrusting his ability to defend a position which had been but imperfectly established, against an enemy flushed with success, and whose enterprise bespoke much confidence in his own strength. Events proved this abandonment unnecessary, at least, at that time, though it is not certain that, had the Maumee continued to be occupied, the attack, made the following season, would not have been made that winter. It was undoubtedly better to sacrifice the stores which had been collected there, difficult and expensive as had been their collection, than to expose raw troops to the chances of a second disaster. The reoccupation of the same ground the February following repaired the fault, if one had been committed.

The operations in this quarter the spring ensuing were full of interest and consequences. The investment of Fort Meigs by General Proctor was begun with spirit, little answering its impotent conclusion. One of the incidents accompanying this investment is conspicuous for the instruction it affords. The attack directed to be made by Colonel Dudley's regiment on the left bank of the river was well devised, and promised the happiest results, though converted into a deplorable reverse by the blindfold impetuosity of those who conducted it. The "Notices" dwell on this subordinate disaster with a just desire to exhibit, in the strongest light, the destructive consequences of disobedience to orders in military affairs. An officer who assumes the responsibility of departing from orders, when he is performing only a part in some plan of attack or defence, becomes at once as disqualified for his position as a horse for the race, when it has burst all restraints of the bridle. Colonel Dudley's part was nearly consummated when he surprised the enemy's batteries, which he could have rendered useless, and then effected a secure retreat. Remaining on the ground, from a mistaken and arrogant idea that an initial success insures a continned triumph, he dallied and skirmished, until, being surrounded, he lost all he had gained, and nearly the whole of his detachment also. This recklessness and folly on one bank did not frustrate the plan of attack on the other. General Proctor was sufficiently discouraged by these evidences of strength and enterprise in his antagonist, to determine on an abandon-

ment of his objects in that quarter; first, however, trying the effect of a summons to surrender, under cover of which he effected his retreat without molestation.

The habit of summoning places to surrender, so often resorted to by the British in this war, is severely condemned by the author of the "Notices," particularly when, no attempt being made at a subsequent enforcement, the summons wears the aspect of an empty bravado. When General Hull proclaimed to the inhabitants of Canada that he could "look down all opposition," it behoved him to look well to his after movements, and especially to see that he succumbed to no appearances, but only to the stern reality of superior power. But General Brock, who had discerned the weak points of his enemy, which lay rather in his *morale* than his *physique*, believed that a trumpet would shake down the walls before him as effectually as his cannon. In this he was not mistaken. General Proctor may have borne this in mind, as well as the surrender to a summons of Mackinaw, where a threat of the tomahawk overcame all resistance. Or, what is more probable, after the proofs he had seen of the firmness of his adversary, he may have intended only to raise a smoke to cover his meditated retreat. We are warranted to conclude, from the use he made of this attempt at a parley, that he anticipated no other benefits from it. It was a successful stratagem, and as such, creditable to his tact in war.

We have permitted ourselves to dwell so long on the scenes of the northwestern frontier, — scenes which, though they minister nothing to our pride, are profitable to dwell upon, — that we have little room for turning back upon the operations of General Van Rensselaer and General Smythe, which are fruitful themes of animadversion to the author of the "Notices." And well may he hold them up to unsparing condemnation. The amiable and excellent patriot who conducted, or rather permitted, the attack on Queenstown, showed his willingness to peril fortune and reputation in endeavours, the bearing and issue of which were, no doubt, entirely beyond his comprehension. Though free to set an example, that might help to fill up the ranks of the *Levies*, then so earnestly called for by the government, and thus become a general *malgré lui*, yet he probably had little share in planning the attempt on Canada, which has given his name such an undesired and inappropriate celebrity. The "Notices" fully expose the character of this

affair; its want of proper object; its deficiency of available means to compass it, shadowy as it was; the extreme confusion and insubordination that marked its progress; but also acknowledge the instances of gallantry and good conduct displayed by a few regulars, who succeeded, with still fewer equally gallant volunteers, in taking the enemy's batteries; only, however, to be unnecessarily abandoned to captivity. Queenstown is a name that should not be forgotten, though remembered with mortification. It suggests a lesson of instruction which may not arise from the most glorious battle-fields.

The campaign of 1813 most naturally awakens the author of the "Notices" to a new interest in his work. *Quorum pars fuit.* The active agency which the Secretary of War had in planning the operations of the war during that year are well recollected; nor has it been forgotten, that his ardent zeal, overstepping ordinary limits, gave to an office before supposed to have only a local habitation, an ambulatory character, which detached the War Department for a time from the Cabinet, and fixed it in the tented field.

The plans of this campaign were undoubtedly highly creditable to the sagacity and military acumen of the mind which originated them. They looked to attainable objects, which were likely to be beneficial when attained, and proposed ample means for their attainment. We now refer more particularly to the campaign on Lake Ontario. Though the Secretary of War laid down the plan of operations at Washington, yet he most properly left some discretion to the General in command, who thought proper to depart in a degree from the order of movements prescribed. Whether this was injudicious in the beginning, and unlucky in the end, is the question to be answered. The "Notices" endeavour to prove the affirmative, and with an earnestness that bespeaks something like an apprehension that any other answer would recoil upon the War Department. We do not, however, see that in this case, *judex damnatur*, if the General were acquitted.

It is probably a false view of the subject, to suppose that praise or blame ensues according to the success with which the plan was executed. The views entertained at Washington were doubtless correct, according to appearances presenting themselves there. To the general commanding on the spot other views might present themselves. Kingston, York, and Fort George, was unquestionably the natural series, looking only to the effect of crippling the enemy most effectually in detail. The

fall of the lower places almost insured the fall of those above. One blow on the trunk of a tree goes further towards its destruction than many on its branches. All, however, that is expedient, is not practicable. Kingston was at that time defended by a fleet as well as by land forces. That fleet was nearly equal to our own. Commodore Chauncy might have considered the disparity in his favor more than made up, — as it no doubt was, — by the batteries then ready to coöperate with his antagonist. There were many reasons which justified a departure from the original plan. Something like the main body of the forces with which General Dearborn was to operate was upon the Niagara frontier. It may be asked, why they were not all concentrated upon Sackett's Harbour. Had such been the case at the opening of the campaign, these forces must have been dependent for all their movements on the fleet, — a very inadequate transportation.

General Dearborn, no doubt, regarded his land force at Sackett's Harbour as sufficient for the capture of York (Toronto), and knew that the fleet could easily transport it. Proposing only the reduction of that comparatively small place, the capture of its public stores, (said to be considerable, including a vessel on the stocks,) and also, if possible, its garrison, Fort George was his next object. Being of much greater importance, having a strong fort and a large garrison, the force to be brought against it must be augmented in proportion. This augmentation he would find at Niagara. In the mean time, it was expected that Sir James Yeo would be out, and met on the broad lake. A victory over him there would deprive Kingston of half its defence, and render its reduction comparatively easy and certain.

These were probably among the prevailing motives, which induced the general commanding to change the order of attack in some degree. Pursuing the order prescribed at Washington, he might have failed, — indeed, with only the force he had at Sackett's Harbour, no doubt he would have failed, — in the beginning; a failure that would have cost him the campaign. The change insured success in the first step; made the second nearly as certain; and multiplied the chances in favor of the third. Thus far, therefore, we think General Dearborn exercised a sound discretion. Whether the execution of the plan thus changed was as prompt and energetic as it might have been, and ought to have been, is another ques-

tion, but which is best answered by following the order of events as they arise.

It was evident, Fort George being threatened as well as Kingston, that the enemy must hold the garrisons of those two places, and of York also, immovable, until some decisive demonstration should show the object of immediate attack. Co-operation would then, of course, be too late. Each post must stand on its own resources. The embarkation was made as soon as the navigation opened in the spring, but with no published designation of its object, unless Kingston, by way of feint, were given out as that which wias in vew. York was carried without difficulty, and the loss sustained was owing principally to the explosion that took place after the landing had been fully made. We hope we misunderstand the "Notices," when they seem to imply that the-Commander-in-chief should have been with the landing party. The force was no more than a Brigadier-general's command, and was specially put under the immediate charge of an officer of that rank, who was peculiarly competent for the station. General Dearborn was on board merely as a passenger, on his way to Niagara.

The death of General Pike may have diminished the amount of success that crowned the day. He was brave and enterprising, and eager for distinction, having the unbounded confidence of his command. The pursuit, had he survived the explosion, would probably have been made with more spirit, but no better success, as he, no doubt, would also have listened to the overtures for a surrender, and, like his successor, have been beguiled out of valuable time. Had either of them, however, taken the unusual step of promptly rejecting them, and passed on to capture and destroy, (as many, under the exasperation naturally excited by a supposition that the explosion had been the result of design, felt inclined to do,) it is not at all probable that General Sheaffe, or his party, would have been overtaken, furnished, as no doubt they were, with all the facilities of a rapid movement which the place afforded, and which would have been wholly wanting to the pursuers. All was probably acquired, which any circumstances would have permitted. The vessel, which could not have been launched, would of course have been burnt by us, had it not been set on fire by the enemy. According to the plan of the campaign, no further delay was made at York than was necessary to withdraw such public stores found there as could be moved.

A prompt reëmbarkation then took place, and the fleet sailed for the neighbourhood of Niagara.

The "Notices" animadvert somewhat lightly on the delay that postponed the next step, which should have been taken with all possible rapidity, consistent with due preparation. Such preparation was certainly not complete when the brigade came over from York. Many boats had to be collected or constructed, as the proposed transit was to be made in such craft. But this was done before many days had elapsed, when a bombardment of Fort George from Fort Niagara, serving the double purpose of injuring the enemy's works and of covering the descent of many boats which were up the river Niagara, seemed to finish all preliminaries. But the fleet, after landing the York brigade, had sailed for Sackett's Harbour, and its return was regarded as indispensable to the coming attack.

Commodore Chauncey most naturally feared for the safety of the vessels he had on the stocks at Sackett's Harbour, and hurried back for their protection. When he sailed thence again, had he left all the troops there which he found there, that protection would not have been diminished by his visit; but, bringing away Colonel Macomb's regiment as he did, (of course, it is presumed, at the request of General Dearborn,) he left his ship-yard and naval stores much more weakly guarded than he found them. Hence, had the fleet remained at anchor off Niagara, instead of going to Sackett's Harbour, the crossing at Fort George would no doubt have been made a week or two sooner, and the latter place would have been much less perilled, than it actually was, in the attack by Sir George Prevost, which followed soon after his departure. We may remark further on this exposure of Sackett's Harbour, that, had the enterprise of Sir George been as successful as it might have been and should have been (for the defence of the place had been almost given up when the enemy desisted), General Dearborn would have stood convicted before the public of exposing himself to a blow behind, while looking only to his front. Indeed, he escaped the mortification of such a conviction only by an accident.

It was probably deemed important that the fleet should accompany the troops at their crossing. Its presence was certainly an imposing accompaniment, and two of its small vessels rendered most beneficial service at the landing. They took their stations near the bank where the troops were to strike,

and soon silenced a one-gun battery there ; thus freeing them from an annoyance which might have dealt much destruction among the crowded boats.* These two vessels were therefore almost essential to the expedition. More than they might have been dispensed with, excepting for the purpose of holding the reserve, — Colonel Macomb's regiment, — more at hand, as well as giving the Commander-in-chief a distant view of the landing. Whether such a detachment from the fleet might not have been left behind, and thus avoided considerable delay, is a question that has often been asked.

Fort George was finally taken on the 27th of May, about a month after the capture of York. The plan of the campaign intended that but a few days should have intervened. The "Notices," in remarking upon this attack, point out several errors in the arrangement of the troops. It is not the first time that leaving open the Queenstown road has been instanced as one. Attention was undoubtedly turned to this side of the enemy. But to have made it the main point of crossing, was forbidden by many considerations. In the first place, the boats, necessary to the transit, could not have been properly concealed or protected on the river within convenient distance. In the next place, to have shut up that avenue for his retreat, would have still left open to the enemy the road by the lake and shore, by far the most desirable for a rapid junction with the country below. There was not force enough to admit of closing up effectually both these avenues. And a division, under such circumstances, would have been against all rules of warfare and prudence.

Operating upon the lake-shore presented many advantages. The boats were all at hand, ready to receive the troops, without any molestation, the point of departure being some three or four miles east of the mouth of the Niagara river. Landing, moreover, on the lake-shore of the enemy, closed up the avenue of retreat along the lake, and threw him, whenever he chose to fall back, on the Queenstown route, which retarded his retreat towards the head of the lake a day or more, — an important gain of time to us, had we wisely improved it.

* As the troops were approaching the shore during this operation of the two vessels, a small boat was seen passing to and fro between them, in much contempt of the shots that this one gun threw into the lake until it was silenced. This little wherry had Lieutenant Perry on board, who then gave an earnest of the daring which, before the season closed, lighted up another lake with a blaze of glory.

The capture of the garrison, therefore, was out of the question, unless the British had come to the improbable determination of maintaining the fort. The pursuit was not taken up with the spirit, after the enemy fell back from the lake-shore, which might have been expected. His cannon opened from the village of Newark as if he had determined to make defence there. It appeared afterwards that this battery was intended only to cover his evacuation of the fort above. As soon as it was silenced or withdrawn, the pursuit was directed by the senior general on the ground. The remark of the "Notices," that it was made without orders, may apply to the advance, but not to the brigades which followed.

Thus far, then, the plan of the campaign would seem to have been followed up with spirit, as well as with satisfactory success. Here, however, that spirit, and, of course, that success, ended. From the first day of the occupation of British ground a series of movements began, which showed little regard for that plan, and still less for the rules of warfare. When the pursuit of the enemy, after the evacuation of Fort George, was resolved upon, there was clearly but one course which held out encouragement of success. Any pursuit that proposed, like that taken up on the day of the evacuation, merely a rear-chase, was not of this character. The enemy fled through weakness, and would continue to fly as long as his relative strength remained the same, with the advantage of many hours' start, and of all such facilities as bridges, unobstructed roads, &c., which he would take good care should not remain in his rear for the benefit of his pursuers. Had there been no alternative, however, even such a hopeless chase might have been undertaken as a *pis aller*. But the choice was without any such restrictions. The retreat having been made on the Queenstown route, the lake road was open, which intersected the other route at about twelve miles' distance, giving our troops the advantage of some eight or ten miles. Under such circumstances there was no time to be lost. A waste of even a few hours might be fatal. It is true, the troops were fatigued with the labors and exhaustion of the day. Those actually engaged had had no relaxation from the dawn to the time when the evacuation took place, about noon. But there was the reserve, — a strong regiment, entirely fresh, — the third brigade nearly so, and the second brigade not much diminished in vigor, as the contest at the landing had been maintained

by the advance and first brigade; the enemy retreating from the shore as the others were successively hurrying towards it. Out of these a corps could have been formed, which might safely have placed itself at the intersection referred to, with every chance of another favorable conflict with the enemy, who would there have found himself deprived of most of the facilities of a retreat.

We need scarcely add that no such pursuit as is here spoken of was undertaken in time. The next day was too late, and every subsequent movement was a new step of divergence from the plan of the campaign, taken with little promise of any compensatory benefit. The moment that it was ascertained that the enemy could not be intercepted in his retreat around the lake, then the plan of the campaign should have been returned to with promptitude and spirit. This plan called for an immediate demolition of Fort George, a corresponding strengthening of Fort Niagara, and a rapid movement down the lake with all the troops, save a strong garrison for that fort, and a corps of observation at Lewistown, to be augmented by militia, in case the enemy reoccupied Fort Erie and the strait below. The fleet was there, boats were there, and the season most propitious. Kingston was the next object. Sir James Yeo was out, but had declined an encounter with Commodore Chauncey, who could have conducted our flotilla down the shore, still in readiness to renew the challenge he had so gallantly given to his antagonist. The flotilla, in case of its acceptance, could easily have found refuge along that shore. Whether Kingston could have been taken or not, is not the question. Many things might have frustrated the best concerted plan. But nothing called for further attention up the lake, — not regarding a wild goose-chase after General Vincent as a proper object. All worthy objects were below, and thither all concentration should have been made. Had the army, collected at Sackett's Harbour, made an attempt to cross over to Kingston, Sir James must have fought, or yielded the prize. In case of his discomfiture, all on Lake Ontario fell, as a matter of course. The reverse might only have changed the objects of the campaign. Independent of the fleet, the army could have operated on Montreal; the ultimate and main object of the campaign.

It is easy to detect faults after time and events have made them manifest. There was much to lead astray at the surren-

der of Fort George. Each day offered something new to justify, it was thought, a departure from the plan that was followed at York. — We have made the foregoing remarks upon what we now believe to have been mistaken steps, with no wish to question the zeal, or even the generalship, of the veteran officer who then directed, mostly from a sick-bed, or an invalid's chair, the operations in that quarter. Withdrawing him from the command, just at the moment when reviving health was about to enable him to renew active operations, without substituting any chief in command who knew the general plan of operations, paralyzed the rest of the campaign, which lingered on in idleness, until autumnal storms defeated all attempts to recover lost ground.

The "Notices" give a fair summary of the events of this autumnal campaign, which the angry elements, but more the angry bickerings of generals, brought to a close, that disappointed, disheartened, not to say disgusted the public. The presence of the "War Department" itself, which, as we before remarked, was at this time hovering on the frontiers, like the hub of a wheel crowded towards the periphery, could not harmonize discordant minds, which seemed to regard public interests as subordinate to private animosities. Circumstances may not have presented much choice, though there was the veteran of whom we have just spoken, who might have been replaced, at any time during the season, with probable advantage, at his post, — and it may have been hoped that feuds, which had been so warm at the South, would cool under the lower temperature of the North. But it was found, unfortunately for the country, that the generals changed *cœlum, non animum*, when they exchanged Louisiana for the Canada frontier.

We gladly turn back from these scenes, where gallantry in several conflicts, and patient endurance of much suffering, were unavailing both to the army and the country, to the events in the far west, where, earlier in the season, both the water and the land had been illumined with an unexpected brilliancy of success. Perry's victory had been complete, and annihilated his antagonist. Not a vestige of opposition floated on Lake Erie, and General Harrison crossed over his army to the vicinity of Malden, with no more fear of molestation than if it had been a season of profound peace.

The pursuit which trod on the heels of General Proctor

was a legitimate operation of war. No other object solicited or claimed attention in that quarter, excepting the retreating British. This pursuit might fail of overtaking the enemy, but every rood of ground passed over, whether an enemy were captured or not, was a positive loss on one side, and a beneficial gain to the other. In occupying Michigan, it was all important to find the Indians convinced that their ally was fast receding from them. Under these circumstances, the pursuit, divested of all incumbrances, was made hot with vigor and haste, being joined opposite Detroit by Colonel Johnson's mounted rangers, which enabled General Harrison to continue it with some hope of success. Before this junction, he was without any hope.*

The victory at the Moravian towns was a counterpart of Perry's victory. It swept the land of all opposition in that quarter. Much controversy has agitated portions of the public relative to this action. The names of illustrious individuals have been alternately thrown in, like the sword of Brennus, to incline the scale. Posterity will inquire little into these minor disputes, arising from feelings with which the public at large has no sympathy. The names of Perry and Harrison are indissolubly connected with kindred victories. All attempts at divorcing them are as ungrateful as they will be vain.

The "Notices" do not pretend to embrace a view of the achievements of our Navy, or its operations, except so far as they were connected with the operations on land. This is truly giving "only half the battle." But, as a military man, the author intended to keep within the bounds of professional familiarity, knowing that he was at home on land, while he might not have proved so on the deep. There were operations upon the coast, however, which, having been the result of certain acts of the army on the northern frontier, most properly engaged his attention. One of the acts alluded to, is the burning of Newark, in 1813, by Brigadier-General McClure, of the New York Militia. This destruction of a small vil-

* We should regret to suppose that the author of the "Notices" intended that his account of this pursuit should leave an impression on the reader's mind, that General Harrison's "desponding view" of its unpromising prospects well nigh prevented its being undertaken. We are sure that the extract from his letter to the Secretary of War, showing his determination to undertake it, even when hoping against hope, quoted by the "Notices," should have shielded him from even a shadow of suspicion of this kind.

lage, without justifiable cause, gave portions of the subsequent war a new and revolting character. Strictly military objects were no longer regarded as alone within its scope. Private property, and defenceless communities, suffered, as in the days of brigandism.

Buffalo had been burnt by the British early in the contest. But General McClure did not shelter his act under the plea of retaliation. It was "merely to deprive the enemy of winter quarters" that he laid Newark in ashes, and gave the enemy a pretext for resorting to that obdurate and extreme plea, and balancing the account with retribution seven-fold, if not seventy times seven. During the occupation of Fort George the preceding season, Newark had been nearly abandoned by its inhabitants. Such an occupation, while it left dwellings &c. untouched, unavoidably interrupted all business and ordinary avocations, and trenched much upon the comforts of families. The severe requisitions of war had called into the field most of the men of the place, who, when it was evacuated in May, were borne off by the retreating force. The families mostly, sooner or later, followed, and remained away during the campaign. These circumstances, while they did not furnish any justification for the act of General McClure, much diminished the amount of misery that such an act generally brings on a community. Indeed, it is probable that, when he applied the torch to Newark, few of the former occupants of the houses had returned, and that the flames preyed for the most part upon a deserted village. Far otherwise was it with the villages and towns on which the British Admiral avenged its wrongs. It found them all full of families, anticipating no invasion of their comforts, and left them plundered, often in ashes, and occasionally marked with the blood of unresisting, or only feebly resisting, victims. These events are justly held up for the reprobation of posterity, and names, however high, should not be suffered to shake off the infamy that belongs to them. General McClure undoubtedly acted under a mistaken sense of duty, or an ignorance of the customs of war. But mistakes, that involve such serious consequences to whole communities, are to be held up as the solemn warnings of history.

The British Admiral began his career of depredation and conflagration with the sword of justice in his hand. But it soon became merely the sword of vengeance. Justice was

amply satisfied before he sacked even one of the many towns that fell beneath his fury. If he acted under instructions, which required him to exact this enormous retribution, he stands, like the executioner, apart from mankind, with the taint of blood upon him. The author of the "Notices," with his strong and indignant language, stamps these deeds and these characters with ineffaceable reprobation. War has its horrors, which no lofty courtesy, no generous chivalry, can wholly, or even in any important degree, abate; but he who, either through rash ignorance, or as the willing instrument of exasperated power, aggravates them, must expect the severest condemnation of history.

The campaign of 1814 on the Niagara frontier is described in much detail in the "Notices." The author's feelings are awakened to new enthusiasm while recording a series of actions which conferred such renown on the American arms. This campaign, as a plan, would seem to be very subordinate in character, in compass of objects, chances of success in attaining them, and beneficial results even when attained, compared with that of 1813. "To cross the river [Niagara at Black Rock], capture Fort Erie, march on Chippewa, risk a combat, menace Fort George, and, if assured of ascendency and coöperation of the fleet, to seize and fortify Burlington," &c.,* appear to have been these objects. There is much off-hand sententiousness in the language here used, as if things were as easily done as said. The first and second parts of the plan were promptly and gallantly fulfilled. Whether the enemy anticipated such an irruption, or not, may not be known, but it would seem that he had very inadequate means of opposition, and that those means were not used with much vigilance or dexterity. The remaining parts depended more upon contingencies, and might, or might not, be fulfilled, as those contingencies were lucky or otherwise. The moment our army crossed the Niagara, a combat was undoubtedly *risked.* Any expectation of avoiding such a "risk," after having placed a wide and rapid river between it and its base of operations, must have been wholly unfounded. This portion of the direction, therefore, was mere surplusage, the redundancy of a *currente calamo* style. To "menace Fort George" was probably more easy than use-

* We had never before seen this plan of the campaign.

ful. The object of it does not appear, as having been necessary to secure the ultimate and main object, that is, the possession of Burlington Heights. The capture of Fort George would undoubtedly have promoted that object, and might, perhaps, as well have been directed, all directions of such kind including the reservation, "*provided* it be practicable."

The possession of Burlington Heights would have cut off the retreat by land of the garrison at Fort George, (an advantage, in case that place were merely menaced,) besides giving the troops there such an advance on their way around Lake Ontario, if such a circuit were contemplated. Further benefits than these are not obvious in connexion with this main object of the campaign. Moreover, hinging the whole movement on the "ascendency and coöperation" of the fleet, when both were too problematical to be relied upon, was something like a foregone conclusion against all hope of success. Sir James Yeo had thus far showed equal skill and discretion in his tactics, knowing that to avoid being beat by his antagonist was something like a victory. Commodore Chauncey had chased him throughout the previous season from pillar to post, and had become satisfied that nothing but chance could throw a favorable opportunity in his way. He began the new season under the same auspices. His great and main object was to pursue Sir James when his strength permitted it, and watch for that tide in his affairs which was to lead on to better fortune. His next object was to keep up the energy of his shipyard. It was a game of launch, and he who built the most in the shortest time expected to win the stakes. The temporary ascendancy he might have at intervals could be of little or no benefit to the army, as it was not founded on the defeat, or even crippled state, of Sir James, who, while avoiding all encounters, was still able to interfere more or less with any coöperative measures. It was undoubtedly desirable that the fleet should lend assistance to the army, such assistance as, in 1813, had often proved highly advantageous ; but the position of Commodore Chauncey necessarily made that assistance a subordinate consideration. He had a higher object, though not a "higher destiny." Nor do we think, judging by our present lights, that the fleet should have been made so indispensable to the army movements. It had a wider and more appropriate field

below; though on this subject, suggesting such a train of reflections, we do not feel warranted to enlarge.

Fortunately for the country, this campaign is not judged by the merits of the original plan. Little is thought of it in that respect. Few look beyond the hard-fought fields where so much blood was spilt, so much bravery displayed, so much glory acquired. It is not asked how the army got there, or whether suitable or attainable objects were in view. We see only the brilliant contest beneath the full blaze of a July sun at Chippewa, when every combatant could almost look into the countenance of his opponent, and the loss and gain were easily counted up, until the balance stood in fearful odds against the enemy; or the far more bloody, much longer doubtful, fight near the Falls, which wearied out the declining day, the twilight, the rising moon, and even startled the hour of midnight with its unintermitting din; or the siege of Fort Erie, where perseverance, endurance, and courage repulsed assaults with the steadiness of a solid wall; or the sortie, where skill, gallantry, energy, and combination, rose like a Phœnix from the ashes of the siege, and overwhelmed the enemy with a surprise as unexpected as triumphant. The public does not see, through this glare of honorable achievement, the "spots" that the critic may detect.

Many versions of the details of some of these actions, particularly of that of the Falls, have solicited the attention and verdict of the public. That public is concerned only in the main and acknowledged facts, — those which make the honor of the day, and elevate the national character. Whether the author of the "Notices" has succeeded in harmonizing the numerous conflicting accounts of the action, so as to have sifted out truth from error, and settled the record for future history, may not, as yet, be determined; but it is probable that his authority will be appealed to hereafter with great respect, and perhaps as decisive of disputed points.

Following down the course of events, the "Notices" give due place to those on the northern frontier, on the sea-coast, including the irruption on Washington and Baltimore, and at New Orleans. In determining to make a decisive campaign on this side of the Atlantic in 1814, the British, having, by the submission of France, liberated large bodies of their veteran troops from European duty, resolved to transfer a sufficient force to North America, to end the contest there

as triumphantly as they had just ended the continental war. With this view some twenty thousand men were held in readiness to embark. They should have tried the effect of striking one strong blow instead of two weak ones. The force which diverged upon Canada and New Orleans might have made a deep impression at any one intermediate point. Sir Henry Clinton and General Burgoyne might, united, have made an avenue from New York to Canada; in two parts they failed. So the two armies which failed before Plattsburg and New Orleans, might, as one army, have succeeded, temporarily, anywhere else.

Sir George Provost was always unlucky as an officer. His administration was active and vigilant, but his military attempts ended uniformly in discomfiture, or abandonment of their object. When, on Lake Champlain, he linked his fortunes on land to the fate of his fleet, he lost half the strength of his position. Regarding his water craft merely as auxiliaries, without depending upon it for success, he might have inflicted great injury upon the country he invaded, even after this craft ceased to sustain his flank. It is true, that, when Commodore M'Donough rode triumphant on Lake Champlain, his facility of obtaining supplies would have been much diminished. But the land was all open behind him, and the loss of his fleet deprived him of but a minor element in his operations for a short campaign. The retreat of his thousands before the mere hundreds of General Macomb, can be explained upon no military or even prudential reasons.

The irruption on Washington and Baltimore claims the especial attention of the author of the "Notices." The enemy here trenched on the very ground occupied by the Honorable Secretary himself. The War Department itself was assailed and broken up. These circumstances furnish ample motives for making up the record with circumspection. It is well known that the Secretary of War was not the military commander in that quarter. Responsibility rested on subordinate shoulders. Still, the public believed that an officer, encamped under the very eaves of the War Department, would most naturally consult with, and even receive directions, either semi-official, or ultra-official, from the incumbent of that high station; and, accordingly, the events of those days have always been referred, more or less, to the unavoidable influences arising from that juxtaposition.

Those who visited Washington in the spring of 1814, will recollect the extreme anxiety that pervaded that community on the subject of an invasion, and the common impression that that anxiety found little sympathy in the War Department, to which the "District" looked up as its *quasi* military chief, an officer of the army at that time not having been appointed to that particular charge. Many suggestions were thrown out by some of the citizens, who thought they snuffed the battle afar off. Whether any precautions thus suggested would have averted the destruction that fell upon the Capitol a few months afterwards, cannot be asserted; but timely preparation seldom diminishes the chances of safety, and prevention is proverbially better than cure.

There is but one opinion as to the operations in that quarter, which is, that they were misdirected, or that the means at hand were generally misapplied. Fort Washington, the key of the principal avenue to the federal city, was confided to hands which threw that key at the enemy's feet, even before he demanded it. Such extreme incompetency should have been suspected. The fleet that came up the Potomac would never have attempted to pass that obstacle, had it stood with any show of defence. As to the main attack of the enemy, any endeavours, more than were made, to arrest the landing on the Patuxet, would probably have been unavailing. The troops which were opposed to the enemy were mostly raw militia. These could be hoped to be used to advantage only where some natural obstacles would greatly favor any stand they might make. It was, therefore, prudent to confine all operations preliminary to such a stand at such a point, to mere partisan annoyance. This point was the East River, or the branch on which Bladensburg stands. Small bodies of troops, or corps of observation, were accordingly placed here and there on the routes leading from the Patuxet to that branch, to watch the enemy's advance, and occasionally, when fitting opportunities presented, to offer resistance to his advance guards.

There were two bridges over the stream here alluded to. It seems inexplicable that one of them was not destroyed as soon as it became suspected that Washington was the object. Even if there had been an uncertainty in this respect, and it was apprehended that a junction with the fleet near Alexandria was in view, still the lower bridge should have been removed, for the reason that the security of the capital greatly

counterbalanced the preservation of a mere facility to fall on the enemy's rear, in case he should turn aside from this main object. The early destruction of the lower bridge would have necessarily confined the enemy's advance to one avenue, and all preparations to meet him would have had the same convenient limits. Leaving that bridge untouched until the last moment, and keeping there a large body of troops until it became certain that they were in a false position, was a capital error. These troops, including the gallant Barney's detachment, were hurried to their true position through the heat of mid-day, reaching it in an exhausted state, just in time to swell the tide of retreat. This error was sufficient to cause the loss of the day.*

It has often been said that the President and his Cabinet, who are known to have been on the skirts of the battle of Bladensburg, were in a false position; that their presence was an embarrassment, rather than an assistance, to the General in command. The latter may be true, and yet we do not see how, when the enemy was sounding the trumpet in their ears, they could have done otherwise than lend their countenance to a battle that was to decide the fate of the Capitol, unless they were expected, like the Roman senators at the Gaul invasion, to sit in their official chairs, until hurled out of them by the modern Gauls, or to have prudently retired even before the shadow of coming events. Mr. Monroe, the then Secretary of State, kindling up with Revolutionary fire, was actively mingling in all the movements preliminary to the battle of Bladensburg, — not, we trust, as the "Notices" would have the reader infer, to perplex and mislead them, — and he was among the combatants at that place, vainly striving to stem the ebbing fortunes of the day. His civil station permitted him thus to mingle, without any appearance of intrusion on the province of the military commander. He was where a Revolutionary soldier might be expected, under such circumstances, to be found. He was in his proper place. And so was

* The appendix gives the diary of "Colonel Allan McClure," who appears to have mingled officially in all these movements. He gives the advice of the Secretary of War to General Winder, soon after the British had landed, which was, in substance, either to harass the enemy as he was harassed at Lexington and Concord, in 1775; or, to fall slowly back, inviting the enemy onward, and occupy the Capitol, making the main defence there. Both of these suggestions appear to have been truly military and pertinent, and we cannot but regret that one or both of them had not been adopted.

the President. He gave all the encouragement he properly could to the wavering troops, until he found that they left no alternative but flight or captivity. And we have as little doubt that the Secretary of War was at his proper post too, side by side, as he was, with the President, counselling and directing when counsel and advice were likely to be available.

That the Capitol might have proved an impregnable citadel against the enemy, exhausted as he was, and with no heavy artillery, and evidently feeling that he had ventured too far into a hostile and populous country, now hardly admits of a doubt. The author of the "Notices" states distinctly that he was in favor of making it another "Chew's house." Whether any direct suggestion to that effect was made to the President, has not, we believe, been distinctly understood. It has, however, been generally supposed, that he did not approve the measure, judging, perhaps, from the events of the day, that any such stand would be unavailing, and more probably fearing that it would only authorize the enemy to destroy the building. He was fully authorized to believe that if it were *not* so occupied, it would be permitted to stand uninjured. The laws and customs of war protected it when thus disconnected from all purposes of hostility, and the President no doubt thought that there was a guaranty in the character of a nation, professing to respect those laws and customs, against all Vandalism. But the President (if he thus opposed such a suggestion) lost both Capitol and capital, when, perhaps, he might have saved both, had he relied less on the civilized character of the British nation, which vainly boasts of having occupied, in the same quarter of a century, capital after capital in Europe, without having left any such infamous memorial behind.

The predatory occupation of Alexandria was in conformity with the burning of the Capitol and the President's house. Undefended and defenceless private property was made to ransom itself as if from piratical rapacity. The rule of war in these cases is as plain and acknowledged as any international obligation whatever. Private property at sea becomes subject to the clutches of war, but private property on land is not so. And public buildings, used for civil purposes alone, are also respected. The British had a right to raze all forts, arsenals, store-houses containing munitions of any kind, to the ground; but the Capitol, the President's house,

and the flour and tobacco of Alexandria, were as much exempt from destruction or depredation, as would be the Parliament house, St. James's palace, or the silver spoons of any family, if, by any freak of fortune, the United States were to occupy London in a hostile way.

Perhaps it may be thought that remarks of this kind, which are likely to revive slumbering passions, or exasperate those still awake, notwithstanding the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, were better omitted than made. But we should contemplate history to little advantage, if we dwelt only on its agreeable aspect. The example of such men as McClure, Ross, and Cockburn, should be held up conspicuously, as a warning both to nations and individuals. General Ross at the battle of Bladensburg, where his gallantry and soldiership honorably won the day, is as much respected by Americans as by Britons; but the moment he applied the torch to the civil public edifices at Washington, he enrolled himself in that class of historical personages, at the head of which stands the Ephesian incendiary.

The closing scene of the war of 1812, namely, the defence of New Orleans, occupies its proper place in the "Notices." High credit is given for the boldness, resource, and constancy with which that defence was made, while the military errors committed on both sides are examined with acumen and fairness. These volumes will hereafter be consulted by the soldier, who is gathering up lessons in the art of war. The critical remarks of the distinguished author will throw much light on this subject. We have no space to follow him through his account of the memorable "8th of January." It has a celebrity that will always endure, and which will carry down to the latest posterity the great name indissolubly connected with it.

This nation is often in circumstances which must lead her to regard war as an event which may visit her again and again; it is, therefore, useful for her to consider the past with a view to benefit for the future. The war of 1812 should be the subject of reflection in the mind of every statesman, who may have the responsibility of meeting a like emergency. If this war deserve to be a guide in the management it exhibited, its details cannot be too much studied. On the contrary, if that management were faulty, still the instruction is the same. There is now probably little doubt

in the mind of any person who has examined the subject, that the initial operations of the war, so far as they related to the land, were nearly or quite all wrong; and were likely to lead, as they mostly did lead, only to disaster and disgrace. We were not prepared for offensive operations on the frontiers, and therefore should not have undertaken them until suitable preparations were made. Nothing would have been lost by the delay. The frontiers could have been protected, and the troops improved by discipline. The conquest of Canada was not a legitimate object of the war, even if it had been attainable. No desire had been evinced by the Provinces to join us, and we, as a nation, had no desire to receive them; 1775 and '76 were not forgotten. Impressions made here and there, according to the plan of the campaigns of 1812, could have produced no beneficial results, even if they had proved successful. They were like attempts to breach a wall by random shots, no two of which strike in the same place. The defence of the Northwestern frontier against Indian aggressions, much to be apprehended in that quarter, was a paramount obligation. General Hull's movement, therefore, so far as it related to Michigan, was expedient and necessary, and might have completely fulfilled its object, had it been preceded by common forecast, and executed with common prudence. Two things, which did not depend on him, were omitted, — omissions that almost necessarily sent misfortune before him, and brought up his rear with defeat. We have already sufficiently remarked on these omissions. Too much heed cannot be given to these instructive warnings.

Whether these volumes, which are full of such warnings, will have the beneficial influence they deserve, is a matter of painful doubt. We have instances every few years of a willingness on the part of those who are in the councils of the nation to rush blindly into war, with scarcely a question as to our preparation for such an event. This want of forecast may be excusable in Congress, a body of many minds, among which concurrence of opinion, especially in prudential matters, is not to be anticipated. But the Executive has power to act, so far as its province extends, either with caution or with energy, as the emergency may demand. The means placed at its disposal may be limited, but they can be well applied. There is no teaching for Congress.

A change comes over it too often for the influence of experience. But those who administer the government should consult history, and benefit by its admonitions. In these times, when we are daily startled with apprehensions that hostilities are almost inevitable, they may ponder on these volumes with great advantage.

The appendix to this work has much valuable matter, and much that is a mere incumbrance to the volumes. Facts which are not suited to the text from their diffuseness or technical dryness, very properly fall into an appendix, provided they are essential or desirable illustrations of it. Such, however, as have only a temporary interest, or are *ex parte* in their character, tending rather to mislead than to rectify the judgment, do not deserve such an honorable place. There are long documents of the latter character introduced into this appendix, which had better have been left to that oblivion from which this republication has probably rescued them. The helter-skelter affair of Queenstown occupies its full quota of pages in the body of the work, and there is no warrant, either in fairness or expediency, in permitting a single witness, — a most worthy officer, it is true, — to occupy the stand such an inordinate length of time in the appendix, excluding many others who might as justly claim the same privilege. Still less can we see any sufficient excuse in a mere willingness to befriend the memory of a deceased officer, for allowing the Beaver dam mishap, — according to its magnitude, by far the most discreditable event of the war, and very properly dismissed with a few paragraphs in the text, — to dilate in the Appendix beyond almost any other action in the work.

We cannot part with the "Notices" without finding some fault with the exterior. No matter what time may elapse between the publication of two volumes of the same work, they should be so germane to each other as at least to be recognised as of the same family. The last volume is undoubtedly an improvement on the first, which is almost shamed out of countenance by the better dress and fairer countenance of its younger sister. We do not find fault with the change that has taken place in the title-page, giving the author, in the last volume, the full benefit of the honorable rank and position which belong to him, while, in the first, his name stood divested of all blazonry of this kind. The

work should have the full benefit of all adventitious circumstances of this sort, and it is a pity that it did not begin, in this respect, as it has left off. It was at once obvious, however, to military men, that there was an error in the rank assumed; and, while the list of "Errata" undertakes to correct it, the true grade should have been given, instead of one which has never but once been known in our service. Certainly the fact that the author had been promoted, as it were, from the grade of Brigadier-General to the War Department, was too creditable to be shaded off in the slightest degree.

It is also to be hoped that in any new edition, the distinguished author will expunge all instances of irony, and affectations of contempt, which too often disfigure his highly wrought pages. The terms "*Mr.* Wilkinson," and "*Mr.* Harrison," do not express the meaning to be conveyed, unless more is meant than meets the eye. Since the days of Smollet, who speaks of "Mr. Wolfe" and the like, from an English habit which no American author will acknowledge, military men are ever designated by the titles that bespeak their rank. Omitting such, not merely courtesy, but necessary illustration of rank and position, either through an affected lapse of the pen, or from disrespectful or contemptuous feelings, is beneath the dignity of history, and also of the historian.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — Godfrey Weber's *General Music Teacher; adapted to Self-Instruction, both for Teachers and Learners; embracing also an Extensive Dictionary of Musical Terms.* Translated from the third German Edition, with Notes and Additions. By James F. Warner. Boston: J. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 8vo. pp. 135, lxxxviii.

This is a very excellent, old-fashioned, thorough, exact, dry work, on the elements of music, being the first part of an extended treatise, and containing all that is necessary, and much that is superfluous, for an understanding of the first principles of the art, and a knowledge of the names of its most simple tools and instruments. It is written in such an unattractive, formal, and pedantic style, that we cannot but wonder a little

at the boldness of the translator and publishers, who have presented a book like this to our community ordinarily so little disposed to patronize the mere virtue of thoroughness, and so ready to consider dulness as the unpardonable sin. It is an act as commendable as it is bold; but they must rely on the virtue of the musical community for their reward, a virtue which we sincerely hope will be found in it. We confess that the very first sentence in the book almost overcame our own spirit of perseverance, and gave us such a chilling anticipation of a bore, that we scarcely mustered the courage to proceed. "In order to acquire a just and accurate idea of *musical sound* and of *the art connected with musical sound*, i. e. *the musical art*, we must begin with the idea of *sound in general*." Truly, we should as soon have thought it necessary, in order to acquire a just and accurate idea of the construction and practical operation of the American constitutions, to begin with the idea of the social relations of Adam and Eve in Paradise. But notwithstanding this appalling annunciation, we went on, and were rewarded by perceiving the adaptation of the work to give correct ideas only, to convey no smattering, superficial knowledge of the lovely art of which it treats, and to correct some of the loose and inaccurate modes of expression in musical language prevalent among us.

This is high praise, and we are glad to be able to award it; while we cannot but regret the unnecessary formality that reigns over the work, rendering it unattractive both to scholar and master. It may be said the subject is necessarily dry, especially in the elementary department. We grant this to some extent, and think it the more necessary that pains should be taken to divest it of all stiffness in the mode of treatment, and all parade of useless erudition. As for learning music from a book, however well adapted it may be to self-instruction, we consider it not very probable that any one in his senses would attempt it; and he must have an unparalleled memory, who could recollect, and a wonderful understanding who could comprehend, the rules which govern the formation and division of musical sounds, without practical illustration. Books, of the description of the one before us, are useful in reminding the master both what he must teach, and what he must not teach, and in helping the student to fix in his memory the true principles of the art. This is all they can do, and this the work of Weber is well adapted to assist in doing.

We cannot but hope that the subsequent Numbers, which will treat of higher departments of the art, will be more interesting; and in the mean while we desire to express our unqualified approbation of the manner in which the translator has ac-

quitted himself of his task. We have had no opportunity to compare the translation with the original ; but that is not necessary in order to be convinced of the correctness of the version. There is an air of fidelity, and a manifest precision in the use of language, which show the habit of mind, and produce a conviction of accuracy, of the same kind with that which we feel in the truth of a portrait, when the painter has exhibited a thorough acquaintance with his art.

The "Dictionary of Musical Terms," with which this Number is enriched, is also the work of the translator, who has furnished three fourths of all it contains ; and we do not hesitate to express our preference of it to any other dictionary of musical terms we recollect to have seen, for the accuracy, clearness, and precision of its definitions, its sufficient copiousness, and its freedom from all superfluity.

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2. — *Lectures on the Sphere and Duties of Woman and other Subjects.* By George W. Burnap, Pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. Baltimore : John Murphy, Printer and Publisher. 1841. 12mo. pp. 272.

The demand for popular lectures has increased of late years with a rapidity and regularity, which hardly allow us to doubt that they will become a standard source of amusement and instruction for the inhabitants of our cities and larger towns. All classes of men are pressed into the service, and made to contribute their mite of general learning or pleasant disquisition for the profit of the multitude. Professional men are drawn away from the narrow sphere of their peculiar duties, and caused to revise their previous acquisitions in literature and science, in order to find some pleasant or profitable matter, wherewith to feed an hour's attention of a mixed audience. The information thus given must be sufficiently meagre and vague, and were the consequences limited to the immediate effects, we should be doubtful whether more harm than good did not result from the undertaking. Listening to a pleasant speaker requires even less exertion of mind, than to dawdle away the same space of time over an interesting, but profitless book. But an hour's leisure may be rescued in this way from amusements of a more dubious or hazardous character. An evening in the Lyceum or the Institute is better spent, that if given to the more thrilling but hazardous excitement of the drama, or bestowed upon the inanity of a fashionable party.

Harmless topics of conversation are obtained, and curiosity is perhaps excited on some point, which may lead to a course of severe study. Curious inquirers might find food for speculation in the fact, that performances of this sort prove so acceptable in this country while they are little relished in European cities. In Paris, particularly, lectures are daily given on all subjects in general science and literature, not at all technical in their character, with doors open to all comers ; and though the speakers are the most eminent men in France in their respective callings, the hearers are few and far between, consisting usually of a small band of men, who have a direct or prospective interest in the particular line of study. It requires the showy talent and brilliant declamation of a Cousin or a Villemain to fill the lecture rooms occasionally for a short period with the ranks of beauty and fashion. Here, we nightly besiege the doors of spacious halls and transformed theatres to listen generally, it is true, to very able lecturers, but not unfrequently to witlings and quacks. We recommend this contrast to the attention of M. de Tocqueville in his future volumes.

Mr. Burnap has hardly stepped aside from the line of his profession by preparing and publishing this course of lectures. Their grave and didactic character is nearly as well suited to the pulpit as to the more informal speaker's desk. They are written in an easy and flowing style, which sometimes rises to elegance, but is seldom marked with striking points or brilliant turns of expression. The reader's taste is never offended by an over ambitious manner, nor his admiration excited by strong imagery or varied illustration. The turn of thought may be characterized in very similar terms. It is pleasing and instructive, but not often original or profound. The writer shows a calm and well-balanced mind, and a philanthropic spirit, which has prompted him to glance over the surface of society and manners with an eye watchful to detect the presence of evil, and an inclination to provide for it whatever remedy there may be in advice judiciously conceived and earnestly spoken. It is a favorable omen for the character of a large and busy city, that lectures executed in this way should find an eager and attentive audience, and that a call should subsequently be made for their publication. We believe this is our author's second appearance in such a character, a volume containing the lectures of a former winter, addressed exclusively to young men, having already been laid before the public.

Of the eight lectures contained in this book, four relate to the principal topic, — the sphere and duties of women. It is easy to say much on such a broad and interesting subject, but

difficult, perhaps, to say it to the point, without offending delicacy, or running into vague generalities. All men are not Solons on such a theme, and he is wise, indeed, whose speech only, and at any period of his life, has shown him deficient in tact or judgment, when woman was the object of his speculations. Mr. Burnap speaks *ex cathedrâ* on the subject, and his sober and judicious remarks had doubtless a proper effect on his fair auditors. The novel speculations which are beginning to go abroad respecting the limits of woman's rights and duties have not attracted the writer's attention, and it is perhaps fortunate for him and his hearers, if no stir in his vicinity has made him acquainted with their existence. The cautions and reproofs, which he does find occasion to administer, relate to evils or defects, which, for a long time, have afforded matter of frequent comment to preachers and philanthropists. The lecturer's conception of female character, as it ought to be, betokens delicate feeling, and a full power of appreciating the fine and pure traits which make up the ideal portraiture of man's proper companion.

The remainder of the volume is occupied with introductory matter, and lectures on the "Moral Uses of Poetry," the "Moral Nature of Man," and the "Progress and Prospects of Society." The character of these performances is sufficiently indicated by the topics, and the circumstances under which they were delivered. They show good taste and a highly cultivated mind, and those who listened to them with pleasure in the first instance, will doubtless be glad to improve their recollection by an attentive perusal. We have only to hint to the writer, that in preparing such matter for the press, long poetical extracts, when taken from very familiar writers, may conveniently be shortened.

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3. — 1. *History of the Colonization of the United States.* By George Bancroft. Abridged by the Author. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1841. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 332 and 317.

2. *History of the United States, from their First Settlement as Colonies to the Close of the Administration of Mr. Madison, in* 1817. By Salma Hale. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1840. 24mo. pp. 295 and 292.

Here are two works prepared for the same purpose, that of introducing the history of this country in a compendious form to those who have not the leisure or the means for studying

it at large, and to the pupils of academies and common schools. The plan and execution of the two are very dissimilar, although each is good in its way. The high character of Mr. Bancroft's larger work has been repeatedly set forth in our pages, and its great circulation has probably left but a small portion of the reading community ignorant of its merits. The present abridgment, undertaken at the publishers' request, "is not designed as a full abstract of the larger work," but is intended "to give an authentic account of the colonization of the United States, in a simple and continued narrative, adapted to the young." The author has executed this secondary task with care; but in order fully to obtain the end in view, we are not sure, but that the whole work ought to be remodelled and written anew. It is no easy task to adapt text-books to youthful or imperfectly instructed capacities, and history is perhaps the most difficult of all subjects to be presented in a complete yet intelligible form to this class of readers. The ornate and somewhat artificial manner of Mr. Bancroft, highly as it may gratify the cultivated taste of many, will only perplex the schoolboy, and throw stumblingblocks, we fear, in the way of some children of a larger growth. Our author writes from a mind overflowing with general information; and the wide range and abundance of his allusions to general history, to say nothing of other subjects, must often oblige even reputed scholars to have recourse to works of general reference. He ought to have remembered, that the production of one who aspires to be a philosophical historian, though written in English, may require as copious annotations for young pupils, as the school editions of Livy and Tacitus. We open one of the volumes at random for an extract to illustrate these remarks, and light upon the following passage.

"After the departure of Oglethorpe, the southern colonies enjoyed repose; for the war for colonial commerce had become merged in a vast European struggle, involving the principles and the designs which had agitated the civilized world for centuries. In France, Fleury had adhered to the policy of peace, when, by the death of Charles the Sixth, the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg raised a question on the Austrian succession. The pragmatic sanction, to which France was a party, secured the whole Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth; while, from an erudite genealogy of previous marriages, the sovereigns of Spain, of Saxony, and of Bavaria, each derived a claim to the undivided heritage. The interest of the French king, his political system, his faith, as pledged by a solemn treaty, the advice of his minister, demanded of him the recognition of the rights of Maria Theresa in their integrity; and yet, swayed by the intrigues of the Belle-Isles, and the hereditary hatred of Austria, without one decent pretext, he constituted himself

the centre of an alliance against her. As England, by its arrogant encroachments on Spain, unconsciously enlarged the commercial freedom, or began the independence, of colonies; so France, by its unjustifiable war on Austria, floated from its moorings, and foretold the wreck of Catholic legitimacy." — Vol. II. p. 302.

A schoolboy might perhaps be pardoned for asking who were Fleury and the Belle-Isles, and what was the "pragmatic sanction," and for comprehending but imperfectly why France, by making war on Austria, "foretold the wreck of Catholic legitimacy."

On the following page, Frederic the Second is spoken of as "the pupil of the philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolf," and the young reader would naturally inquire, why this fact was mentioned, and what peculiarity there was in the opinions of these celebrated men; — a question which, as there is no English translation of the works of Wolf, nor of the entire writings of Leibnitz, perhaps many instructors would be puzzled how to answer.

We regret that the writer overlooked this difficulty in preparing his abridgment, for it possesses qualities which render its adoption in many seminaries very desirable. The reflections tend to nourish a liberal and patriotic spirit, the style is always animated, the descriptions graphic, and there are many passages in the narrative, over which the schoolboy would hang with intense interest. A judicious hint is given in the advertisement, that the work may be used as a reading book in classes, apart from its more direct application to the study of history. The careful teacher might select passages for this purpose, which are less open to the objection mentioned above. We must not omit allusion to the mechanical execution of the volumes, the neatness and elegance of which fully sustain the high reputation of the publishers for taste and enterprise displayed in improving the exterior of American publications.

In strong contrast with the character of this striking work appears the unpretending history by Mr. Hale, containing an unvarnished narrative of facts, which extends from the time of the first settlement made in the country down to the close of Mr. Madison's administration. The writer states in his preface, that the narrowness of his limits was not his sole reason for excluding "moral, political, and philosophical reflections," for he considers them "beyond the sphere of legitimate history." We can by no means admit the justice of this remark, when couched in such general terms, though there is some convenience in its application to a mere compendium, like the work now before us. A plain narration has its use as an introduction to works of a more broad and philosophical character, and the

rigid exclusion of all extraneous matter allows much information to be condensed within a narrow compass. As far as we have observed, Mr. Hale has executed his task with fidelity and skill. The materials appear to be drawn from authentic sources, and the simple and lucid style places the book within the comprehension of all classes of readers. But the principle of arrangement is a faulty one, for the history of each colony stands by itself, being carried on without interruption from its origin to the war of 1756. Hence there is less unity in the work than the subject admitted, for the relations between the colonies were numerous and close from a very early period; and the perpetual doubling back of the narrative upon itself breaks the thread of interest, disturbs the reader's ideas of chronology, and prevents his attaining any comprehensive views respecting the relative situation and character of the various settlements. Apart from this fault, we see no reason why the book may not be used as a convenient manual by those who wish to obtain a general knowledge of the origin and progress of the several colonies, the establishment of our present form of government, and the more recent history of the country. This completeness of the work may give it the preference in some cases over Mr. Bancroft's abridgment, in which the narrative breaks off before the commencement of the revolutionary contest.

4.— *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest.* By Sharon Turner, F. A. S. R. A. S. L., Author of the "Sacred History of the World." 8vo. Vols. I. and II. pp. 560 and 619. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart.

The enterprise of American publishers is fast doing away with that argument for a system of international copyright, which is founded on the injustice done to English authors by the coarse, imperfect, and inaccurate reprints of their works, that were too frequently issued in this country. The change that has been effected in this respect within a few years is remarkable. Not only in what we may be excused for calling the *comforts*, but even in the luxuries, of the typographical art, we have already come to rival the rich productions of the English press. From the mean and rudely executed volumes, which once burdened our booksellers' shelves, a sudden transition has been made to tasteful and elegant books, of which the exterior is as gratifying to the eye, as the contents can be to

the mind. And the resources of the publishers' skill and taste are expended not merely on native productions, their exclusive property in which might well tempt them to be liberal, but also on the exotics transplanted to our soil without leave, the original producers of which may now console themselves for such appropriation, by observing that it is made in quite a gentlemanly fashion. In the case of works, which, from their bulk or the nature of the subject treated, must have been prepared and sent from the press without any expectation of pecuniary profit, we may even consider their reappearance in a rich dress on this side of the Atlantic, as a compliment paid to the author without any drawback, as a proof that his labors are appreciated here by a reading community, which is now perhaps quite as numerous as his own.

These remarks were naturally suggested by a glance at the very handsome edition of Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," which has just issued from the Philadelphia press. It is comprised in two large octavo volumes, of which the paper, presswork, and binding are unexceptionable, and well suited to the grave and scholarlike character, the substantial merits of the work itself. The labor of a lifetime has been spent upon it, as the author informs us, that thirty-seven years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume; and the fact that this copy is printed from the sixth English edition, is good evidence to show that, in the judgment of the public, this toil has not been expended in vain. A critical examination is not needed for a production that has been so long before the world, the high claims of which have moreover been repeatedly acknowledged by the leading journals of Europe. The subject, of course, is one of great interest to all of English descent, to our own countrymen not less than to our cousins across the water. The fame of the great Alfred and the saint-like Edward belongs to us as well as to the actual natives of Britain; the institutions first established by their wisdom are in equal preservation and esteem on both sides of the ocean. For the origin of our language and laws, for our trial by jury and other primitive safeguards of freedom, we must go back to the Anglo-Saxon tribes, the veritable *gentis cunabula nostræ.* As a guide in this interesting inquiry, in point of the value, extent, and accuracy of the information given, no single work is comparable to that of Sharon Turner. It is not a mere history, in the limited sense in which most people use that word, but a full account of the people of whom it treats, — of their actions and institutions, their laws and habits, their language and literature. From the immense mass of curious learning which it exhibits, the work is necessarily addressed in particu-

lar to those who have some taste for antiquarian researches, but it abounds in interesting matter also for the general student. Its publication here is a matter of good omen for the cultivated taste and sober judgment of the purchasers of books ; and the augury will be fulfilled, if the speedy sale of the entire edition shall reward the publishers for their liberal and praiseworthy undertaking.

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5 — *Psychology, or a View of the Human Soul ; including Anthropology. Adapted for the Use of Colleges.* By Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, D. P., Late President of Marshall College, Pennsylvania. Second Edition, Revised and Improved. New York : M. W. Dodd. 8vo. pp. 401.

Dr. Rauch's treatise bears the marks of much reading and deep reflection. His subject required him to pass over much ground, and the limits of the work obliged him to condense his materials within small compass. But the task has been executed without hurry or carelessness, and every part of the book shows the well trained habits of the thorough student, and the earnest inquirer after truth. It is a more readable book, than one would expect from the title and the nature of the subject. A German by birth and education, the writer's early studies took a direction with which few persons in this country are familiar, and consequently the borrowed speculations, no less than those which are original, and the merely illustrative matter, contain much, that is novel and interesting to English readers. This remark applies particularly to the first part of the volume, which treats of Anthropology, or the science of man as affected only by external influences. The researches of German naturalists have thrown much light on the physical history of mankind, and the partial account of their labors was to us both new and curious. Dr. Rauch had acquired extraordinary command over the resources of our language, and it requires a critical eye to detect here and there traces of the foreigner's pen. We cannot say much for the order in which the materials are arranged ; there is a frequent jumbling together of topics, and the reader is often perplexed in the attempt to follow the main course of remark through a mass of subsidiary and illustrative matter.

The latter part of the volume, relating entirely to psychology, contains what are evidently the writer's favorite speculations. The treatise is imperfect, of course, for the space was

far too narrow for a full consideration of a subject, which embraces so many disputed points, and branches out into such endless ramifications. But the work is judiciously executed, as far as it goes, manifesting neither a slavish adoption of other men's opinions, nor a hasty endeavour to propound new views and original theories. The writer confesses his obligations to several of the less distinguished metaphysicians of his own country, and has evidently derived some assistance from the study of English philosophy. On the foundation thus obtained, he has erected his own structure with careful industry and good success. Though not well suited for use as a manual of instruction, there are few persons who may not derive entertainment and profit from a perusal of this work. We should mention, that this second edition appears without the benefit of an entire revision by the author, who died while it was passing through the press. The preparations he had made to follow up this publication by several treatises on kindred topics, were left incomplete by his premature death.

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6. — *The Lectures delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Providence, (Rhode Island,) August,* 1840 ; *including the Journal of Proceedings, and a List of the Officers.* Published under the Direction of the Board of Censors. Boston: William D. Ticknor. 1841. 12mo. pp. 143.

"The American Institute of Instruction," — we could wish that its founders had been less ambitious in selecting a title for the society, — has been an active and efficient agent of late years in directing public attention towards the academies and common schools of New England, and in originating and carrying forward measures for their improvement and increase. Its annual meetings have contributed to keep up an *esprit de corps* in the body of instructors, and thereby to prevent the zeal of many from being chilled by a sense of isolation arising from the constant recurrence of rather monotonous duties within a contracted sphere of exertion. This is an incidental advantage of such assemblages, it is true, their primary object being to secure for all the benefits of individual experience, and consequently to harmonize plans and to diffuse new and sound views respecting the general theory of education. Without undervaluing these general objects, we still attribute much importance to the extension of private intercourse, and

the creation of wider sympathies with each other. As a body also, the profession may do more than would be possible by individual effort, to impress on the community a sense of the importance of their labors, and to hold up in a fair light their claims to encouragement and support. We believe that the pay of schoolmasters is more inadequate, in proportion to what is expected from them, than that of any other class of men whatever ; and even the respect, which is willingly accorded in general terms to the business they are engaged in, is grudgingly imparted to individuals, or is altogether lost in the exaggerated view which too many parents take, of their claims to an equivalent for money disbursed or general services rendered. We are not merely repeating the general cry of public servants about hard work and scanty pay. The case is a wholly peculiar one, and any person may satisfy himself that it is so, by a moment's consideration of the amount and variety of duties imposed, the number and peculiarity of qualifications required, the responsibility of the task, and the multitude of individuals, who consider it as their right and duty to take good care, that such responsibility is enforced. Then let him ascertain the average amount of compensation given, whether in sympathy and encouragement or in hard money, and we conceive that he will obtain some new views about the gratitude due to teachers. Still further, if he wishes to know something about the general activity shown by this body of men, in order to prevent the execution of their task from falling into a mechanical and stationary routine, let him have recourse to the volumes annually published by the " American Institute."

The yearly meeting of the Association is usually prolonged for several days, the time being occupied by the free discussion of questions connected with the management of schools, and by the delivery of lectures on topics directly connected with education, given for the most part by teachers themselves, but sometimes by gentlemen who are only indirectly connected with the work. The whole or a part of these lectures is subsequently printed for general circulation. The volume now before us contains six of the thirteen lectures delivered at the last annual meeting. The first thing that struck us, on an examination of the book, was the eminently practical character of the several essays. The writers indulge in no loose talk about the general theory and importance of education, but go directly to their subjects, bringing forward the fruits of individual experience, and well-defined opinions on particular points in the practice of teaching and the direction of schools. The only exception to this remark appears in the lecture by Dr. Bates, the President of Middlebury College, on " Intellectual Education

in harmony with Moral and Physical." Even here, though the body of the performance consists of general speculations, a practical acquaintance with the subject is manifested; and opinions, that are generally sound, are inculcated with the earnestness of one who has thought much on the various systems of instruction, and possessed the means of observing their actual operation. But we must except to the remarks against admitting the principle of emulation to be used as a stimulant to exertion. Such objections appear to us to be founded on an over-sensitiveness about the moral progress of the pupil, and on a needless wish to guard childhood against evils, that are incident only to maturer years. Those actually engaged in teaching, we believe, will be cautious about resolving to give up the most effectual stimulus, which it is now in their power to apply. We do not object, however, to the opinion of Dr. Bates, as expressed in the following sentence. "When war shall cease, — when pride shall be subdued, — when vanity shall be blown away, — when love, heavenly love, Christian charity shall have diffused its benign influence through the earth; emulation, with its attendants, envy and strife, shall be found no more." Then, and not till then.

Mr. G. F. Thayer's lecture on "Courtesy, and its Connexion with School Instruction" affords a fair instance of the success, with which the minutest details of one's own experience may be set forth for the information and profit of brother instructors. Homely and familiar topics are treated, it is true, and in the simplest manner; but pregnant hints are given for the removal of obstacles and perplexities, which, trivial as they may appear, have often proved fatal to the successful conduct of a school. Some courage is required for the exposition of such minute particulars, but the reward is at hand, in ascertaining that measures, founded on such suggestions, have been widely adopted, and in the consciousness of having rendered aid where it was most needed. The writer is well known as the principal of a long established and admirably managed private seminary in Boston, and his opinion on all subjects relating to the exercise of the profession is therefore entitled to great weight.

His colleague, Mr. Cushing, in a lecture on the "Results to be aimed at in School Instruction and Discipline," evinces not only perfect familiarity with the practical part of his business, but a wise forecast and a sound judgment in estimating the more remote effects, that must follow upon small beginnings. The taste and somewhat of the enthusiasm of the ripe scholar are shown in a clear perception of the high purpose, the ideal standard, which, though it exists only in the distance and is cov-

ered with a multiplicity of fatiguing details, is never lost sight of by the faithful instructor. It requires the elastic spring of a vigorous mind to look beyond the *minutiæ* of a perpetually recurring task, and no little firmness and self-denial not to slur over these short but necessary steps by a hurried attempt to realize the ultimate purpose. The lecturer shows that he is aware of either difficulty; and the clearness with which the path for others is traced out affords the surest proof, that the speaker has discovered and pursued the due course in his own practice. The pure and elevated conception of the teacher's work in its moral aspect, the distinct recognition of duty, and a full account of the means of impressing this solemn idea on the mind of the youthful pupil, are the points which complete this broad view of the theory of primary instruction.

A lecture by Dr. Usher Parsons on the "Brain and Stomach" appears from its title to be oddly introduced in such a connexion; but it will be found on examination to be one of the most practical and useful portions of the book. The professional eminence of the writer gives full weight to his advice on such subjects, and both parent and teacher will do well to reflect seriously upon his suggestions. The remaining lectures in the volume are by Thomas A. Greene, on "the Duty of Visiting Schools"; by the Rev. A. B. Muzzey, on "the Objects and means of School Instruction"; and by Jacob Abbott, on "the common Complaints made against Teachers." They all add to the value of a book, which deserves a wide circulation among those interested in the subject of education in common schools.

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7. — *Greek Exercises, followed by an English and Greek Vocabulary, containing about seven thousand three hundred Words.* By E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Hartford: H. Huntington, Jr. 1841. 12mo. pp. 168.

The high reputation which the Greek Grammar of Mr. Sophocles has already attained, and the extent of its introduction into schools and colleges, not only in New England, but in other and distant parts of the country, made it imperative that a book of Exercises should be published, prepared by the same skilful and careful hand. It has been promptly supplied, and in such a manner as leaves nothing to be desired. This little work shows an exact appreciation of what our schools require, and is planned and executed in the exercise of the soundest judgment, aided by the most minute knowledge

of the niceties of the Greek Language. The First Part contains a series of exercises, arranged under the rules of Syntax, which are taken from the stereotype edition of the author's Greek Grammar, and embracing all the essential principles of the Syntax. The sentences selected are all quoted from the best authors, and are such as illustrate the rule in a very clear and satisfactory manner. The whole of this Part occupies only forty-two pages, and yet it is sufficiently comprehensive for all the purposes of such a book. When the pupil has carefully written through this part, he will be prepared to go on with the second ; and here we think Mr. Sophocles is entitled to especial praise for the simplicity with which he has cleared up what scholars always find to be the most difficult, not to say unintelligible portion of their labor in learning to write the Greek Language with correctness, — the use of the article, the force of the tenses, and the proper use of the Subjunctive, Optative, and Infinitive Moods. Instead of stating the principles in abstract and technical language, he has illustrated the last-mentioned branch of his subject by a series of well chosen examples, which will at once, and in the most forcible manner, both suggest the principle, and stamp the usage ineffaceably upon the scholar's mind, and make it impossible to commit those solecisms in the application of the moods which in times past have made the teacher despair of the possibility of ever seeing a school exercise which did not contain a series of impossible propositions, constructions that would have made a Greek boy's hair stand on end, and ingenious barbarisms at which Quinctilian would have gaped and stared. There will be no excuse hereafter for such things : the whole matter is here set forth in so clear a light, that a boy who can learn any thing can learn this. The vocabulary at the end of the book is well selected, and the words are defined with great precision. The range of words is not confined to those which occur in the exercises ; but the most important, — those which make up the common circulation in the daily intercourse of life, — are here collected, so that, in writing any common piece of Greek composition, this book will be found of great utility.

We suppose that at this day the usefulness of writing exercises in a dead language will hardly be called in question. But we think the most important points in the practice are not always sufficiently apprehended. We do not think that a free and fluent use of a dead language is, *per se*, an object of very high importance in this age of the world, for any practical purpose to which such learned skill can be put in the ordinary business of life, or in the intercourse of society. But the intellectual processes through which alone such skill can be ac-

quired, — the curious searching for the exact word, and the comparison of synonyms, and the nice analysis both of language and thought, which are required in writing correctly in a dead language, are of the highest utility for the general discipline of the intellectual powers, and particularly for forming a habit of clear, logical thinking, and precise expression of the thought. It will be generally found that persons who have been most thoroughly trained in this way are the best masters of their own mother tongue, and the most correct reasoners on subjects far remote from these studies. An exception may now and then be found. Here and there arises, in literary history, a great native writer unskilled in the lore of the ancient tongues ; and on the other hand, a great classical scholar, who is incapable of expressing himself with tolerable propriety in the idiom of his countrymen. But the great mass of the cultivated literature of Europe testifies strongly to the truth of our general statement.

That a constant habit of composition in a foreign or classical language gives the scholar a readier appreciation of the literary beauties embodied in that language, is a fact which no experienced person can deny or even doubt. It is very possible for a reader to get some general notion of a classic writer's merits, by reading alone ; just as the visitor of a gallery of sculpture may carry away a vague impression of a statue on which he has cast but a single glance. But if that visitor had made a drawing of the statue, and thus had been compelled to scan all the details of its fair proportions with curious eye, he would have carried away in his mind an image of the artist's work, which would have remained there for ever. And so the student of an ancient Greek classic, who has attempted to reproduce the same curious mechanism of sentences, by carefully scrutinizing all the minute delicacies of his style, and weaving them into a series of exercises in composition, will stamp upon his mind an image of that author's beauties which will go with him through life. The same remark may be extended from a single author to a whole language. But it must be confessed that our classical schools, with some honorable exceptions, fail egregiously in this regard ; and it is a matter which calls for instant and thorough reform. The publication of a book which contains so much in so small a space ; which is so judicious in the selection of examples, and so luminous in the illustration of principles, is of excellent omen for the improvement of our schools in the study of the Greek ; and we have no hesitation in commending it as a suitable companion to the author's Greek Grammar (and that is saying a great deal) to all the lovers of thorough classical scholarship.

8.—*A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America, with a view to the Improvement of Country Residences, comprising Historical Notices and General Principles of the Art, Directions for laying out Grounds and arranging Plantations, the Description and Cultivation of Hardy Trees, Decorative Accompaniments to the House and Grounds, the Formation of Pieces of Artificial Water, Flower Gardens, &c., with Remarks on Rural Architecture, illustrated by Engravings.* By A. J. Downing. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 451.

This is an attempt of a kind somewhat novel in the United States. Mr. Downing, inspired by his ardor for the more general diffusion of taste in embellishing country dwellings, has endeavoured, and as we think with much success, to bring within small compass, and yet in an elegant form, all of the information most important to be had for the end in view. The disposition to improve and adorn the grounds immediately around houses in the country, is rapidly extending itself in America. But it is very much checked by the want of practical guides, by means of which there shall be some security afforded to individuals with moderate resources, against the misapplication of their money and labor. The English works, which are to be found in great variety, and some of them very splendid, are worse than useless in many respects upon this side of the Atlantic; for they are predicated upon a state of society and manners, a climate, an extent of private fortunes, and a scale of prices of labor and materials, so wholly different from what is known here, that any luckless wight who ever commenced operations upon the faith of what he read in them, must have had occasion before he ended, to repent in more ways than one of his misplaced confidence. Almost every citizen of the United States, when he begins to improve land, has to deal with nature in some of her primitive forms. He finds every thing before him to be done, and the cost of labor with which to do it very great. Hence, it often happens, that he has expended a considerable sum without realizing any thing further from it, as yet, than an opportunity to expend more to advantage. He finds this nowhere set down in the estimates of the old world, where no such work is necessary; and he becomes discouraged from doing more. What he sees put down as within the compass of a moderate fortune in England, turns out to require a large one in America. He loses confidence in all estimates whatever, and, in order to save him-

self from ruin, stops where he is. The consequence generally is, that he loses the advantage of much of his preceding outlay; that he gets disgusted with country life; finally sells what he has done for a quarter part of the amount it has cost him, and returns to a city determined never to leave it; or, if he does, only for a jaunt to some watering place during the hot weeks of the season.

Yet after all, it is very easy to adorn the lowliest country dwelling without incurring much cost, provided only the disposition be found to exist in the mind of its tenant. There is no country, where the opportunity and the inducement unite together in a greater degree than among us. Our lands are generally in the hands of an independent class of citizens, who own them free from incumbrance, but who own not much else. A trifling amount of annual labor, is all that is necessary to make the difference at home, between a bare and desolate hovel, and a pretty farmhouse. A few overgrown currant bushes in a formal row before the house, which have been left to take care of themselves ever since they were set, half a dozen wild apple-trees in their natural roughness, and here and there perhaps a single cherry-tree, constitute all the horticultural improvement of many of our most ancient interior towns. A few hours, but too often spent at the tavern fire-place in political wrangling, would suffice to put a new face upon the scene. The apple-trees might be made to return money into the pocket of their owner, and his neglected currant bushes might afford space for a few additional plants, the cultivation of which would soften and expand his own mind, in the same ratio that it improved the appearance of his home. His wife and children, taking the benefit of his example, could daily contribute without effort their mite to the general effect, and thus would grow, out of a neglected and repelling spot, a cheerful and inviting scene. To do all this, little is necessary beyond the will of the individuals concerned. Yet how many are there all over the United States, men and women, who have never realized the possibility of such a conception, and who think all the use of the earth to be, that it yields corn and wheat and potatoes, all the beauty of a house that it is a shelter from the weather!

We wish that there was in America, a more decided taste for country life among the younger portion of those classes, favored by fortune with the possession of property. It would have a tendency in some degree, to counteract the restlessness and disposition to change, which is characteristic of our people, and to check the passion for luxuries of all kinds, which is rapidly extending itself with the increase of our public ho-

tels, and the facilities of transportation from place to place. One of the greatest supports to the fabric of society, as it is erected in England, is the landed interest; by which we mean, that class of proprietors who live upon their estates, and sympathize with all their neighbours poor or rich, and to whom the idea of removal from the place which they call home, is in the nature of a heavy calamity. In the United States there is no such class. The wealthy have made their property for themselves in cities, and to most of them a country house is necessary, because it is commonly regarded as an appendage to the condition of a man of fortune, and for no other reason. It is seldom considered in the light of a permanent possession, or more than a place to spend three or four months of summer. No rural tastes are formed, no sympathies with neighbours are created. The citizen remains as a citizen all his life, and his country residence at his death is sold, and passes into other hands without the perpetuation of a single memorial that such a man had ever dwelt in it. The great majority of persons who make country seats, do so either because they desire to make a display of their fortune, or else because they have a romantic idea in their mind of the delight of a beautiful retreat from the bustle of the world. Neither motive will answer for any length of time, to keep them living there. The desire for display rapidly palls with the possession of all that is necessary to indulge it, and the fancy for retirement gives way before the dreariness of solitude. Let no man of property seek a country place, unless he is inclined to attach himself to the soil, to make his children feel that it is theirs as well as his, and to cultivate a common interest with all his neighbours.

Mr. Downing treats of different modes of building houses for the country, in a simple and perspicuous manner. His remarks upon the prevailing taste for Grecian temples as models for such houses, are perfectly just. There can be nothing more absurd. We do not understand him as going quite so far in his condemnation of Gothic architecture. Both kinds seem to us equally inappropriate, but for different reasons. The first, because it is converting what was meant for a religious monument into a dwelling-house, the second, because it is transferring to a new country a peculiar style of building, without transferring the only association of ideas which can make it pleasing. The Gothic in America strikes us as being gothic indeed. There are but two styles of architecture from which our countrymen should borrow, the English and the modern Italian. From these Mr. Downing has shown, that it is very easy to obtain models in every conceivable va-

riety. Possibly some hints could be obtained by a study of the Oriental, although it is better calculated for a hot climate than for ours. Yet on the whole, we are inclined to believe that there is great room open for the genius of native architects, to devise and to combine new forms particularly adapted to manners in America, which will unite external beauty of proportion with internal convenience and economy.

Mr. Downing has much to say of the various sorts of trees, and of their respective effects in the formation of landscape. This is a subject that has as yet been little studied in America. Trees are to an artist who lays out grounds, what colors are to the painter. He shows his skill by the combination of shades of color and forms, in such a manner as to develope out of a given quantity of surface, the greatest practicable beauty. The cultivation of trees for any other purpose than for fruit is in its infancy with us. A few individuals pay some attention to exotics, simply because they are rare and expensive, and notwithstanding that they have not a thousandth part of the elegance or durability of our native forest trees. It is this taste which has introduced the Lombardy poplar, the horse-chestnut, the lime tree, and the mountain ash, in preference to the white oak, the shell-bark walnut, and the sugar maple. These are trees that require a century of growth, it is true, and therefore no single generation can expect to enjoy in its own time, the advantage of seeing them come to perfection; but if that is to be an argument why they should not be planted, every generation will be forced to go without them. We repudiate such selfish notions. Although one man may cease to live, and his children may lose the benefit of what he has planted, still somebody will probably be the gainer. And his act will be attended with an increasing degree of merit, in proportion as the woodman 's axe extends its destructive ravages in our native forests. The first growth of the Atlantic States is now very nearly gone; and New England, one of whose chief supports is her navigating interest, will not fail to rank high among her benefactors, those who provide against the contingency of her want of ship-timber. Even considered as a money speculation, he who should plant a few barren acres with forest trees, would most probably realize for his children a far more solid fortune than if he were to enter government lands at the minimum price. And he would be doing a more useful and creditable service by superintending their cultivation, than if he wasted his time as many have done in devising visionary schemes of great wealth from the timber lands already existing.

There is also much valuable instruction in this book upon the subject of making hedges, laying out gardens, ornamental

bridges, walks, shrubberies, &c., communicated in an agreeable style, and illustrated by frequent quotations from those poets of various countries, who have sung the delights of rural life. Mr. Downing evidently brings to his task, much more than the mere requisites for making a book about gardening. He is an enthusiast, as well as a practical artist, in his profession. He speaks of effects to be produced from given causes, not from what he may have read of them in books, or seen in pictures and highly-colored engravings, but from personal observation and experiment. The consequence is, that such advice as he can give is worth having. It is the result of experience in the climate of the Northern States, and does not come from Great Britain, whose climate is so wholly different, that a large class of plants may there be cultivated in the open air, notwithstanding the high latitude, any attempt to rear which here is time lost, and money thrown away. The great object in the United States ought to be, to concentrate results of the knowledge already obtained of the effects of the climate, in such a manner as to save useless labor, and to direct the efforts of individuals to the most certain ends. And this object, we think Mr. Downing's book exceedingly well calculated to promote.

For the rest, the mechanical execution is very handsome and does credit to the press of New York. The designs and illustrations are neat and appropriate. They make the volume an ornament to any drawing-room. There are more typographical errors in it than such a work ought to have, considering that nothing but a little extraordinary care is necessary to avoid them. This is a common fault in American printing, and grows out of the impatience of minute labor, which is a national characteristic. But that great progress has been made in correction of the evil, may readily be seen, by comparing the books now published in the United States with those which were issued thirty years since. There is, however, yet room for improvement, and we trust American publishers will not relax their efforts, until they shall habitually produce specimens of correctness, fully equal to the best publications of the countries of Europe.

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9. — *Remarks on Currency and Banking, having Reference to the Present Derangement of the Circulating Medium in the United States.* By Nathan Appleton. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 73.

This is a pamphlet of no ordinary importance. The subject is an absorbing one, and we desire to express our obliga-

tions to the author, for giving to the public the use of so much of his valuable time, as must necessarily have been required to condense, and to bring into so compact a form, so widely related an argument. He has shown to the satisfaction of every intelligent reader, that in banking as in all other concerns of life, "honesty is the best policy." We wanted this homely truth sturdily enforced at this time; and we rejoice that it has been so faithfully done by Mr. Appleton. To the intrinsic merit of the pamphlet, we are gratified that the author has been willing to add the weight of his own good name. His position places his motives above suspicion, a circumstance not without importance in these days.

A commendable excellence of the pamphlet, is its freedom from minute details and foreign topics. The leading object of the author is thereby kept constantly in view, and the reader is permitted to contemplate, uninterruptedly, the magnitude of existing evils, and the true remedy to be applied. No affectedly profound doctrines on "banking principles" (so much talked about and so little understood) encumber it. There is no parade of learning, but practical good sense is presented to us in a good English garb. That the work will encounter opposition from the interested, reckless speculator, the opinionated theorist, and the selfish politician, is to be expected. We apprehend, nevertheless, that the currency can be effectually reformed, only by a rigid adherence to the principles advocated in this pamphlet. We would gladly extend our remarks, but the space remaining to us will be more profitably filled by one or two extracts. In the following paragraphs, Mr. Appleton well expresses the worst effect of a continued bank suspension, the consequent and inevitable demoralization of the community which tolerates it.

"But perhaps the worst part of suspension is its moral effect on the community. Banks are established as models of punctuality and honorable dealing; their notes have obtained circulation on the ground that the promise to furnish the coin on demand, was of the most sacred character. They have become the depositories of the money of the community, under the most solemn pledge that it should be forthcoming on demand. The directors of banks are selected from those of the highest standing in the mercantile community, — their obligation to carry out the provisions of the charter, and to fulfil the contracts made under it, would seem to be of the highest and most binding character. They are in fact the trustees of the stockholders and depositors, selected for this very purpose. It is difficult to perceive how honorable men, holding the office of bank directors, can reconcile a continued suspension to their sense of moral obligation.

"The effect of a suspension of the banks, is immediately apparent in its effect upon the moral sense of the community, as regards the ob-

ligation of contracts. The breach of contract by the banks is alleged as a sufficient apology for the breach of contract by individuals, and is generally received as a sufficient justification. The broken promise of a bank is offered, and received as the only alternative on all contracts falling due. The grossest injustice is thus inflicted, which has no palliation but its universality. A. submits to receive a depreciated currency, because he can practise the same injustice upon B. The rights of creditors are sacrified to the convenience of debtors." — pp. 19, 20.

The palpable errors, that continued suspension is a relief instead of an aggravation of the embarrassments of the country, and that there is any remedy for an inflated currency but contraction, are here justly presented.

"The question now arises, what is to be done? How is the currency to be restored? The answer is simple and easy. Abandon your false theories. Philadelphia and New York have stood in opposition, as the representatives of antagonist opinions. New York and the North have gone for immediate resumption, with a present sacrifice, and a bank currency convertible into coin on demand. This portion of the country finds no difficulty in its present position. It enjoys a sound currency, and no scarcity of it. There is no want of confidence where it ought to exist. Its internal trade is in a healthy and natural state. All is well.

"On the other hand, with Philadelphia, the South and West have gone for indefinite suspension; they have preferred *present ease* with an inconvertible paper currency. The inevitable results of a depreciated currency have followed. The destruction of all general credit, — the disgrace of broken faith, — universal distrust. The remedy lies in retracing their steps. Let the solvent banks of Philadelphia, decide at once to receive nothing which is not equivalent to gold and silver; to have nothing to do with *certificates of deposite* or any other moonshine; to reduce their liabilities steadily and manfully, until they become as scarce and as valuable as coin. Under this course resumption will come of itself within sixty days." — pp. 25, 26.

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10. — *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from* 1602 *to* 1625. *Now first collected from Original Records and Contemporaneous Printed Documents, and illustrated with Notes.* By Alexander Young. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 8vo. pp. xvi., 488.

The New England race were already rich in means of information concerning their primitive history, through Mr. Savage's admirable notes upon "Winthrop's Journal," illustrating the

beginning of the Massachusetts Colony, and Judge Davis's edition of "Morton's Memorial," relating to the settlement at Plymouth. Mr. Young's elegant volume now before us makes another highly important contribution to the knowledge of that interesting period. It retraces events to an earlier date than the "Memorial," and to the very origin of things; comprising, in a series of documents, illustrated with learned notes, and some of them now first printed, "an authentic history of the Pilgrim Fathers who planted the Colony of Plymouth, from their origin in John Robinson's congregation in 1602, to his death in 1625, written by themselves."

It has been all along known that William Bradford, second Governor of Plymouth, composed a history of the Plymouth settlement, covering the period between the years 1602 and 1647. It was used by Morton in compiling his "Memorial," and by later historians down to the time of Prince. The manuscript, being deposited with Prince's library in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston, disappeared, while that church was occupied by British troops in the years 1775 and 1776, and has since been considered as lost, to the great and reasonable grief of the antiquaries. A few years ago, Mr. Young observed, in the records of the First Church at Plymouth, a narrative in the handwriting of Morton, author of the "Memorial," which, on comparing it with the extracts avowedly made from Bradford's "History" in the works of Hutchinson and Prince, he perceived to be no other than the lost history itself; "a fact," he adds, "put beyond all doubt by a marginal note of Morton at the beginning of it, in which he says, 'This was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth.'" With this history, or rather the recovered portion of it, which comes down no further than to November 1620, Mr. Young very properly begins his volume, of which it occupies more than a hundred pages. When he denominates it "Bradford's History," he, of course, intends to have it understood to be substantially a large fragment of that work, though with occasional alterations and interpolations of Morton, the transcriber.* It contains "a detailed history of the rise of the Pilgrims in the north of England, their persecutions there, their difficult and perilous escape into Holland, their residence in that hospitable land for twelve years, the causes which led to their emigration, and the means which they adopted to transport themselves to America." It is rightly characterized by the editor as taking "precedence of every thing else relating to the Pilgrims, in time, authority, and interest."

* Such, for instance, as the reader observes on pages 14, 17, 62, and 78.

The second tract in the present collection is that which has been hitherto known under the name of "Mourt's Relation," from the circumstance that the Preface to the first edition, published in London, in 1622, was signed "G. Mourt." Who this Mourt was, has always been a question. There was no person of that name among the early planters. Mr. Young holds, with great probability, that *Mourt* was either a misprint, or a *nom de guerre*, for *Morton*, and understands the first editor to have been George Morton, — father of Nathaniel, the author of the "Memorial," — who married a sister of Governor Bradford, and came over to Plymouth in July, 1623. Mourt, whoever he was, speaks, in his Preface written in 1622, of the interest which he had taken in the Colony, and of his purpose soon to join it. The "Relation," which he does not publish as his own, but as what has "come to his hand from known and faithful friends," Mr. Young understands to have been the work of Governors Bradford and Winslow, — principally the former, — and by them transmitted to Morton. It consists of "a minute diary of events from the arrival of the *Mayflower*, at Cape Cod, November 9, 1620, to the return of the *Fortune*, December 11, 1621," thus constituting, when appended to the "History" of Governor Bradford, a continuous narrative down to the latter date. An abridgment of the "Relation," inserted by Purchas in the fourth volume of his "Pilgrims," was reprinted forty years ago, in the eighth volume of the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society"; and twenty years after, the omitted portions were supplied, in the nineteenth volume of the same valuable series, from a manuscript copy, obtained from Philadelphia, of Mourt's original edition. But the parts, thus disjointed, were a very imperfect substitute for the connected whole, which now, with the further advantage of several important restorations and corrections, is supplied by Mr. Young. The "Relation" occupies in the present edition about a hundred and fifty pages.

Next follows a "Discourse on the Sin and Danger of Self-Love," delivered by Roger Cushman, at Plymouth, in November, 1621, and printed at London in the following year. It is curious as the work of a man, who, with Carver, the first governor, had had the principal agency abroad in the measures which led to the establishment of the Colony; as being a specimen of the most approved manner of address on the part of a leader of that sect and time; and as containing statements and allusions of historical interest.

Edward Winslow's "Good News from New England," which brings down the history from the date at the close of "Mourt's Relation," to September 10, 1623, is the next document in this collection. It was first published at London, in

1624, and was reprinted by Purchas, and by the "Massachusetts Historical Society," in the same fragmentary manner as the former work. It is now given by Mr. Young entire, from a copy of the original London edition in the Library of Harvard College. It occupies another hundred pages, and is followed by a "Brief Narration," in thirty pages, of the "True Grounds or Cause of the First Planting of New England." This originally constituted an appendix to Winslow's work, published at London, in 1646, entitled "Hypocrisy Unmasked," of which there is no copy in this country. Mr. Young prints from a manuscript copy made by a friend in the British Museum. The tract well deserves the pains which have been bestowed upon its acquisition. There is no part of the volume which will be read with greater pleasure.

Next follows a composition by Governor Bradford, in the form of a dialogue, being "the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England and sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England." The spirit of this little work is delightful, and it contains rich notices of individuals and incidents of the time. It is now first printed, from the records of the Old Plymouth Church, into which it was copied by Secretary Morton. A portion of the autograph is in the Cabinet of the "Massachusetts Historical Society."

Next follows a short "Memoir of Elder Brewster," by Governor Bradford, which originally constituted part of Bradford's "History," and, like the other recovered portion of that work, was found in Morton's handwriting in the Plymouth Church records. The volume closes with a few "Letters of John Robinson, and of the Pilgrims at Leyden and Plymouth, procured from the records of the Plymouth Church, and from Governor Bradford's Letter-Book."

Mr. Young's method of arranging and numbering materials from such various sources, under the heads of successive chapters of one book, is liable to objection, notwithstanding it gives to the collection a factitious unity which is agreeable to the reader. Here and there his text presents a conjectural emendation, which does not strike us favorably; his copious notes are not altogether free from redundant matter; and undoubtedly, on matters of antiquarian inquiry, he has occasionally urged opinions which are open to dispute. But he has entitled himself to grateful commendation by his faithful and able execution of a work as useful as laborious. He has brought to it abundant preparation of the appropriate learning, and bestowed pains upon it such as nothing but a hearty love of the subject could have prompted. Among the tasteful embellishments of the volume, is a capital engraving from the original

picture of Governor Winslow, then in his fifty-seventh year, painted in London, in 1651 ; the only portrait now extant of any one of the Pilgrims. The volume cannot fail to be received with welcome, as an exceedingly praiseworthy and important addition to the historical library of America.

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11. — *The Works of* Lord Bolingbroke ; *with a Life prepared expressly for this Edition, containing Additional Information relative to his Personal and Public Character, selected from the best Authorities.* In Four Volumes. Philadelphia : Carey & Hart. 1841. 8vo.

An American edition of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, in four substantial and richly executed volumes, is an undertaking which merits all encouragement and support. For those who wish to store their libraries with the elegant volumes, that the press is now sending forth in such profusion, it is gratifying to find the writings of a standard English author, whose entire works it was formerly difficult, if not impossible, to procure, now placed within their reach at a very moderate cost. The numerous public collections of books which are springing up in every part of the country, in connexion with colleges and other institutions of learning, poorly provided and with slender means, at present, yet supplying a basis for rich aggregations of literary materials in future, receive invaluable assistance from such bold attempts of the booksellers. There was some danger, that the reading of our countrymen, except of the few much favored by fortune, would be confined to the productions, ephemeral in great part, of writers of the present day, since the facilities for obtaining old authors and old editions, which abound in Europe, hardly exist at all on this side of the ocean. This risk will be obviated, if the taste and appetite of the buyers of books prove to be so far matured, as to recompense publishers for issuing cheap but correct editions of the time-hallowed contributions to English literature.

There are some reasons why we could wish, that Bolingbroke had not been one of the first authors selected for an undertaking of this character. His philosophy, if it can be called such, is not at all to our taste, and the political controversies, which gave occasion for the bulk of his writings, require, in order to be fully understood, a minute acquaintance with the characters and incidents of Queen Anne's reign. But the great merits of his style must secure to his works a lasting enjoyment of the high place which they at once attained among the classics of

our language. He who aspires to a thorough knowledge of history must study these volumes, not only for the light they throw on an important period in the annals of Great Britain, but also for the profound political maxims, which were struck out by a mind of no ordinary powers of reflection and generalization, but unluckily more capable of tracing out the theory of wise and upright statesmanship, than of exemplifying it in action. The classical scholar will also be gratified with the productions of an intellect, which, though not richly stored with Grecian lore, was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Roman literature, and in some lighter essays exhibited no mean or feeble imitation of the manner of Seneca and Cicero. In the hope that purchasers, capable of appreciating both the good and bad qualities of such a writer, may be found in sufficient number to compensate the publishers for their spirited enterprise, we commend this edition to public notice.

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12. — *A Discourse on the Importance of the Study of Political Science, as a Branch of Academic Education in the United States.* Read before the Literary Societies of Randolph-Macon College, June 16, 1840. By N. Beverley Tucker, Professor of Law and the Philosophy of Government in the University of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Richmond: Peter D. Barnard. 1840. 8vo. pp. 28.

Professor Tucker writes with the freedom and elegance of a scholar, to whom long practice and a correct taste have given sufficient command over the resources of language, and whose intellect, well disciplined with study and reflection, supplies sufficient matter and thought, wherewith to fill out the framework of his subject. If any fault occasionally appears, it is, that perfect facility of expression sometimes betrays him into loose and discursive talk, which postpone too long the effectual treatment of the argument, and then sometimes plays round its surface, instead of tracing out its intricacies, or piercing into its depths. He shows, at times, sufficient vigor and penetration to handle worthily a difficult theme, and if his style were rather more tightly braced, he might instruct and convince, instead of merely entertaining his reader. Pride of country and strong attachment to our political institutions appear natural and graceful in one, whose office has required him for years to study and expound the theory and principles of our laws and government. But such feelings go too far, when they tempt

him to institute invidious comparisons, and to speak with contempt of technical phrases, that have become constitutional forms in other countries, and which, though there may not be much meaning in them, are there hallowed by time and pleasing associations. Gallantry, if not good taste, should have tempered Judge Tucker's rather caustic notice of the youthful Queen of England, who may be a very innocent and even lovely personage, although, by no fault or merit of her own, she has inherited the crown of three kingdoms. "Unfortunate young woman," quotha! It would require some philosophy to refuse or resign such a position as hers, though it may expose her to the censure or pity of some graybeards. Our writer goes on to sin still further against good manners as well as good taste, when he stoops to call Prince Albert "a boy, a singing, rhyming coxcomb." Such expressions are peculiarly out of place in a grave discourse, though anywhere they would appear pointless, ill-natured, and absurd.

We gladly turn to hear Judge Tucker speak on a home subject, to which he brings the weight of much experience and laborious meditation. The nature of constitutional restrictions, the importance of studying them with care, and their paramount obligation even to the expressed will of the people, are points which he treats at some length and with great ability. The latitude and longitude of his residence, and the scene of his labors, will enable most readers to infer the general tenor and bearing of his remarks with tolerable correctness. Local schools of politics exist everywhere in this country, but circumstances occasion their being more strongly marked at the South, than in other regions, and Virginia is perhaps preëminent for their cultivation. We do not mean, that peculiarities arising from this source are offensively apparent in the discourse, but they tinge the writer's speculations to a sufficient extent to indicate his birthplace.

We go along with him entirely in the reverence he expresses for the Constitution, and the gratitude due to the eminent men, who were its founders and supporters. That this important instrument presents a study of no little complexity and toil for its proper interpretation, and that it is no less a privilege than a duty of every citizen to apply himself to this labor, which is also properly rendered a branch of academic education, are truths which are clearly and successfully presented in the Address. The title of the Institution where it was delivered, which was designed to do honor to two eminent statesmen, gives occasion to the speaker to pay a feeling and eloquent tribute to the memory of one of them, who was his own relative by blood, and one whom, during his lifetime, the parent State delighted

to honor. Different opinions may exist respecting the wisdom of Mr. Randolph's political principles, and the discretion which he evinced in his public career; but there can be no doubt of his eminent abilities, and his sincere devotion of them to the interests of Virginia, from whom, therefore, his memory deserves all the eulogies which her gratitude can bestow.

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13. — *The Rhode-Island Book; Selections in Prose and Verse from the Writings of Rhode Island Citizens.* By Anne C. Lynch. Providence: H. Fuller. 1841. 12mo. pp. 352.

This volume has, we think, uncommon merit among works of its class. Rhode Island, though a small State, has produced its full share of distinguished writers, both in prose and poetry. In the list of contributors to the present work, we find many names already known to fame, in the walks of literature or public life; we find the sound sense and vigorous eloquence of a Wayland, the lively imagination of a Rockwell, the humor of a Green (the author of "Old Grimes"), the copious and vehement and forcible style of a Burges, and the polished and classical composition of Professor Goddard. Besides these, many other names, to us heretofore unknown, but destined to shine in American letters, adorn its pages. We are glad to see some pieces of that suffering child of song, Miss Taggart, inserted here. Her extraordinary case excited the public sympathy several years ago, and the little volume of poems, composed by her under the most severe and incessant physical pains, was justly regarded as a remarkable literary phenomenon. We notice several very poetical pieces by Miss Jacobs, the best of which is that "suggested by Alston's Picture of Jeremiah and Baruch in the prison"; and two or three by Mr. Brooks the able translator of Schiller's "William Tell." Among the pieces by Green we select "The Baron's Last Banquet" as a very successful essay in the ballad style.

"O'er a low couch the setting sun had thrown its latest ray,
Where in his last strong agony a dying warrior lay,
The stern old Baron Rudiger, whose frame had ne'er been bent
By wasting pain, till time and toil its iron strength had spent.

"'They come around me here, and say my days of life are o'er,
That I shall mount my noble steed and lead my band no more;
They come, and to my beard they dare to tell me now, that I,
Their own liege lord and master born, — that I, ha! ha! must die.

"'And what is death? I've dared him oft before the Paynim spear,—
Think ye he 's entered at my gate, has come to seek me here?
I 've met him, faced him, scorned him, when the fight was raging hot,—
I 'll try his might,—I 'll brave his power; defy, and fear him not.

"'Ho! sound the tocsin from my tower,—and fire the culverin,—
Bid each retainer arm with speed,—call every vassal in,
Up with my banner on the wall,—the banquet board prepare,—
Throw wide the portal of my hall, and bring my armour there!'

"A hundred hands were busy then,—the banquet forth was spread,—
And rung the heavy oaken floor with many a martial tread,
While from the rich, dark tracery along the vaulted wall,
Lights gleamed on harness, plume, and spear, o'er the proud old Gothic hall.

"Fast hurrying through the outer gate the mailed retainers poured,
On through the portal's frowning arch, and thronged around the board
While at its head, within his dark, carved oaken chair of state,
Armed cap-a-pie, stern Rudiger, with girded falchion, sate.

"'Fill every beaker up, my men, pour forth the cheering wine,
There 's life and strength in every drop,—thanksgiving to the vine!
Are ye all there, my vassals true?—mine eyes are waxing dim;—
Fill round, my tried and fearless ones, each goblet to the brim.

"Ye 're there, but yet I see ye not. Draw forth each trusty sword,—
And let me hear your faithful steel clash once around my board:
I hear it faintly:—Louder yet!—What clogs my heavy breath?
Up all,--and shout for Rudiger, 'Defiance unto Death!'

"Bowl rang to bowl,—steel clanged to steel,—and rose a deafening cry
That made the torches flare around, and shook the flags on high:—
'Ho! cravens, do ye fear him?—Slaves, traitors! have ye flown?
Ho! cowards, have ye left me to meet him here alone!

"'But I defy him:—let him come!' Down rang the massy cup,
While from its sheath the ready blade came flashing halfway up;
And with the black and heavy plumes scarce trembling on his head,
There, in his dark, carved, oaken chair, Old Rudiger sat, *dead*."
—pp. 66-68.

But we are sorry to find nothing here from the pen of George W. Green, the present Consul of the United States at Rome. Rhode Island has not sent forth a better scholar, or a more graceful writer than this gentleman; and his literary abilities are now doing great honor, not only to his native State, but to his country, in the position which he at present occupies.

14.— *Τὰ τεράστια Συμβάντα τοῦ Ῥοβινσῶνος Κρούσου, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ, ὑπὸ Περικλέους Α. Ῥαυτοπούλου. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας Ἐμ. Ἀντωνιάδου. Ὁδὸς Ἀγυιᾶς Ἀρ.* 53.

[The Wonderful Adventures of Robinson Crusoe ; translated from the English, by Pericles A. Raphtopoulus. Athens: E. Antoniades, Agyia Street, No. 53. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 205 and 212.]

Of all things in the world, who would have expected to see Robinson Crusoe in Greek ? Yet here he is, most assuredly, printed in the very city of Minerva, and before this, he is no doubt familiar to all the little boys and girls of that venerable metropolis. To a person whose associations with the name of Athens are purely classical, the appearance of this inimitable popular story in Greek, with all the queer names familiar to him as his own, will be very odd. We are so accustomed to look upon Greek as dead and gone, that we find it hard to realize the existence of a nation of men at this day, who speak a language substantially that of the ancient Athenians ; a language, that with all the inevitable changes and corruptions of twenty centuries, is still Greek in its essential attributes ; a language which can easily be read by a good classical scholar, and would no doubt be quite intelligible to Socrates and Plato, should those reverend sages rise from their graves to see what their countrymen are about at this late day. We can imagine the delight with which the philosopher of the Academy would sit down to read the marvellous adventures of our friend Robinson ; the surprise he would feel at the names *Πλυμούθης* and *Ἐξετέρα* ; the curiosity with which he would ask the meaning of the appellation of Robinson's companion "Friday," *Παρασκευᾶς* ; and the philosophical speculations to which the whole narrative would give birth.

As far as we can judge, this translation is very well done. Sometimes the translator misses the meaning of a word, and sometimes he fails to hit the eminently easy and popular tone of the original ; and there may be other faults which would naturally enough escape our eye, but which may be obvious to a native Greek. We have been chiefly interested in the work as a curiosity, as a specimen of the Greek which is now spoken and written by educated men ; and we think it would be an excellent book for one who might wish to acquire the language. Our readers may like to see what sort of a figure Robinson makes in his Hellenic dress. We take a short passage from the first volume, describing our hero's well-remembered adventure with "Pol," the parrot.

"Ἤπιζε λοιπὸν νὰ φθάσῃ εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν του τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' ἐστάθη ἀδύνατον. Πρὸς τὸ ἑσπέρας δύο σχεδὸν ἀπεῖχε μίλια ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιόν του, καὶ εὑρίσκετο εἰς τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ Θερινὴν καλουμένην κατοικίαν. Πρὸ ἑνὸς ἔτους ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ Θέρους ἐκοιμήθη ἐκεῖ πολλὰς νύκτας, διότι ἠνωχλεῖτο πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν σκνιπῶν εἰς τὸν παλαιὸν τόπον τῆς διαμονῆς του, καὶ διʼ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὠνόμασε τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἐκείνην Θερινόν του κατοικητήριον. Ἀπηυδισμένος ὅμως διόλου, δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ προχωρήσῃ παραιτέρω. Ὅσον ἐπικίνδυνος καὶ ἂν ἤθελεν εἶναι ἡ διανυκτέρευσις εἰς τοιοῦτον ἀπροφύλακτον τόπον, ἡ ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐβίασεν οὕτω νὰ πράξῃ. Ὢν δὲ εἰς μεγάλην ἀτονίαν καὶ εἰς ταραχὴν νοὸς διὰ τὸν φόβον, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐδοκίμασε τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκοιμήθη διὰ νὰ λάβῃ ὀλίγην τινα ἀνάπαυσιν, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἡσύχασε, καὶ εὐθὺς νέον ἀντικείμενον τρόμου ἤθελε πάλιν τὸν ἀφαιρέσει τὸ λογικόν του. Ἤκουσε φωνὴν ἐναέριον, ἥτις καθαρῶς ἐπρόφερε τὰς λέξεις ταύτας, 'Ῥοβινσῶν! ταλαίπωρε Ῥοβινσῶν! Ποῦ ἦσουν; Πόθεν ἔρχεσαι;' Ὁ Ῥοβινσῶν εὐθέως ἐγερθείς, ἔτρεμε, καὶ δὲν ἤξευρε τί νὰ πράξῃ. Κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν στιγμὴν, ἀκούει τὰς αὐτὰς λέξεις ἐπαναλαμβανομένας· τολμᾷ νὰ στρέψῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς του πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ εὑρίσκει ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον πᾶς δειλὸς ἤθελεν εὑρεῖ, ἐὰν μόνον ἐστοχάζετο, ὅτι πρέπει νὰ ἐξετάσῃ, πρὶν δώσῃ χώραν εἰς τοὺς φόβους του, — ὅτι δηλαδὴ δὲν εἶχε καμμίαν αἰτίαν νὰ φοβῆται· γνωρίζει ὅτι ἡ φωνὴ δὲν ἦτον ἐναέριος, ἀλλʼ ἡ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τοῦ ψιττακοῦ καθημένου πλησίον ἐπάνω εἰς κλάδον δένδρου. Ἀναμφιβόλως τὸ πτηνὸν, τόσον διότι δὲν ἤθελε νὰ κάθηται μεμονωμένον, ὅσον καὶ διότι πολλάκις ἠκολούθησε τὸν κύριόν του μέχρι τῆς Θέσεως ἐκείνης, ἦλθε καὶ τὸν ἐζήτει ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐπρόφερε τὰς αὐτὰς λέξεις, τὰς ὁποίας ἐδιδάχθη πολλάκις παρὰ τοῦ Ῥοβινσῶνος. Τότε ὁ φόβος του μετεβλήθη εἰς χαρὰν, πληροφορηθεὶς περὶ τῆς ἀνυπάρκτου αἰτίας τοῦ τρόμου του. Ἐξαπλώνει τὴν χεῖρά του καὶ κράζει, 'Πόλ·' τὸ πτηνὸν πετᾷ πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸν συγχαίρεται μὲ σημεῖα χαδευτικὰ, καὶ μὲ μυρία κινήματα εὐχαριστήσεως, ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἀδιακόπως, 'Ῥοβινσῶν! ταλαίπωρε Ῥοβινσῶν! Ποῦ ἦσουν;'"

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15. — *Boylston Prize Dissertations, for the Years* 1838 *and* 1839, *on Scrofula, Rheumatism, and Erysipelatous Inflammation.* By Edward Warren, M. D., Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Philadelphia: Adam Waldie. 8vo. pp. 122.

The establishment of prizes for literary and scientific labors has often been the occasion of interesting and valuable publications. Such has been the effect of the Boylston Medical Prizes. For more than twenty years questions have been issued annually, with the offer of a premium for the best dis-

sertation on each, provided that any should be of sufficient merit to be entitled to it. The prize is not large enough to offer any considerable inducement for the competition, as a mere pecuniary reward; although to most young men, especially just entering upon life, it is not without its value even in this point of view. But as a testimonial to merit, an evidence of talent and industry and successful application, it is a stimulus to effort which has rarely failed to call out from year to year a number of able competitors. Some of the dissertations have been distinguished for original research and inquiry. Others have been rather a collected summary of the knowledge already in existence in a more diffused form. The dissertations of Dr. Warren belong to the latter class. From the nature of the subjects they could not well be the object of direct experimental investigation, and the opportunities for the original observation of diseases of this character on a very extended scale do not occur to many physicians in our new country. All that is left for an author to do, is to survey the whole field of observation as traversed by others, adding such new facts as he may have been able to collect, and, gathering his information from all accessible sources, by a judicious generalization, to form it into a consistent system of knowledge, with such deductions and conclusions as the nature and extent of the information may sustain. This is what Dr. Warren has done, and he has done it ably and well. He has gathered up his facts with industry, with a reasonable share of original observations, and selected them judiciously; and his inferences and remarks evince a sound judgment and good practical sense. His style, too, is good, clear, manly, and free from affectation on the one hand, or negligence on the other, such as a sensible man would naturally use when he feels that he is writing because he has something to say.

Scrofula, the subject of the first Essay, is a disease of very frequent occurrence, especially in towns, affecting many parts of the body, and assuming different appearances in each, and producing effects which often lead to a fatal result, perhaps under some other name. These several phases and seats of disease are described, and their tendencies explained, and the treatment pointed out that is best suited to each stage and form. The author agrees with other sensible writers, in not trusting to any *specific* remedy for scrofula, but recommends that the treatment should be adapted to the peculiarities of each case. We quote his remarks on the effect of the *Royal Touch*, on which such implicit reliance was formerly placed for the cure.

"Its prevalence in England may be judged of from the fact, that in

the time of Charles the Second ninety-two thousand one hundred and seven persons were *cured* of it, according to Dr. Carr, by the royal touch. It is well known, that for many years this was the grand specific for the disease. Writers now treat the account of these cures with ridicule; and yet, if we reflect upon the subject, we may feel disposed to be somewhat less incredulous. Most of the patients were undoubtedly of the lowest class, and extremely ignorant. They came from a great distance, from the most remote parts of the country, to be cured. To see a real living king was with them far more wonderful than to see a spirit; for in those days spirits were common, but there was only one king in the land. If then we place ourselves in their position; if we consider the excitement and delight with which they looked forward to their journey to the capital; if we consider what implicit faith they placed in the power of the royal touch; can we wonder that so many were cured? Have we in the Pharmacopeia any remedies that possess powers either as alteratives or tonics, equal to such a state of excitement? It is not mere imagination; or if it is, it is imagination working in a manner we can easily understand and explain. The spirits are raised, the languid circulation is quickened, the appetite is improved, and the food is well digested. The enthusiastic loyalty with which Charles the Second was welcomed on his return by his devoted partisans, undoubtedly increased in a remarkable degree the sanatory powers of his touch." — p. 3.

Rheumatism, the subject of the next treatise, although less destructive to life than scrofula, is a very painful, and an exceedingly obstinate disease; and there is still much uncertainty in regard to its true pathological character, and much difference of opinion in respect to the best methods of treatment. Indeed, it is not wanting in important influences upon the subsequent health, and upon life itself, when it attacks, as it often does, the membranes and valves of the heart, in connexion with its seizure upon the muscular parts and joints. In all these points of view the subject furnishes a sufficiency of interesting and important questions, which Dr. Warren discusses with ability and good judgment.

Erysipelas, as a grave and fatal disease, is less extensively known, because, in this form, it is not very often seen except in the wards of a hospital, or in other crowded places; and yet it is a disease of great importance when it does occur, and sometimes produces great alarm and distress, not only on account of the difficulty of managing it, and the danger attending it, but especially on account of the great liability, when it prevails, of other surgical diseases becoming affected. Operations, which at another time, are simple and unattended with any serious risk, then become hazardous. There is, therefore, a high degree of interest attending the discussion of its character and its causes, as well as of the proper treatment, which is far enough from being well and conclusively settled.

It thus appears that all the topics treated of in these Dissertations are of great interest to the medical profession, and to the cause of human suffering. We have said that they are ably and judiciously discussed. We scarcely need have said it, for it was already sufficiently told in the award of the prizes by a learned and impartial committee. We doubt not the author will take a high stand among the best medical writers of the country.

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16. — *The Progress of Democracy; illustrated in the History of Gaul and France.* By Alexandre Dumas. Translated by an American. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 12mo. pp. 376.

We can see no reason why this work was selected for translation and publication in this country. Whatever interest attaches to it, seems to exist only for French readers, and with them even to be ephemeral in character, depending on the politics of the day. The historical information it contains can here be more directly obtained from more trustworthy sources; and the application of the narrative, — the author's argument, if it can be called such, — besides being discreditable to him in spirit and execution, offers little that is novel or instructive to the American reader, in respect to the present movement of parties in France. The title of the work in the original is simply "*Gaule et France*," which the translator has dilated into a sentence, that expresses one branch, though not, as we believe, the whole of the author's purpose. We have not at hand the means for comparing the book with the original, though judging from a cursory examination, the translator's task seems to be executed with tolerable care and fidelity. Some technical terms in politics, however, seem to be incorrectly or inadequately rendered. The word translated *copyholders* in the conclusion of the work, according to the context, must mean *taxpayers*, for the qualifications of the deputies and of their electors depend on the amount of contribution to the revenue of the country, and not on the direct value of their real property. The phrase which is rendered *proprietary interest*, would be more accurately expressed as *landed interest*. The established appellation in English for one dynasty of French kings is *Carlovingian*, and not *Carolingian*. We object further to the strange and antiquated orthography of proper names, which is introduced to show the etymology and meaning of the word, although this fault is attributable to Dumas, and not to his translator. The derivation of the name

may properly be mentioned in a note, but there is no reason for constantly repeating it in the body of the text. We hardly recognise familiar historical characters under the uncouth and ludicrous appellations of *Hlot-her* and *Merewig*.

Dumas is one of the most active members of the new French school in literature and politics. The peculiarities of style and opinion, which these men have rendered popular among their countrymen, are strongly marked in the work before us. Though recommended by great vigor and boldness, they are for the most part equally offensive to good taste and sound principle. Their application to politics is the only point which invites remark in the present connexion, and under this aspect we are free to say, they appear utterly detestable. The earnestness of manner, which sincere politicians may well exhibit, in these men degenerates into utter ferocity, which, united with bold impiety, and a reckless, innovating spirit, forcibly reminds one of the blood-stained actors, the Dantons and Saint-Justs, of the former revolution. Forcible language and imagery convey little pleasure, when they serve as a vehicle for such atrocious sentiments, and are acquired by the sacrifice of every other consideration. There is an occasional affectation of reasoning from first principles, and of introducing profound and sententious reflections ; but the philosophy of the writer is too shallow to merit a serious refutation. The following is one of his wise remarks. "It is remarkable, that the civilization which conquers barbarism, is fraught with inherent decay ; while the barbarism that conquers civilization bears a fertilizing and self-perpetuating principle." *Ex pede Herculem.* There is a great display of curious and antiquarian erudition, but we must doubt the thoroughness of the author's studies, for his learning bears a suspicious air of being got up for the occasion. The laws against sedition under the French government must be tolerably lax, or the author's bold anticipation of the fate of the present dynasty, would ere now have attracted the attention of the tribunals. He traces the descent of the monarchy "from the feudal heights, where Hugh Capet laid the foundation of his edifice, to the popular plains where Louis Philippe, — probably the last king of this race, — has pitched his tent of a day." The present monarch is to be succeeded by a form of government entirely popular, — "a quinquennial magistracy, probably"; the chief officer in which must be born among the people, and possess wealth not above the average of private fortunes. He can therefore be "neither a man of the blood-royal, nor a great proprietary."

"This is the Charybdis where the present government will be ingulfed. The Pharos that we light upon its route will illumine only

its wreck; for even if the pilot were disposed to tack, he no longer has the power to do so; the current which drags the ship onward is too rapid, and the gale which propels it is too strong. But, at the hour of its destruction, the recollections of a man, overpowering those of a citizen, will cause one voice to exclaim, *Death to royalty,* — *but* God *save the King!*

"That voice will be mine!" — p. 376.

It is difficult to give any precise account of the general plan of a work so anomalous in its character. The writer reviews the history of France, from the period of its conquest by the Romans, down to the accession of Philip de Valois, giving, however, but a meagre account of the principal facts, and inlaying the chronological framework with striking anecdotes, and arabesque passages from the elder historians. The writings and collections of Augustin Thierry, one of the most distinguished of the modern French historians, appear to have furnished the chief part of these materials. Among the scattered and picturesque narrations may be found the groundwork of more than one historical drama, which Dumas has prepared for the French stage; and we suspect, therefore, that these researches into the early annals of France were first instituted with a view of obtaining dramatic materials. But our author is a political reformer of the most radical school, and a fanciful theory occurring to him in the midst of his investigations, he throws the fruits of his studies into a new shape, in order to give it expression. Hasty generalizations on a narrow basis of facts, are somewhat characteristic of French speculation. The theory is, that from the earliest period, the power of the French monarchy has been constantly declining from its extreme elevation, and spreading itself out for support upon a wider basis, till now but one short and unimportant step separates it from its natural resting-place, the heads of the whole people. As there are some difficulties in this sweeping view, arising from the comparison, for instance, of a power so absolute as that of Louis the Fourteenth, with the far more limited authority of many of his remote predecessors, it was necessary to pass rapidly over the early history of the country, and give a proper moulding to the most stubborn facts, so that they might not, in appearance at least, contradict the hypothesis. Freaks of this sort on the part of some modern historians, are enough to shake all one's confidence in their previous knowledge of the events of by-gone times. Give an expert speculatist of this class but canvass enough, on which to arrange his selected facts, and distribute the lights and shades according to his will, and he will cause the picture of antiquity to assume any appearance; he will establish the

most absurd theory in politics or philosophy on the sure basis of universal history. The system of Dumas really gains as much from the imagery which he uses in expounding it, as from the facts directly adduced in its support. The dome of the national monarchy, too vast and elevated to be supported by Hugh Capet's single hand, was propped by him with the twelve grand vassals of the crown, who, like huge pillars, sustained the edifice. The downfall of the feudal system shattered these columns, and Louis the Eleventh, scattering their fragments to the winds, stood alone in the centre to support the superstructure. His successors were too feeble for this mighty task, and Francis the First remedied the loss of the twelve massive columns, by erecting in their stead a multitude of inferior ones, by substituting two hundred great seigniors for the grand vassals. The dome rested at a lower level, but its strength was increased by the depression. The reformation sealed the doom of these nobles also, and Richelieu appeared as their exterminator. Louis the Fourteenth ascended the throne as the sole supporter of the monarchical edifice, and held all the strings of royalty attached to himself, "with such a firm and long-continued tension, that he foresaw they would snap in pieces in the hands of his successors." Released from his grasp, "the monarchy was to be reorganized;" and "in place of the twelve grand vassals of Hugh Capet, and two hundred grand lords of Francis the First, Louis the Fifteenth was forced to prop his tottering edifice with the fifty thousand aristocrats of the Orleans regency." "The third era of the national royalty had brought forth its fruits, fruits of the Lake Asphaltus, full of ashes and rottenness." A few years more, and "Louis the Sixteenth saw gleaming in the East the flames of the Bastile, and in the West the iron of the guillotine."

NOTE

TO ARTICLE VI. OF NUMBER CXI.

In our recent article on the "Cochin-Chinese Language," we stated, that we had not seen in any English or French publication a notice of Mr. Du Ponceau's work on "Chinese Writing," until the appearance of that in the London "Monthly Review" for December last, which was taken from our own pages. This was an error; a hastily written article, misconceiving and misstating Mr. Du Ponceau's views, had previously appeared in the "Foreign Quarterly Review"; but the article had made so slight an impression upon us, that it had escaped our recollection, when we made the statement which is now corrected.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The Life of Paul Jones. By Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, U. S. N. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 260 and 308. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott. By J. G. Lockhart. Revised Edition. New York: C. S. Francis. 12mo. pp. 300.

A Memoir of the Very Reverend Theobald Mathew, with an Account of the Rise and Progress of Temperance in Ireland. By the Rev. James Bermingham, of Borisokane. Edited by P. H. Morris, M. D., and by whom is added, the Evil Effects of Drunkenness physiologically explained. New York: Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 216.

Memoir of Mrs. Mary Anne Hooker. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 140.

Memoir of Howard Erwin. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 86.

Memoir of Eleanor Vanner. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 86.

Memoir of Miss Eliza Bishop. By Emerson Davis, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Westfield. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 96.

Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe, Founder of the Colony of Georgia in North America. By Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D., Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, &c. &c. &c. Boston: Printed for the Author. 8vo. pp. 424.

EDUCATION.

A Classical Dictionary, containing an Account of the Principal Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors, and intended to elucidate all the important points connected with the Geography, History, Biography, Mythology, and Fine Arts, of the Greeks and Romans; together with an Account of Coins, Weights, and Measures, with Tabular Values of the same. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. In one vol. 8vo. pp. 1430. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Familiar Dialogues and Popular Discussions, for Exhibitions in Schools and Academies of either sex, and for the Amusement of Social Parties. By William B. Fowle, Teacher of a Young Ladies' School in Boston. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 286.

HISTORY.

An Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia, from its Foundation, A. D. 1695, to A. D. 1841; and of St. Peter's and St.

James's until the Separation of the Churches. By the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D. D., Rector of Christ Church. New York: Swords, Stanford, & Co. Philadelphia: R. S. H. George. 12mo. pp. 430.

Historical Sketches of the Old Painters. By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living." A new Edition, enlarged. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 350.

History of the Establishment and Progress of the Christian Religion in the Islands of the South Sea; with Preliminary Notices of the Islands and of their Inhabitants. Illustrated by a Map. Boston: Tappan & Dennett. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 12mo. pp. 387.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

My Guiding Star; or a Choice Collection of Prose and Poetry, on Sacred Subjects. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 157.

Sacred Allegories. Being a Selection from Die Parabeln, by F. A. Krummacher. Translated from the German by E. F., Author of "Thoughts and Reminiscences on Sacred Subjects." Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 136.

Stories for Young Persons. By the Author of "The Linwoods," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 185.

My Son's Book. By the Author of "My Daughter's Manual." New York: Alexander V. Blake. 32mo. p. 192.

Lame John. American Sunday School Union. Philadelphia: 18mo. pp. 144.

Bible Chronology. Philadelphia. American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 144.

Home of the Gileadite. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 140.

The Seasons. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 105.

Tales for You; a Collection of Original and Selected Literature from celebrated English and American Authors. Philadelphia: J. J. Sharkey. 12mo. pp. 240.

Robert Ramble's Stories, selected from the History of England, from the Conquest to the Revolution. Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy. 18mo. pp. 128.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Voice to the Married. Addressed to Husbands and Wives. By John Mather Austin. New York: Langleys, Chatham Street.

A Week in Wall Street. By One who knows. New York: Published for the Booksellers. 12mo. pp. 152.

The Chess Player; illustrated with Engravings and Diagrams, containing Franklin's Essay on the Morals of Chess; Introduction to the Rudiments of Chess, by George Walker, Teacher; to which are added, the Three Games played at one and the same time, by Philidor; Sixty Openings, Mates, and Situations, by W. S. Veney, Teacher, with Remarks, Anecdotes, &c., and an Explanation of the Round Chess Board. Boston: Nathaniel Dearborn. 12mo. pp. 155.

The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Developement of

Christian Character. By Harvey Newcomb. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: James B. Dow. 1841. 12mo. pp. 384.

The Nestorians; or, The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of their Identity, an Account of their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, together with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy. By Asahel Grant, M. D. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff Street. 12mo. pp. 385.

The Tragedy of the Seas; or, Sorrow on the Ocean, Lake, and River, from Shipwreck, Plague, Fire, and Famine. By Charles Ellms. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 12mo. pp. 432.

The Vital Statistics of Boston; containing an Abstract of the Bills of Mortality for the Last Twenty-Nine Years, and a General View of the Population and Health of the City at other Periods of its History. By Lemuel Shattuck. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 35.

Taste; A Suggestive Essay. By Discipulus. Boston: W. D. Ticknor. 32mo. pp. 93.

The Philosophical Emperor; A Political Experiment; or, The Progress of a False Position. Dedicated to the Whigs, Conservatives, Democrats, and Loco-Focos, Individually and Collectively, of the United States. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 112.

A Plea for the Intemperate. By David M. Reese, A. M., M. D., Late Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the Albany Medical College. New York: John S. Taylor & Co. 18mo. pp. 86.

Family Secrets; or, Hints to those who would make Home happy. By Mrs. Ellis, Author of "Women of England," "Poetry of Life," &c., &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 18mo. pp. 180.

A Reply to the Personal Attack of Mr. O. A. Skinner and Others. By M. Hale Smith. Boston: Published by the Author, and for sale by Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 47.

Gems of Irish Eloquence, Wit, and Anecdote. By James Hoban, of the Washington Bar. Baltimore: John Murphy. 12mo. pp. 316.

Essays, by R. W. Emerson. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 303.

Treatise on Strabismus, or Squinting, and the New Mode of Treatment. Illustrated by Engravings and Cases. By John H. Dix, M. D., Member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Boston: D. Clapp, Jr. 12mo. pp. 105.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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ART. I. — *The Life of* BEETHOVEN, *including his Correspondence with his Friends, numerous Characteristic Traits, and Remarks on his Musical Works.* Edited by IGNACE MOSCHELES, Esq., Pianist to his Royal Highness, Prince Albert. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. xxvi. 298 and 387. London: Henry Colburn. 1841.

THE name of Beethoven is familiar to every lover of music; and there has appeared no composer, whose works have had a greater influence upon the advancement of this divine art. Although he has been classed with Handel, Haydn, and Mozart, and, in many respects, with justice, in others he stands alone. In grandeur of conception he has, not without reason, been placed by the side of Handel; but when compared with Haydn or Mozart, many points of difference are apparent; he has not the sprightliness or gentleness of the former, or the touching tenderness of the latter. His music is full of variety. He gives us, at one time, simple and beautiful melodies, that are felt by every one who is susceptible of the influence of music; at another, he is impetuous, wild, and fantastic, or grave and full of deep thought; then startling us with sudden bursts of passion, or overwhelming with imposing masses of sound, or plunging us into the depths of the obscure and incomprehensible. While we occasionally have phrases that recall his great predecessors, we perceive that he has imitated no one, that he threw aside all established models, and was obedient only to

his own inspirations. The boldness and novelty of his style, and his excursions into the before untrodden recesses of harmony, strange and extravagant as they were deemed at first, gave a new impulse to the musical art, which is now everywhere felt and acknowledged.

Much as the compositions of Beethoven are now admired, it is well known that they, no less than his personal peculiarities and eccentricities, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood, and even ridiculed. Every admirer of his genius must therefore rejoice, that one, so well qualified as the distinguished editor of the work before us, has come forward to dispel the errors that have accumulated around the professional reputation and private life of this most remarkable man. The basis of this work is a translation, from the German, of Schindler's biography of Beethoven. The matter, which has been added to this edition, consists of explanatory notes, and an appendix, containing many of Beethoven's letters, characteristic anecdotes, an account of his last moments and of the funeral honors paid to his memory, and some contributions from persons who had visited him in the latter part of his life. These additions have much increased the value and interest of the original work.

The publication could not have been intrusted to a more competent editor than Moscheles, the friend and admirer of Beethoven, and an enthusiastic lover of the art, in which he has himself attained distinction, both as a composer and performer. His admiration of the works of Beethoven impelled him early to seek opportunities for studying the personal and professional character of the great musician, and the more he became acquainted with him and with the splendid creations of his genius, the more his admiration increased. While yet a boy of but nine or ten years of age, pursuing his musical studies at Prague, Moscheles subscribed to a musical library, for the purpose of obtaining the works of Dussek, Steibelt, and other composers. He had been placed under the tuition of Dionysius Weber, and was pursuing a course of judicious instruction, marked out by Weber, as the only sure foundation for future eminence in his profession. One of the express conditions, on which he had been received by Weber, was, that for three years he should study no author but Mozart, Clementi, and S. Bach. Although we are not told to what authors the attention of the

young musician was subsequently to be directed, or how much longer he was to be content to remain a pupil, we are able, from what is stated, to form some notion of the system of a musical education, which has been so successful in Germany and some other parts of Europe, but of which, practically, we know scarcely any thing in this country. Until some approach to similar thoroughness has been made, we cannot expect to produce skilful or learned musicians, or point to an American composition destined to outlive its author; nor may we deem it at all surprising, that native musical talent has as yet not soared beyond the sublimities of a Thanksgiving anthem. We trust the day is not far distant, when a professorship of music will be established in one or more of our universities, and sufficient time be devoted, by those who propose to give themselves to music as a profession, to laying a solid foundation, on which they may then hope to build firmly and successfully. As music is now taught and studied in this country, even by those who are to make it the business of life, the shortest possible time is spent in preparatory studies, hardly sufficient to enable them to explain the mere elements to their future pupils. The success and popularity of the teacher, moreover, too generally depend upon the celerity with which the pupil can be drilled to "play a piece" or "sing a song"; and, unless the ears of injudicious parents can be tickled with "a tune" before the close of the first quarter, the master is liable to dismission as incompetent. A mere glance at the system of musical education, pursued by Moscheles, is sufficient to render obvious its immeasurable superiority to that which is followed in this country; and of its results, his success and widely extended reputation might afford sufficient illustration, without referring to the long list of eminent foreign composers and artists who have been similarly trained.

The library, to which Moscheles had subscribed, placed within his reach a variety of compositions, which he eagerly ran through, but, as he confesses, without particular attention to finish. This eagerness to read new music, Weber justly feared would be injurious to the systematic developement and improvement of the pianoforte-playing of his pupil, and the library was interdicted. We cannot forbear to direct the attention of our musical readers to this circumstance, as the too common desire to lay aside a piece with which a

performer has become somewhat familiar, and to take up something new, is another fruitful source of so much superficial knowledge of music, and of careless and incorrect playing and singing. The remark may seem unnecessary, that the more frequently a composition is performed, and the more carefully it is studied, the more alive the performer must become to its beauties, and the more able to bring them out for the enjoyment of others; yet, strange to say, this self-evident truth is continually lost sight of in the temptation to try every new and showy musical production. We earnestly entreat all, who would become correct and tasteful performers, to confine themselves to a few of the sterling pieces of Clementi, Mozart, Haydn, and others of their class, until perfect in them, and to resign to the mere show-performer the piles of ephemeral, flashy, miscalled music, with which the shelves of the shops are loaded.

Notwithstanding his master's interdict, Moscheles could not resist the temptation held out by the library, and extended his acquaintance with the works of various composers. He learnt from some of his school-fellows, that there was a young composer at Vienna, "who wrote the oddest stuff possible, such as no one could either play or understand, crazy music, in opposition to all rule, and that this composer's name was Beethoven." It happened that a sonata, the *Pathétique*, of this crazy composer was for sale; but, alas! the pocket money of the young man was not sufficient to put him in possession of it. With true enthusiasm he proceeded to copy it in secret. The novelty of the style of this piece was such, and so attractive, that the young musician was unable to repress his desire to make it known to Weber, for which he was rewarded by an injunction not to play "any eccentric productions" until his style had been based upon more solid models. The enthusiasm and admiration of young Moscheles were not to be thus restrained, and he eagerly seized upon the works of the crazy composer as they appeared, "and found in them a solace and a delight, such as no other composer afforded."

In the year 1809, having completed his studies under Weber, Moscheles repaired to Vienna with an increased longing to see the man who had exercised so potent an influence over his whole being, "whom, though I scarcely understood," he says, "I blindly worshipped." He found

that Beethoven was very difficult of approach, and that, in fact, no one but his pupil, Ries, had the *entrée* at his lodgings. Moscheles did not meet his idol until the following year, and then, accidentally, in a music shop, the keeper of which had published some of his early attempts at composition, and had just been speaking of him to Beethoven. As the latter passed out he saluted the young aspirant with a benignant nod and a hasty remark, to which, says Moscheles, "I stammered forth a modest and humble reply." But the god of his idolatry broke away, and left poor Moscheles with a still greater longing for what he had so earnestly sought, and with the comfortable feeling that he was a musical nobody. He found consolation, however, in the recollection, that Beethoven had already begun to be afflicted with impaired hearing, and had become averse to society.

The more difficult Moscheles found it to become acquainted with Beethoven, the more desirous of it he became, and neglected no occasion of hearing him play, or of attending musical meetings where he was to be present. Things continued in this state until 1814, when, having been requested to arrange Beethoven's beautiful opera of "Fidelio," it was necessary for Moscheles to obtain the assent of its author. This was granted, on condition that each piece should be submitted to his scrutiny before it was given to the engraver. Thus was the young artist at last brought into frequent contact with the gifted composer. The reserve of Beethoven gradually relaxed before the patience and assiduity of his admirer, in whom, too, he undoubtedly saw indications of superior musical talent. He received him with increasing kindness, and, ere long, with evident attachment, and the friendship between the two kindred spirits became at length firmly established.

It is not surprising, that, with such opportunities of studying the character of Beethoven, of understanding his peculiarities and the causes of his reserve and apparent moroseness, of enjoying his private performances, and learning so much of the origin and progress of his great works, the admiration of Moscheles should have become enthusiastic. He, however, does not conceal from us, that, for a long time, Beethoven's works were in some respects repulsive to him.

"In each of them," he continues, "while I felt my mind fascinated by the prominent idea, and my enthusiasm kindled by the flashes of his genius, his unlooked for episodes, shrill dissonances, and bold modulations, gave me an unpleasant sensation. But how soon did I become reconciled to them! all that had appeared hard I soon found indispensable. The gnome-like pleasantries, which, at first, appeared too distorted, the strong masses of sound, which I found too chaotic, I have, in after times, learned to love." — Vol. I. p. xv.

Novel and eccentric as they then appeared, these works are now acknowledged to have marked, for good and evil, a new era in music. "Where," says the critical Nägeli, as quoted by our author,

"Where shall the historian find words to depict the regeneration produced by Beethoven? * * * * * Towering above all his contemporaries at the very beginning of his career, he excited, in later years, a new body of aspirants to enter the lists of inventive composition. Among these may be enumerated Hummel, Onslow, Reicha, Ries, Romberg, Spohr, Weber, Czerny, and Moscheles." — pp. xvii – xx.

The brilliant success, which has crowned the efforts of many of these composers, is well known. Others, again, destitute of the inventive genius of the great master, have struck out a still newer path, and poured upon us their wild, incoherent rhapsodies. Of these we have a lamentable instance in Listz, whose attempts to excel his original are too often senseless *capricios*. Mere mechanical skill, and the construction of difficulties, to overcome which does not compensate for the time and labor, can give but ephemeral reputation; nor can it be supposed, that compositions of this character can outlive their author.

Moscheles alludes with delicacy to these attempts to outdo Beethoven in boldness and originality. He would have been doing a much needed and acceptable service to the cause of legitimate music, had he more freely animadverted upon a style of composition which has nothing to recommend it, unless it be extravagance and noise.

From what has been stated as to the musical education of Moscheles, and the opportunities he enjoyed, it will readily be believed, that he has become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Beethoven, and that his compositions are free from the absurdities which abound in so many of the modern fashionable productions. He has resided for many years in

London, and has the satisfaction of knowing, that he has largely and successfully contributed to the advancement of his art by his fine compositions, as well as by his spirited public performances and sound instruction of others. He is probably better known to most of our amateurs by his difficult compositions, and by the reputation he early acquired for rapid execution, and the vast volumes of sound he is said to draw from his instrument. "Having a giant's strength, he was prompted by his youthful fire to use it like a giant." But his style has of late become more chastened, without losing boldness or fire, with which he now blends the delicate softness and tender expression of Cramer. His works are learned and full of imagination and feeling, showing throughout the good effects of the system of which we have spoken, and the durable influence of his early and continued study of the great classics of music. His late overture to "Joan of Arc" is pronounced worthy of Beethoven himself.

We have dwelt, at unexpected length, upon the editor of the biography before us. It is time to speak more particularly of his subject. Beethoven was born on the 17th of December, 1770, at Bonn in Prussia, but was not the son of William the Second, as had been reported, and repeated, according to M. Schindler, in no fewer than seven editions of the "Conversations-Lexicon," greatly to the annoyance of the composer. This story was finally put to rest by Dr. Wegeler, who, at Beethoven's request, published a copy of the baptismal register duly attested, that the unblemished character of his parents, especially of his mother, should be made known to the world. His father was Johann van Beethoven, a singer, who died in 1792; his mother was a native of Coblentz, and died in 1787. Beethoven retained a lively recollection of his mother, and often spoke of her with filial affection and fervent gratitude, particularly as having had "much patience with his obstinacy." His education was neither much attended to, nor altogether neglected. He was taught "something of Latin" at school, but was kept to music at home. Like boys in some other countries, he had a great aversion to sitting still, and had to be driven "in good earnest" to the music stool. He was taught the pianoforte and violin. Of the tones which he drew from the latter instrument wonderful stories have been told. Thus, it has been said, that he so enchanted a spider, that it was in the habit of letting itself down from the ceiling,

and of alighting upon the instrument, which Beethoven's mother one day discovering, she destroyed the insect, "whereupon little Ludwig dashed his violin to shatters." Now, so far from this being the fact, Beethoven has declared, that "the very flies and spiders would have fled out of the hearing of his horrid scraping."

The early acquaintance of Beethoven with the family of M. von Breuning led to his introduction to the literature of Germany; and to the last moment of his life he derived from it great enjoyment, and expressed his obligations to the kind friends who awakened him to its beauties. In other departments his literary attainments were also respectable. He read the Italian poets in the original language, and understood English, French, and Latin, conversing readily in the two last. His deafness prevented his acquiring facility in speaking English, but he preferred English to French writers, because, as he said, "*Ils sont plus vrais.*" His favorite English authors were Shakspeare and Thomson. In his last sickness he is reported to have amused himself, in his intervals of ease, by reading the ancient Greek writers and the Waverley Novels.

Having received his first instructions in music, he was transferred from his father's care to that of M. Pfeiffer, a music director and man of talent. In 1785, his progress had been such, that he was appointed by the elector, Max Franz, brother of Joseph the Second, organist to the electoral chapel. About this time a circumstance occurred, which affords evidence of his extraordinary talent, and which was often mentioned by him, in after life, as a clever juvenile trick.

"On the last three days of the Passion week, the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah were always chanted; these consisted of passages of from four to six lines, and they were sung in no particular time. In the middle of each sentence, agreeably to the choral style, peculiar to the old church-music in general, a rest was made upon one note, which rest the player on the piano, — for the organ was not used on those three days, — had to fill up with a voluntary flourish, as is likewise usual in the accompaniment of other choral performances.

"Beethoven told Heller, a singer at the chapel, who was boasting of his professional cleverness, that he would engage, that very day, to put him out at such a place, without his

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Name,.....

Residence,.....

being aware of it, yet so effectually, that he should not be able to proceed. Heller, who considered this as an absolute impossibility, laid a wager accordingly with Beethoven. The latter, when he came to a passage that suited his purpose, led the singer, by an adroit modulation, out of the prevailing mode into one having no affinity to it, still, however, adhering to the tonic of the former key; so that the singer, unable to find his way in this strange region, was brought to a dead stand. Exasperated by the laughter of those around him, Heller complained of Beethoven to the elector, who, to use Beethoven's expression, 'gave him a most gracious reprimand, and bade him not play any more such clever tricks.'" — pp. 31, 32.

By the time he had arrived at the age of twenty-two, Beethoven had acquired the friendship of Mozart, "the source of all light in the region of harmony," who, when he first heard Beethoven extemporize on a theme that was given to him, exclaimed, "This youth will some day make a noise in the world." He early made the acquaintance of the family of Prince Lichnowsky, and thus came under an influence which led to the most important consequences. This princely family was highly musical, and the prince became to him as a father, and the princess a second mother. He was allowed six hundred florins a year, (when shall the artist find such patronage in America?) until he should receive some permanent appointment. Although the young man had his freaks and fancies, like most geniuses, they always found an apologist in the amiable princess. "They would have brought me up," said he, "with grandmotherly fondness, which was carried to such a length, that very often the princess was on the point of having a glass shade made to put over me, so that no unworthy person might touch or breathe upon me."

The consequences of such indulgence and ill-judged kindness were soon too obvious, and they were far from being lessened by the fact, that his eccentricities were admired, and for a time the name of "Beethoven" became a general password, to which every thing gave way. It is not surprising that he now found himself an object of jealousy and attack to rival artists, and a remarkable trait of character was manifested.

"He never defended himself against criticism or attacks, so long as they were not directed against his honor, but

against his professional abilities, and never suffered them to have more than a superficial effect upon him. Not indifferent to the opinions of the good, he took no notice of the attacks of the malicious, and allowed them to go on unchecked, even when they proceeded so far as to assign him a place, sometimes in one madhouse, sometimes in another. 'If it amuses people to say or to write such stuff concerning me, let them continue so to do as long as they please'; this was his maxim, to which he adhered through all the vicissitudes of his professional life."

"With this trait of character was associated, already in early life, another, not less important for his professional career than the former, namely, that rank and wealth were to him matters of absolute indifference, accidents for which he had no particular respect; hence, in a man he would recognise and honor nothing but the man. * * * * * It was therefore perfectly natural, that the prince should occupy no higher place in his estimation than the private citizen; and he held, that mind alone, that divine emanation in man, rises, according to its powers, above all that is material and accidental; that it is an immediate gift of the Creator, destined to serve as a light to others. Hence he recognised the position allotted to him from above, and its importance in the universe, and that too in all humility." — pp. 46 – 48.

On the arrival of Beethoven in Vienna, he is said to have known nothing of counterpoint, and very little of the theory of harmony. With a warm and active imagination, a sensitive ear, and "Pegasus ever ready," he cared little about rules of composition. He soon, however, began to receive lessons from Haydn, who, for a time, appears to have been satisfied with his pupil, but at last the tables were turned, in consequence of the discovery by Haydn that his pupil's exercises, which he had inspected, were afterward submitted to the critical examination of M. Schenk. "Haydn had been anxious, that Beethoven should write on the titles of his early works, '*pupil of Haydn*'; to this Beethoven objected, saying, that although he had received some instructions from Haydn, yet *he had never learnt any thing of him.*" For a short time he was a pupil of Mozart, and in counterpoint he received instructions from Albrechtsberger, and from Salieri in dramatic music. But each was so obstinate and self-willed, Beethoven used to say, that "his own hard-earned experience often had to teach him those things, the study of which he would not hear of."

M. Ries tells us, that Beethoven's style of performance was very capricious, especially when playing his own compositions; but still he adhered strictly to the time, unless desirous of producing particular effects. Thus, in performing a *crescendo* passage he would, by retarding the time, produce an effect, not only striking, but extremely beautiful. He rarely introduced notes or ornaments that were not in the copy before him. Of his inimitable expression, we are told, those only can have an idea who had the good fortune to hear him. Indeed, all music, performed by the hands of Beethoven, appeared to undergo a new creation. One of the most remarkable peculiarities of his playing, and to which so many of his wonderful effects were attributable, was his uniform *legato* style. He could not endure the *staccato* style, terming it, in derision, "finger-dancing," or "manual air-sawing." The rule which he inculcated was, "Place the hands over the key-board in such a position, that the fingers need not be raised more than is necessary. This is the only method by which the player can learn to *generate tone*, and, as it were, to make the instrument sing."

"Beethoven's playing," says Schindler, "was the most distinct and intelligible declamation," and in illustration of this we have, in the second volume of the biography, a variety of extracts from the two beautiful sonatas in Opera 14, with a description of the manner in which each was played by the author. We would strongly recommend the practice of these sonatas, with careful attention to the directions and explanations given by Schindler, to every one who is desirous of performing Beethoven's music. In accentuation, so essential to expression, Beethoven gave prominent force to all *appogiaturas*, particularly the minor second, and "in slow movements his transition to the principal note was as delicately managed as it could have been by the voice of a singer."

"It was Beethoven's practice to rise at daybreak, (both in summer and winter,) and immediately to sit down to his writing-desk. There he would labor till two or three o'clock, his usual dinner-time. Meanwhile he would go out once or twice in the open air, where he would work and walk. Then, after the lapse of half an hour or an hour, he would return home to note down the ideas he had collected. As the bee gathers honey from the flowers of the meadows, so Beethoven often collected his most sublime ideas while roaming about in the

open fields. The habit of going abroad suddenly, and as unexpectedly returning, just as the whim happened to strike him, was practised by him at all seasons of the year ; cold or heat, rain or sunshine, were all alike to him."—Vol. II. pp. 176, 177.

He delighted to ramble for hours amid wild and romantic scenery, and even passed whole nights in such spots. When walking with a friend, he would often stop and point out the beauties of the landscape, or the incongruities and defects of new buildings. Then again would he be silent and absorbed in thought, or give utterance to his feelings in unintelligible humming. These were his moments, too, of inspiration, and he would, on his return home, commit his musical ideas to paper.

"'Göthe's poems,'" said he to Madame von Arnim, "'exercise over me a great sway, not only by their meaning, but by their rhythm also. It is a language that urges me on to composition, that builds up its own lofty standard, containing in itself all the mysteries of harmony, so that I have but to follow up the radiations of that centre from which melodies evolve spontaneously. I pursue them eagerly, overtake them, then again see them, flying before me, vanish in the multitude of my impressions, until I seize them anew with increased vigor, no more to be parted from. It is then, that my transports give them every diversity of modulation ; it is I who triumph over the first of these musical thoughts, and the shape I give it I call symphony.'"—Vol. I. p. 279.

"He was very fond, especially in the dusk of the evening, of seating himself at the piano to *improvise*, or he would frequently take up the violin or viola, for which purpose these two instruments were always left lying on the piano. In the latter years of his life, his playing at such times was more painful than agreeable to those who heard it. The inward mind alone was active ; the outward sense no longer coöperated with it ; consequently, the outpourings of his fancy became scarcely intelligible. Sometimes he would lay his left hand flat upon the key-board, and thus drown in discordant noise, the music, to which his right was feelingly giving utterance. * * * * * The most painful thing of all was to hear him *improvise* on stringed instruments, owing to his incapability of tuning them. The music he thus produced was frightful, though in his mind it was pure and harmonious."—Vol. II. pp. 174–176.

"The use of the bath was as much a necessity to Beethoven as to a Turk ; and he was in the habit of submitting himself to frequent ablutions. When it happened that he did

not walk out of doors to collect his ideas, he would, not unfrequently, in a fit of the most complete abstraction, go to his wash-hand basin, and pour several jugs of water upon his hands, all the while humming and roaring, for sing he could not. After dabbling in the water till his clothes were wet through, he would pace up and down the room, with a vacant expression of countenance, and his eyes frightfully distended ; the singularity of his aspect being often increased by an unshaven beard. Then he would seat himself at his table and write ; and afterwards get up again to the wash-hand basin, and dabble and hum as before. Ludicrous as were these scenes, no one dared notice them or disturb him while engaged in his inspiring ablutions, for these were his moments, or I should rather say hours, of profoundest meditation. It will be readily believed, that the people in whose houses he lodged were not very well pleased when they found the water trickling through the floor to the ceiling below, as sometimes happened ; and Beethoven's change of lodging was often the consequence of these occurrences. On such occasions comical scenes sometimes ensued."—pp. 177, 178.

On one occasion he addressed to Schindler a note containing merely the following words, unaccompanied by any explanation, knowing that he would understand their import.

"Certificate.

"The fish is alive.

"Vidi.

"Pastor Romualdus."—p. 179.

This was in allusion to his being required to procure a certificate from the curate that he was actually alive, in order to receive his quarterly pension.

Should we follow the career of the great composer with the minuteness we should like, our notice would extend to an unwarrantable length. We must, therefore, be content to pass over many things, that would be acceptable to the general reader as well as to the musician and amateur. We do this the more willingly, as we have no doubt the work will be made accessible, in the usual less expensive American style, and would recommend the republication of it, confident that it must meet with a ready sale, and, at the same time, have a beneficial influence on the progress of music and the public taste. The two volumes contain much valuable musical criticism, and an abundance of highly interesting personal anecdote.

The scattered anecdotes of Beethoven which have appeared from time to time, are not always to be relied upon. We have often heard of his deafness, and of his eccentricities and moroseness. But we have heard little of his private griefs, or of the sufferings, mental and bodily, under the pressure of which his immortal works were produced. From the volumes before us, we see that he was at heart a man of kindness, feeling, and resignation. His early days were embittered by the irregularities of his father, and his after years by the misconduct of his brothers, and the ingratitude of an adopted son, to whom he was warmly attached, and for whom he had made great pecuniary sacrifices. Add to this, that, in the prime of life and the unbroken strength of his great powers, he began to be afflicted with the most terrible of all maladies that can come upon the musician, and that, from day to day, in defiance of all applications he felt it to increase, until, long before he had accomplished all that he knew himself capable of, his deafness had not only become excessive but permanent.

M. Schindler has divided the life of Beethoven into several distinct periods, the first closing with the year 1800. It was in the latter part of this period that his deafness began to affect his temper, and he became "inexpressibly miserable." We shall not follow the order in which the events of his life are related. His situation and feelings are touchingly portrayed in a conversation with Madame von Arnim.

"I have no friend. I must live all to myself; yet I know that God is nearer to me than to my brothers in art. I hold converse with him, and fear not, for I have always known and understood him. — Vol. i. pp. 276, 277.

On the outside of his will he wrote;

"As the leaves of autumn fall withered to the ground, so is that hope (viz. of the restoration of his hearing) become withered for me. Nearly as I came here, I go away. O Providence! grant that a day of pure joy may once break for me! How long have I been a stranger to the delightful sound of real joy! When, O God! when can I again feel it in the temple of nature and of men? Never? Nay that would be too hard." — pp. 86, 87.

In 1802 Beethoven was attacked by a severe illness, on his recovery from which he wrote his remarkable will. This was published after his death; and the original manuscript,

Moscheles informs us, has been placed in the hands of Messrs. Cramer & Co., to be disposed of for the benefit of one of the female relatives of the deceased. We cannot resist presenting a few extracts from this affecting document, as they enable us to explain many of the peculiarities of habits and manners of the much-enduring and sensitive composer.

"Born with a lively, ardent disposition, susceptible to the diversions of society, I was forced at an early age to renounce them, and to pass my life in seclusion. If I strove at any time to set myself above all this, O how cruelly was I driven back by the doubly painful experience of my defective hearing! And yet it was not possible for me to say to people 'Speak louder, — bawl, — for I am deaf!' Ah! how could I proclaim the defect of a sense, that I once possessed in the highest perfection, in a perfection in which few of my colleagues possess or ever did possess it! Indeed I cannot! Forgive me then if ye see me draw back when I would gladly mingle among you. Doubly mortifying is my misfortune to me, as it must tend to cause me to be misconceived. From recreation in the society of my fellow-creatures, from the pleasures of conversation, from the effusions of friendship, I am cut off. Almost alone in the world, I dare not venture into society more than absolute necessity requires. I am obliged to live as an exile. * * * * * Patience, — so I am told, — I must choose for my guide. I have done so. Steadfast, I hope, will be my resolution to persevere, till it shall please the inexorable Fates to cut the thread. Perhaps there may be amendment, — perhaps not, — I am prepared for the worst, — I, who so early as my twenty-eighth year, was forced to become a philosopher, — it is not easy, — for the artist more difficult than for any other. O God! thou lookest down upon my misery; thou knowest that it is accompanied with love of my fellow-creatures and a disposition to do good! O men! when ye shall read this, think that ye have wronged me;* and let the child of affliction take comfort in one like himself, who, in spite of all the impediments of nature, yet did all that lay in his power to obtain admittance into the rank of worthy artists and men." — pp. 80 – 84.

Then addressing his brothers from whom he had received so many wrongs, and declaring them the heirs of all he possesses, he expresses the wish that they may live happily, more exempt from care than he had been, and thus continues;

* This document was addressed to his brothers.

"Recommend virtue to your children; that alone, — not wealth, — can give happiness; I speak from experience. It was this that upheld me even in affliction. * * * * * How glad I am to think that I may be of use to you even in my grave; so let it be done; I go to meet death with joy. If he comes before I have had occasion to develope all my professional abilities, he will come too soon for me, in spite of my hard fate, and I should wish that he delayed his arrival. But even then I am content, for he will release me from a state of endless suffering. Come when thou wilt, I shall meet thee with firmness." — pp. 84, 85.

In 1802 his health, bodily and mental, had improved so much that he resumed a plan previously formed of doing homage to Napoleon, in a grand instrumental composition. He accordingly applied himself to it, and proceeded with that truly wonderful work the "Sinfonia Eroica." Various causes, however, conspired to prevent its completion till 1804. In the mean time he was not idle, but composed many things for his patrons and publishers. He was a republican in politics and full of the spirit of independence. "Plato's Republic," says Schindler, "was infused into his flesh and blood." As long as he believed Napoleon was actuated by no other design than to republicanize France upon similar principles, he entertained towards him respect and even enthusiasm. But when the news came that he had caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor, the enraged musician tore off the title leaf of his symphony, and dashed it upon the floor with a torrent of execrations against the new monarch. Nor was he reconciled to him until his death at St. Helena, when he sarcastically remarked that "seventeen years before, he had composed appropriate music to this catastrophe, in which it was exactly predicted, musically, but unwittingly, — alluding to the Dead March in that Symphony."

In 1800 Beethoven was occupied with his sublime work "Christ on the Mount of Olives," the first performance of which took place on the 5th of April, 1803. In 1805 he composed his "Fidelio," and both these were written in the thickest part of the wood in the park of Schönbrun, where he had a seat between two stems of an oak. He revisited this scene of his inspiration in 1823 in company with Schindler, who has given an account of the visit and the interesting reminiscences that were awakened by it.

"It was during this period that his brother Carl (his real name was Caspar), who had some years previously followed him to Vienna, began to govern him, and to make Beethoven suspicious of his sincerest friends and adherents, from wrong notions, or, perhaps, even from jealousy. It was only the still undiminished authority of Prince Lichnowsky over Beethoven and his true interests, that intimidated and somewhat checked the perversity of Carl, and thereby peace was still for a short time insured to Beethoven and those around him. At any rate here commences the history of Beethoven's sufferings, which terminated only with his death, and which originated not only in the conduct of his brother, but also in his own gradually increasing deafness, and the distrust which it engendered. This first brother was joined in time by a second, Johann, whose sentiments soon became identified with those of Carl." — pp. 76, 77.

In 1812 Beethoven became acquainted with Goethe, at Toplitz, but he appears to have been soon forgotten by the poet, who, says Schindler, in 1823, "when as minister he had it in his power to render him an essential service, with little trouble to himself, did not even deign to reply to a very humble epistle from our Master. That letter was forwarded to him at Weimar, through the grand-ducal *chargé d'affaires*, and must, of course, have reached his hands." Of the cause of this neglect we find no explanation in the biography.

Among the peculiarities of Beethoven was the custom of changing his place of abode "as often in a year as others do inns and places of diversion. Hence it was no uncommon thing for him to have three or four lodgings to pay for at once. The motives for these frequent changes were in general trivial;" — too much or too little sun, a dislike of the water, a preference for the North side of the city in spring, of the South in summer; and yet with all these changes and migrations, he produced in three years, at this period, nearly one hundred of his works. The price paid for these works yearly increased, and in like proportion did his necessities, whims, and eccentricities. Notwithstanding the large sums he had received he had laid up nothing, and appears to have troubled himself but little about pecuniary matters, leaving every thing to the management of his brother Carl, who made no effort to awaken his attention to the subject.

"The first impulse to secure, by economy, a competence for the future, was given by an excellent woman, Madame

Streicher, whose persuasions were beneficial to Beethoven in another point, inasmuch as they induced him again to mingle in society, though indeed but for a short time, after he had almost entirely withdrawn himself from it. Madame Streicher found Beethoven, in the summer of 1813, in the most deplorable condition with reference to his personal and domestic comforts. He had neither a decent coat nor a whole shirt. Madame Streicher put his wardrobe and his domestic matters to rights, and he complied with all her suggestions. He hired a man servant, who was a tailor and had a wife, but she did not live in the house with him. They paid the greatest attention to Beethoven, who now found himself quite comfortable, and, for the first time, began to accustom himself to a regular way of life, that is to say, in so far as it was possible for him. While his attendant followed his business undisturbed in the anteroom, Beethoven produced, in the adjoining apartment, many of his immortal works."—p. 140.

In the third period of his life, viz. from the year 1813 to his death in 1827, Beethoven, in addition to the terrible malady which was now beyond all hope of relief, was doomed to suffer additional inflictions in the shape of lawsuits and quarrels with unprincipled men, and their influence upon his creative genius was deplorable. One of these quarrels was with our old friend Maelzel, for whose "Panharmonicon" he composed a "Battle Symphony," which Beethoven wrote to spur him on to the completion of an apparatus for assisting his hearing. We are pleased to find Moscheles in a note exonerating the ingenious artist, who has given pleasure to so many by his curious contrivances, from all blame; it also appears, that Maelzel designed the whole composition, and even wrote many parts of it himself.

In 1816, Beethoven undertook to set up an establishment of his own, and M. Schindler has given a specimen of the manner in which he set about it.

"He seems to have made his first inquiries of a person conversant with house-keeping; a paper containing, on the left, Beethoven's questions, and, on the right, the answers to them is an interesting document of his spirit of enterprise. He asks, for instance,

"'1. What is a proper allowance for two servants for dinner and supper, both as to quality and quantity?'

"On the right hand side is given the answer in most minute detail.

"'2. How often should one give them meat? Ought they to have it both at dinner and supper?

"'3. Do the servants take their meals off the victuals cooked for the master; or have they their own separately; that is, have they different victuals from what the master has?

"'4. How many pounds of butchers' meat are allowed for three persons?'" — p. 172.

In another place the biographer has given an extract from his journal, to show what a yoke Beethoven had imposed upon himself, and in what a state of irritation his temper was kept by his domestic arrangements.

"'1819.

"'31st January. Given warning to the house-keeper.

"'15th February. The kitchen maid came.

"'8th March. The kitchen maid gave a fortnight's warning.

"'12th May. Arrived at Mödling. Miser et pauper sum.

"'1820.

"'17th April. The kitchen maid came. A bad day. (This means that he had nothing to eat, because all the victuals were spoiled by long waiting.)

"'28th July. At night, the kitchen maid ran away.'"

"Such was Beethoven's domestic state, with very little alteration, till his death. The impossibility of making himself understood by his servants was the principal cause of the incessant changes." — p. 189.

"On one occasion he missed the score of the first movement (*Kyrie*) of his grand mass. All search for it proved vain, and Beethoven was irritated to the highest degree at the loss, which was irreparable; when lo! several days afterwards, the whole *Kyrie* was found, but in what condition! The large sheets, which looked just like waste paper, seemed to the old house-keeper the very thing for wrapping up boots, shoes, and kitchen utensils, for which purpose she had torn most of them in half. When Beethoven saw the treatment to which this production of his genius had been subjected, he could not refrain from laughing at this droll scene, after a short gust of passion, and after the sheets had been cleaned from all the soils contracted in such unseemly company." — pp. 197, 198.

"The most exquisite confusion reigned in his house; books and music were scattered in all directions; here the residue of a cold luncheon, there some full, some half-emptied bottles; on the desk the hasty sketch of a new quartett; in another corner the remains of a breakfast; on the piano-forte the scribbled hints for a noble symphony, yet little more than in embryo; hard by, a proof-sheet, waiting to be returned; letters from friends, and on business, spread all over the floor; between the windows a goodly Stracchino cheese, and, on one side of it, ample vestiges of a genuine Verona salai; and, notwithstanding all this confusion, he constantly eulogized, with Ciceronian eloquence, his own neatness and love of order!"—Vol. II. p. 311.

In his habits of eating and drinking he was strictly temperate, even abstemious, but somewhat peculiar.

"Man," he would say, "is but little above other animals, if his chief pleasure is confined to a dinner table." His favorite food was fish, and on Thursdays he luxuriated in bread soup.

"To compose this ten eggs were set before him, which he tried before mixing them with the other ingredients; and if it unfortunately happened that any of them were musty, a grand scene ensued; the offending cook was summoned to the presence by a tremendous ejaculation. She, however, well knowing what might occur, took care cautiously to stand on the threshold of the door, prepared to make a precipitate retreat; but the moment she made her appearance the attack commenced, and the broken eggs, like bombs from well-directed batteries, flew about her ears, their yellow and white contents covering her with viscous streams."—p. 310.

The preparation of his coffee, which was often done by himself, was an affair of much nicety. He allowed sixty beans for each cup, and to avoid any error in his measure, he made it a rule to count out the exact number for each cup, especially when he had visitors. Supper was a matter of indifference to him, and he was in bed by ten o'clock. He never wrote in the afternoon, and very seldom in the evening, and had a great dislike to correcting his first copy. His favorite beverage was pure water, although he did not refuse wine, and enjoyed a glass of beer, and his pipe of tobacco in the evening.

When, from the state of his health, it became necessary to resort to prescriptions of his physician,

"He not unfrequently took in two doses the medicine destined for the whole day; or he forgot them entirely, when his ideas lifted him above the material world." — Vol. I. p. 224.

The account which M. Schindler gives of a weekly meeting that was held under the direction of M. Carl Czerny, for the performance of Beethoven's music, by a number of amateurs and others, deserves a passing notice. These meetings were continued, during three successive winters, with increasing interest, which was often enhanced by the presence of the composer himself. Here every one might make himself acquainted with the sublimest compositions, and kindred spirits learned to know and esteem each other.

"All foreign professional men and connoisseurs, who, in their own countries, could gain but obscure notions of the spirit of Beethoven's music, here found themselves at the fountain head of the purest poesy, which never flowed so clear and so brilliant since those memorable parties at Prince Lichnowsky's, (of which mention has been made in the first period,) and perhaps never may again in that place where this gigantic genius, so far in advance of his age, lived and wrought." — pp. 183, 184.

It is in this way, that music can be truly enjoyed. We may write musical reviews and notices without end, and attend public performances brought forward for effect, and made up of a mixture of good and bad music, winter after winter, with far less improvement, far less appreciation of the sterling beauties of a composition, than will be derived from meetings like those just noticed. Let some American Lichnowsky come forward, and, with ample means, cultivated taste, and the refinement of elegant society, countenance and support, by similar meetings, the study and performance of classic music.

But we must hasten to give our readers some account of the last scene of the life of the great composer. In 1826, Beethoven, returning from a journey, sick, to Vienna, was immediately joined by M. Schindler, who was shocked to find that he had often in vain entreated his two former physicians (their names should be recorded, Drs. Braunhofer and Staudenheim,) to undertake the treatment of his case. The first declined to visit him "because the distance was too great," and the second promised to come, but did not keep his word. "A physician was sent to his house, he did not know how, or by whom, and who, consequently, knew noth-

ing of him or his constitution." Abandoned by his nearest relations, Beethoven would have breathed his last without a friend to close his eyes, had not accident made known his situation. A marker at a billiard-table had been brought to a hospital, on account of illness, from whom it was discovered, that a nephew of Beethoven had come to the coffee-house, where he played billiards, and commissioned this man to find a physician for his sick uncle; but, being extremely unwell at the time, he had not been able to do so, and therefore begged Professor Wawruch (one of the physicians of the hospital) to visit Beethoven, which he immediately did.

"It was necessary, then, for the marker at a billiard-table to fall sick, and be taken to the hospital, before the great Beethoven could obtain help in time of need!! Who would not find his feelings revolted by this disgraceful fact? After this no further explanation can be necessary to show what were Beethoven's sufferings in his deplorable condition, or what was the ultimate cause of his early death."—Vol. II. pp. 59, 60.

His disease was inflammation of the lungs, followed by dropsy. The water was several times removed by an operation, but with only temporary relief; and on the 24th of March, 1827, after receiving the sacrament with devotion, he expired at a quarter before six in the evening, during a tremendous hail-storm, aged fifty-six years, three months, and nine days. The man, who had met with so much neglect from his relations and countrymen, was now to be followed to his last resting-place with every demonstration of respect and regret by at least twenty thousand persons! A solemn anthem, a hearse drawn by four horses, a line of more than two hundred carriages, eloquent poems, and effusions of the most touching character, wreaths of laurel, requiems, misereres and masses and every tribute and external expression of sorrow that could be contrived, were called forth and concentrated as a peace-offering to the departed spirit, and as an everlasting memorial of the oft-boasted estimation in which this gifted being was held by his countrymen! A monument has since been erected to his memory, the cost of which was defrayed from the proceeds of the performance of his own compositions. Upon this are the following inscriptions.

" Ludovico. Van. Beethoven.
Cujus.
Ad. Triste. Mortis. Nuncium.
Omnes. Flevere. Gentes.
Plaudente.
Cœlitum. Choro.

In tumulum Ludovici Van Beethoven
Fato mortalis ; Vita bonus ; Arte perennis.
Morte suum moriens eximit ipse decus."

— p. 336.

Beethoven was educated in the Catholic religion, but although, according to his biographer, he was "truly religious," he was not bigoted. He appears to have inclined to Deism. On his table he kept for many years two inscriptions in frames, copied with his own hand, and said to have been taken from a temple of Isis. A *fac-simile* of these in German, is given in the biography, the translation being as follows.

"I. I am that which is. — I am all that is, all that was, and all that shall be. — no mortal man hath my veil uplifted!"

"II. He is one, self-existent, and to that one all things owe their existence."

— p. 163.

These he regarded, says Schindler, as "an epitome of the loftiest and purest religion."

There were only two topics which in his conversations with his pupils (his method of giving instruction) he carefully avoided, — thorough-bass and religion, declaring both to be exhausted subjects admitting no further discussion.

Of the personal appearance of Beethoven we obtain but an imperfect idea from any of the portraits of him that have been published. The best of these is from a painting by Schimon of Munich, an engraving from which is prefixed to these volumes. His unusually large head was covered with long, bushy hair, guiltless of comb or brush, and when, as was frequently the case, his beard had been suffered to attain a great length, he must have been, in fashion, as in music, in advance of his time. Add to this that "when he laughed, he might not inaptly be compared to a grinning ape," and we scarce need an engraving to bring him before us, seeing as we now do, so many aspirants to the enviable distinction of a near ap-

proach in their attractive exterior to that of the quadrumana. In height Beethoven was five feet four inches ; he was muscular, strong and compact, with a high and expanded forehead. Every thought that arose in his mind was expressed in his countenance. His mouth was well formed, with a slight protrusion of the upper lip ; his nose was rather broad. Although his smile was peculiarly pleasing, his laugh was otherwise. His chin was marked by a deep furrow in the middle and by another on each side, imparting a striking peculiarity to that part of his countenance.

When we look at the long list of the works of Beethoven appended to these volumes, in which no fewer than three hundred compositions are enumerated, embracing every variety of style, from the sublime oratorio to the light drinking-song, from the magnificent symphony to the sportive dance, abounding in new ideas and full of wonderful effects, we are struck with amazement ; the more, now that we know under what afflictions and vexations they were produced. They not only prove the exhaustless fertility of his genius, but show that, even to the last, his inventive faculty was unimpaired. Other composers have exhausted themselves by some great effort, or more commonly have repeated their ideas with little variation, without investing them with fresh charms by new developements. But not so Beethoven ; his active mind teemed with musical ideas to the last, fresh, original, and beautiful ; it seems to have needed no repose to recruit itself. Having just completed his greatest work, he could pour out his touching melodies, or conjure up still new and ever varied combinations to all appearance as readily and as effectively as before. It was otherwise with Haydn, who exhausted himself by undertaking the composition of his "Seasons" immediately after having finished his immortal oratorio of "the Creation," and was never able afterwards to connect or combine his musical ideas, and became inconsolable for the remainder of his life.

Beethoven died while yet in the full enjoyment of his creative powers ; the inventive faculty, which has rarely gained much in activity or energy beyond the age at which his last work was completed, was in him at least as vigorous as ever. Had he been spared for a longer time, he would unquestionably have produced what would have surpassed any thing he has left us. Some of the very best compositions have been the fruits of a much more advanced time of life. Gluck did

not conceive his great operas till he was fifty, the best works of Haydn were composed when he was between fifty and sixty-four, and Handel wrote his Messiah at eighty ! But let us not impiously murmur that this great master was not permitted to do more, while there is so much cause to be grateful for what he did accomplish.

For an able criticism on the compositions of Beethoven we would refer our musical readers to the lectures of Nägeli, published in 1826. Considering J. S. Bach as the fountain head of instrumental music, and ascribing its further developement to C. P. E. Bach, J. Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, Cramer, and Pleyel, until the art attained its acme under Beethoven, he proceeds to speak of its regeneration under the influence of his genius. He maintains that it had been debased and diluted by the *divertimento* style of Pleyel, and moreover that instrumental music was even impaired by Mozart. To this the admirers of Mozart will hardly subscribe their assent. If he did not attain the severe, original, ever-varying style of Beethoven, he must be allowed to have infused into music an expression and beauty, a pathos and glow, which it had not exhibited before. True, Mozart does not often thrill us by unearthly sounds and wild harmonies, but in his peculiar walk he has hardly been surpassed. He does not deal in combinations of detached intervals, in great peculiarities of rhythm, nor does he stir us up to frenzy ; but does he not overwhelm the spirit with delicious melody, and produce the most absorbing effects by the richness of his accompaniments and the magnificence of his instrumentation ?

At the beginning of this article we stated that Beethoven's name has long been familiar to our musical amateurs. But most of his superb symphonies and a large proportion of his piano-forte sonatas, concertos, and other works, are known only to those to whom the pages of a score present something more than unintelligible hieroglyphics, and who need not the aid of an instrument or orchestra to give them voice and expression. To most people music is but a succession and combination of pleasing sounds, soothing, inspiring, or depressing, as they vary in pitch or measure ; it is not what is perceptible to the mental ear of the artist as he turns over in silence the pages of Beethoven. Ἡ μὲν

ἁρμονία ἀορατόν τι καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ πάγκαλόν τι καὶ θεῖον ἐστιν.

Of no composer does the music abound in more ideal beauties than that of Beethoven. Before the public, however, or even the greater number of musical performers, enjoy and appreciate the productions of his mighty mind, the assistance of the ear is required ; but to the true musician his beauties are as evident in the silence and retirement of his attic, as are those of Shakspeare to the scholar who never *assisted* at a play. Indeed so far from bringing out or enhancing the ideal or actual beauties of the compositions of the great masters, the performance too often has a contrary effect. Beethoven and Mozart are quite as commonly mangled and murdered as Shakspeare. Every tyro in music can talk of the eccentricities of Beethoven, and every fair aspirant to musical fame of the difficulties of his piano-forte compositions. While yet incapable of playing a sonata of Pleyel, profoundly ignorant of Mozart, and with no other acquaintance with Haydn than what has been derived from the opportunity of hearing an oratorio, too many of our amateurs must play something from Beethoven, although utterly unprepared to perceive his beauties, and almost equally so to conquer his difficulties, the fame of doing which is in fact too often the only excitement to the attempt, and the chief, if not the only, anticipated reward of success. We would have his works in the hands of all amateurs and performers, but not until, by the study of those masters who preceded him, they are prepared to understand him. Often as we have opportunities of listening to the performances of the easier piano-forte works of Beethoven, we seldom have the satisfaction of perceiving that he is understood by the performer, and have merely a confusion of sounds quite incomprehensible to the hearer. Indeed since the departure of a lady of unusual musical talent, who, a few years since executed the most difficult piano-forte symphonies of Beethoven with a fire and feeling that would have charmed the composer himself, we have very rarely heard any of his great works performed even decently by an amateur. Several of his orchestral symphonies have however been produced during the past winter, in creditable style, by the Boston Academy of Music, and the pleasure they afforded to a promiscuous assembly proved, that, when properly

performed, they give delight to every one whose musical taste has received only a moderate cultivation.

It is a prevalent belief, and in some respects it is well founded, that Beethoven's piano-forte music is more difficult than that of any other composer, with the exception of some of his successors, the estimation of whose works is too commonly in exact proportion to the number of notes they can crowd into a bar. This erroneous impression in regard to Beethoven has, no doubt, deterred many amateurs, who are not deficient in the power of appreciating his beauties, from attempting the performance of his later works, believing that they require great rapidity of execution. The perusal of the work of Schindler and Moscheles will dispel this error, for it will be found that the composer himself, although he had acquired great skill in execution, never sacrificed distinctness and expression to mechanical dexterity. Indeed he was continually exclaiming at the rapidity with which his music was executed by others. There is reason also to suppose that this erroneous impression has been strengthened by the fact, that with the multitude an unlooked for velocity of finger has come to be the great test of musical ability. Since the time of Beethoven, it is well known that one or two artists have appeared, who, by assiduous practice and peculiar personal fitness, have arrived at a rapidity of fingering that is truly marvellous. Able to overcome the greatest existing difficulties, they have been compelled to invent still greater, and their public exhibitions have created a fashion for execution ; a foolish ambition for mere dexterity has been excited, and instead of music we have unmeaning noise. The imitators of Liszt and Thalberg should be aware that the *allegro* of the modern school was unknown to Haydn and Mozart, and that even the *prestos* of Beethoven require that every note should have time to be heard. It is not the performers who have labored all their lives to improve the mechanical dexterity of their fingers, — who, as Beethoven once said, " lose intelligence and feeling in proportion as they gain dexterity of fingering," — that can interpret his music ; as little are they acquainted with it as with the occupations of the inhabitants of the moon. The great difficulty is in the expression, the correct conception of, and the giving utterance to, the ideas and feelings of the great composer. Beethoven's music is profoundly imbued with sentiment ; his simple, touching melodies

require exquisite refinement and delicacy, which can never be imparted to them by bravura players, who, in the words of M. Schindler, make of them what M. Liszt makes of Schubert's songs,—what Paganini made of the cantilena in Rode's concerto, — and what Rubini makes of Beethoven's "Adelaide," — tasteless perversions of beautiful originals, violations of truth and right feeling.

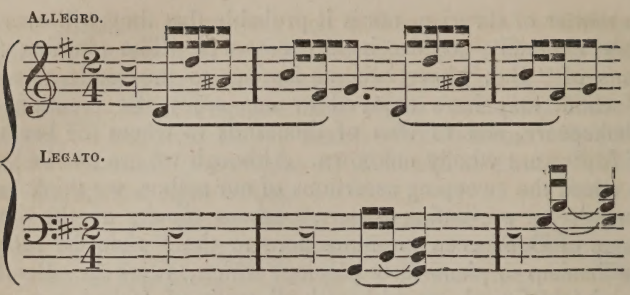
Before the last winter we do not recollect to have been present at any concert in this country of which the great orchestral compositions of Beethoven formed a part. The Boston Academy of Music deserves great praise for having brought more than one of them into notice. That these performances were rightly appreciated was evinced by the number of persons who attended even to hear them a second time. We trust the efforts of this institution will be liberally seconded on future occasions, and that it will be encouraged to persevere in the attempt to diffuse a more general knowledge of such classical works, and, by thus fostering a correct taste, protect us from the *diableries* of eccentrics and the absurdities of imitators.

According to M. Schindler, the music of Beethoven is hardly known in France. That his works are not so generally pleasing to the French people as to others, we can believe from what we have ourselves seen and heard, from the character of the nation, and from the style of the most popular music of its composers. There is ground for the opinion, that, as a people, the French more generally admire the music that is addressed to the heels than that which appeals to the heart and head. But the real amateurs and artists of France cannot but be familiar with and enjoy Beethoven. In England, where his music is oftener brought before the public, especially in London, it is no doubt better known and understood. Nor do we believe that his music is so much neglected in Germany as his biographer would give us to understand. We know that his best works have been published in various forms, and at such small cost as to make them accessible to all who would be likely to make use of them; and they are scattered throughout the country, and often performed in public and in private. That they may not be known and prized as universally as the waltzes of Strauss or the quadrilles of Musard, is

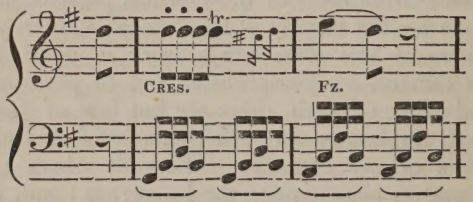
no matter of surprise, nor is it probable that they will ever be very generally popular in any country. The exciting fictions of "Boz" have become familiar to thousands, not one of whom may have enjoyed or can enjoy the creations of Shakspeare, and to tens of thousands to whom the beauties of Milton are wholly unknown. Although we are not inclined to admit the sweeping assertions of our author, we think he is correct in attributing a part, perhaps much, of the ignorance of Beethoven's compositions to the "absurdly refined mechanism of piano-forte playing, which, years ago, Beethoven justly feared would banish all truth of feeling from music." The only piano-forte compositions of Beethoven which have, according to Schindler, obtained attention from the French and "from most of the German pianists, are such as afford scope for the display of mechanical dexterity." The compositions of this class are inferior in poetic spirit, but much less difficult to comprehend and to perform. From the second to the thirtieth, there are but few of Beethoven's sonatas that are known to "the legion of fashionable piano-forte players of any country. The gods whom this legion worship have no place among the Immortals; and, if we estimate their productions by the standard of art, they must be ranked on a level with those musical idols of the day whose chief merit is, that they set the feet of the multitude in motion."

It is much to be regretted that Beethoven, or his pupil, Ries, has not given us the key to all his great works; by which we mean the scene, event, dialogue, or whatever subject or occasion led to the inspiration of the moment, or suggested the work. Any one who examines the analysis which M. Schindler has given of the beautiful sonatas comprised in Opera 14, and then performs them, or listens to their performance by skilful hands, will find they have a new charm, new beauties and ideas starting forth.

"These sonatas have for their subject a dialogue between a husband and wife, or a lover and his mistress. In the second sonata, this dialogue with its signification is very forcibly expressed. By the two parts, Beethoven intended to represent two principles, which he designated the *entreating* and the *resisting*. Even in the first bars the contrary motion marks the opposition of these principles.

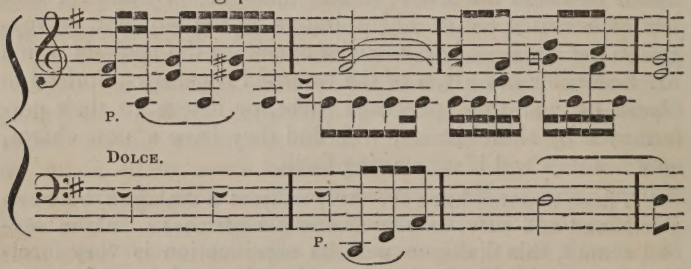


"By a soft gliding transition from earnest gravity to tenderness and feeling, the eighth bar introduces the entreating principle alone.



"This suing and flattering strain continues until the middle part is taken up in D major, when both principles are again brought into conflict, but not with the same degree of earnestness as at the commencement. The resisting principle is now relaxing, and allows the other to finish, without interruption, the phrase that has been begun.

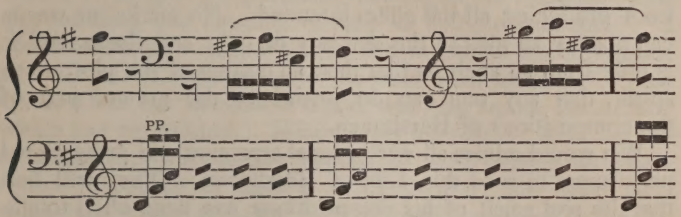
"In the following phrase



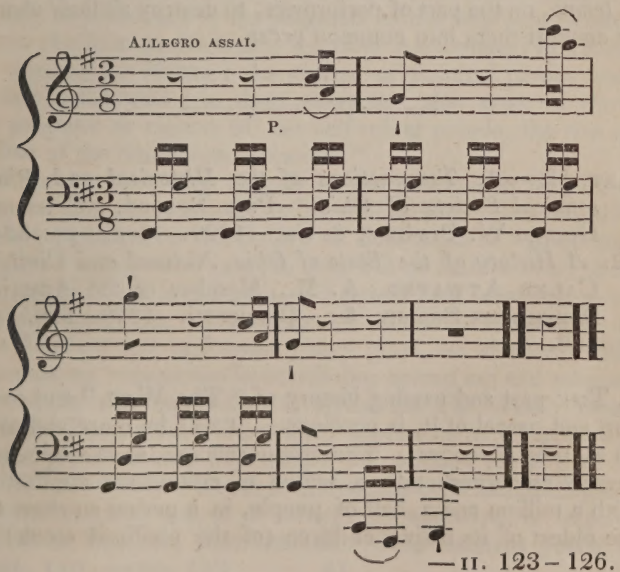
both approximate, and the mutual understanding is rendered distinctly perceptible by the succeeding cadence on the dominant.

"In the second section of the same movement the opposition is again resumed in the minor of the tonic, and the

resisting principle is energetically expressed in the phrase in A flat major. To this succeeds a pause on the chord of the dominant, and then in E flat the conflict is again resumed, till the tranquil phrase



comes in, as it were, like a preparation for mutual concord, for both repeat several times the same idea, resembling an interrogation, beginning slowly, and with lingering pauses, then over and over again in rapid succession. The introduction in the tonic of the principal motivo renews the conflict, and the feelings alternate as in the first part ; but, at the conclusion of the movement, the expected conciliation is still *in suspenso.* It is not completely brought about until the end of the sonata, when it is clearly indicated, and as it were expressed, on the final close of the piece, by a distinctly articulated ' Yes ! ' from the resisting principle.



—II. 123 – 126.

The difficulty of this piece is great, but it will amply repay careful and patient study. We have the usual marks and terms of expression ; but, however carefully the mere performer may adhere to these, he will still find that he is far from producing all the effect intended. No marks or words can convey an idea of the delicacy of light and shade, and it is only from an analysis like this, an outline of the plot, so to speak, that any one can do justice to the greater part of the compositions of Beethoven.

We would advise all our musical amateurs and professional performers to read this Life of Beethoven. They will find that the real spirit of his compositions has been often totally misunderstood ; they will gather many valuable and important hints as to the manner of conducting an orchestra, and will learn that to " perform Beethoven's music, without regard to meaning and clearness, is hunting to death the ideas of the immortal composer," — a mode of performance, which arises from ignorance of the sublime spirit of his works, and to which in a great degree is to be attributed their neglect. Still there is, as Moscheles remarks, so much intrinsic spirit and value in Beethoven's orchestral works, that it is beyond the power of occasional mistakes or exaggerations in *tempo*, on the part of performers, to destroy all their charm, or convert them into common prose.

Art. II. — 1. *Transactions of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.* Part Second. Cincinnati: George W. Bradbury & Co. 1839. 8vo. pp. 334.

2. *A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil*, by Caleb Atwater, A. M., Member of the American Antiquarian Society, &c. Cincinnati. 1838. 8vo. pp. 403.

The past and passing history of " The West," and every part and parcel of it, is precious. It will be more and more so as time advances. The transformation, as in Ohio, of a savage wilderness into a region of culture and civilization, with a million and a half of people, in a period so short that the oldest of its native children (of the civilized stock) are

yet in the prime of life, — is a most interesting phenomenon in human history. But the history of Ohio and other western States, has an aspect of much higher interest, as an important feature of the grand experiment enacting in our common country, touching the capacity of man for self-government. "I doubt not," says Mr. Perkins, in a discourse which forms a part of the "Transactions of the Historical Society," "that Ohio, when she became a State, was the truest democracy which had yet existed. How deeply interesting, then, her life as a State; — for it is a record of men uniting on a new central principle to form a living people; and every fact, every law, every demonstration of public opinion, in short, every exhibition of the living force, which is carrying this State, Ohio, on to good or evil, is of the deepest interest, of the last importance. We know not the value of these things; their very nearness hides their proportions from our eye, and great and small seem alike. But by and by, the proportions and relations of these things will be seen, and it should be our wish and aim to transmit to the future true records of what has been and daily is; of the founders of our State; the strong, blunt Putnam; the hopeful, rash Symmes; of the resistance of our people to the United States Bank in former days, and of their acquiescence in the judgment of the Supreme Court; of the abolition excitement; the riots in Cincinnati in 1836; the demand for Mahan; the change of political parties from the last to this year; in short every fact that goes to show the progress or regress of this self-ruling people, the rise or decline of the democratic principle."

Without concurring entirely in the premises of Mr. Perkins, we join most heartily in his conclusions. Let us add, that the materials for the history of Ohio must be indited and preserved from year to year, or they will be lost for ever. Society in the West is in a state,— if *state* it may be called,— of continual transition. The waves of emigration commence in New England and in Europe; they press on westward with accumulating volume and force, till they spread out and subside in what (for the time being) is styled the *Far West*. New York and Pennsylvania have many accessions by emigration; but the great western tide carries off perhaps more than it leaves. The yearly wave, as it approaches Ohio and Michigan, becomes mighty, and, as it sweeps on westward, is largely swelled by Southern contributions. Ohio receives yearly a

very large accession, but the number of emigrants from Ohio, were it exactly known, would be astounding. The mode of this migrating current is thus. Many emigrants from Europe and from the Eastern States have the means of purchasing improved farms. They therefore establish themselves in districts already settled, where they can at once enjoy the benefits of society, and procure more land and improvements, than could be had for the same prices in the regions they have left. The man who sells, has perhaps been a backwoodsman; he moves westward till he can obtain (perhaps from a real backwoodsman) a like or larger amount of land with less improvement and at a less price. The backwoodsman "pulls up stakes" and steers for some wilderness in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, or Wisconsin. So they go; and in this way the elements of society in the West are continually changing; with far less confusion and inconvenience, too, than the hereditary dwellers in old and stationary settlements can well imagine. It is true, that a large portion of the men of Ohio are become somewhat *rooted* in her soil; but, as things are now going on, it would not be strange, if, twenty years hence, the majority of its inhabitants should be found to be neither the men, nor the sons of the men, who are now its citizens. Where then, will be the *traditions* of Ohio? Scattered to the four winds. The varying phases of Ohio society must therefore be sketched *as they are flying by*, or never.

We have some encouragement, in this respect, from the fact that there is a Historical Society in the State, and that it has begun to publish its Transactions.

These consist of

1. Letters on the First Settlement of the Northwest Territory, by Jacob Burnet.
2. Annual Discourse, by Timothy Walker, December, 1837.
3. General Harrison's Discourse on the Aborigines of Ohio Valley.
4. A Discourse by J. H. Perkins.
5. An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Political Communities, by James T. Worthington.
6. A Fragment of the Early History of Ohio, by Arius Nye.

A very respectable collection. — But the Society has done little as yet, for the attainment of its object. The specula-

tive discourses are well and appropriate, by way of introduction. But the great aim should be to obtain the matters of fact necessary for the basis of correct history.

The inception of the New England Ohio Company movement is thus described in Mr. Nye's Address ;

"There resided in the western part of Massachusetts, in the village of Chesterfield, Hampshire County, General Benjamin Tupper, of the late revolutionary army in 1785 ; who, after the termination of the French war, in which he had served as a subaltern, had removed to his then residence from the eastern part of the same State ; and who had served (in several grades as a field officer,) throughout the war of Independence. By the favor and friendship of General Rufus Putnam, of the County of Worcester, General Tupper was appointed, from the State of Massachusetts, a surveyor, under the geographer, or surveyor-general, Hutchins, to commence the survey of the country northwest of the Ohio, under the ordinance of 1785 ; General Putnam, who was first proposed for that service, being then otherwise engaged. In the summer of that year General Tupper visited the Western country, coming as far as Pittsburg. The restlessness and turbulence of bands of the northwestern Indians interrupted and deferred the execution of that work ; which was afterwards begun with the seven ranges east of the Muskingum. General Tupper returned from the West in the winter of 1785–6. From the time of his retiring from the revolutionary army, he had, frequently, among his family and friends, intimated his intention to remove to the Western country ; so bold, however, at that time, seemed such an adventure, to those whom he addressed, that he was scarcely deemed in earnest in its proposal. His first visit to the country west of the Allegany mountains, seems to have increased that inclination of his mind. Nothing, however, as yet, was definitely resolved.

"To the village of Rutland, in the County of Worcester, in Massachusetts, had retired, from the toils and conflicts of the revolutionary contest, another war-worn veteran, General Rufus Putnam ; who had been distinguished for long-tried and important military services in that war. These two retired officers, Generals Tupper and Putnam, had, during their mutual service and intercourse in the Continental army, formed an intimate and reciprocal personal friendship. After the return of the former from his first journey to the West, he visited his friend General Putnam at his

residence in Rutland. A night of friendly offices and conference between them gave, at the dawn, a developement (how important in its results) to the cherished hope and purpose of the visit of General Tupper. They united in a publication, which appeared in the public papers of New England, on the 25th of January of that year (1786) headed 'Information,' dated at Rutland, Massachusetts, January 10th, 1786; signed — 'Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper'; a part of which is in these words; —

"'The subscribers take this method to inform all officers and soldiers, who have served in the late war, and who are by a late ordinance of the Honorable Congress, to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio country; and also, all other good citizens who wish to become adventurers in that delightful region, that, from personal inspection, together with other incontestable evidences, they are fully satisfied, that the lands in that quarter are of a much better quality than any other known to New England people; that the climate, seasons, products, etc., are in fact equal to the most flattering accounts which have ever been published of them; that, being determined to become purchasers, and to prosecute a settlement in this country, and desirous of forming a general association with those who entertain the same ideas, they beg leave to propose the following plan, viz. That an association by the name of the Ohio Company, be formed of all such as wish to become purchasers, etc., in that country, who reside in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only, or to extend to the inhabitants of other States, as shall be agreed on.

"'That, in order to bring such a company into existence, the subscribers propose, that all persons who wish to promote the scheme, should meet in their respective counties, at 10 o'clock, A. M., on Wednesday the 15th day of February next; and that each county meeting, there assembled, choose a delegate, or delegates, to meet at the Bunch-of-Grapes tavern, in Boston, on Wednesday the first day of March next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., then and there to consider and determine upon a general plan of association for said company; which plan, covenant, or agreement, being published, any person (under condition therein to be provided) may, by subscribing his name, become a member of the company.'

"Here you may see the 'small cloud,' which has advanced and expanded, till it has, under Providence, showered blessings upon the Western clime, in the 'Ohio country'; the 'grain of mustard seed,' which, in its growth, has overshad-

owed the land! There is one citizen of Ohio* now living, who heard the announcement of the result of that conference (in which important measures and events were first conceived) from the lips of his venerated father; whose wise forecast and experienced eye caught even then, from the shadow of coming events, a glimpse of what is now, in the broad light of day, revealed to our senses.

"The *Address* resulted in the proposed meeting, and in the formation of a company since known by the name given by these first proprietors. In the proceedings of that meeting, an inducement to the measure is stated in 'the very pleasing description of the western country given by Generals Putnam and Tupper, and others.' And it was said to be 'expedient to form a settlement there.' The second meeting of the Company was held at Boston, 8th March, 1787. Meantime events had occurred in Massachusetts of an important and alarming character; which, it may be presumed, contributed to increase the disposition in the New England States to seek in the West a new home. The discontents, which have been alluded to, had arisen in Massachusetts, in the winter of 1786-7, to actual and fearful civil commotion; which precipitated itself in the insurrection headed by Shays. The most imposing and threatening movement of the people, headed by that leader, and made upon the town of Springfield, where the public stores were deposited, was, in that winter, repelled by a handful of brave men, volunteers on the side of the government and order, under the command of General Shepard, and more immediate direction of General Tupper, who had then just returned from a second journey to the Western country, and whose immediate neighbourhood was deeply infected with the sedition.

"At the second meeting, in Boston, March 8th, 1787, of the Ohio Company, *directors* were appointed, with authority to make application to the Congress for a private purchase of lands, and under such descriptions as they should deem adequate to the purposes of the company. At a third meeting in Boston, August 29th, 1787, the Rev. *Manasseh Cutler*, who with the late Major Winthrop Sargent, had been appointed to negotiate a purchase, reported a contract for the purchase, from the then government." — *Transactions*, p. 321.

Mr. Walker, in his Annual Discourse (1837), paints in strong colors the hazards of the first settlements in the North-

* William Rufus Putnam, Esquire, whose name headed the list of Ohio electors of President Harrison in 1840.

west Territory, the spirit with which they were encountered, and the character of the early emigrants.

"Dark images of loneliness, hardship, and peril, served to test the daring spirit of the pioneers, and give their enterprise a character for dauntless heroism. These immense forests were thronged with savages, who claimed to hold them by right of immemorial occupancy, and were sternly resolved to defend them against the white intruder. Even now some remnants of these once powerful tribes still linger within our borders; but they are subdued, degraded, broken-hearted; and we only see in them the shattered remnants of former prowess, — no longer objects of fear, but rather of pity and regret; and, in the perfect security which we now enjoy, it is scarcely possible to form an adequate idea of the condition of the first settlers, every moment exposed to these remorseless enemies, and far removed from all hope of human aid. In the beautiful language applied to the first settlers of New England,

> "'There were men with hoary hair
> Amidst that Pilgrim band;
> Why had they come to wither there,
> Away from their childhood's land?
>
> "'There was woman's fearless eye,
> Lit by her deep love's truth;
> There was manhood's brow serenely high,
> And the fiery heart of youth.'"

They had not indeed been driven to seek a 'faith's pure shrine'; but they had come voluntarily to seek a home, — a new, wild, forest home, — not such a home as they have left to us; but lacking every thing which we enjoy, and environed with terrors of which we do not dream.

"To have commenced a settlement in the midst of such foes, and to have sustained it through such an infancy, is proof conclusive, if proof were wanted, that the first immigrants brought with them, and here practised, all the stern and lofty virtues of our nature. The West at once became a school for heroism.

"After the pacification of Fort Greenville, all discouragements were removed, and the tide of immigration rushed westward in torrents. In the Eastern States the most extravagant reports were circulated of Ohio fertility, the soil was said to be endowed with a self-generating power, which required no seed. Men were to reap abundantly without ploughing or sowing, and all was to be ease and plenty. I can well re-

member when, in Massachusetts, the rage for moving to Ohio was so great, that resort was had to counteracting fictions, in order to discourage it; and this region was represented as cold, sterile, sickly, and full of all sorts of monsters. Nor was this all. The powerful engine of caricature was set in motion. I have a distinct recollection of a picture, which I saw in boyhood, prefixed to a penny, *anti-moving-to-Ohio-pamphlet*, in which a stout, ruddy, well-dressed man, on a sleek, fat horse, with a label '*I am going to Ohio*', meets a pale, and ghastly skeleton of a man, scarcely half dressed, on the wreck of what was once a horse, already bespoken by the more politic crows, with a label '*I have been to Ohio.*' But neither falsehood nor ridicule could deter the enterprising from seeking a new home. Hither they came in crowds. They did not indeed bring affluence with them, but they brought the bold heart and strong hand, which are infinitely better to reclaim a wilderness. It may be laid down as an *a priori* truth, that a population made up of immigrants will contain the hardy and vigorous elements of character in a far greater proportion, than the same number of persons, born upon the soil, brought up at home, and accustomed to tread in the footsteps of their fathers. As a general rule, it is only the more resolute and energetic class of spirits, that can nerve themselves to the effort required for severing the numberless local, social, and family ties, which bind men to their birthplace. And then, upon arriving in a new country, the very necessity of their condition compels them to think, act, and even originate for themselves. There are no familiar customs, which require only the passive acquiescence of habit. There are no alliances of family or neighbourhood, in which one leans upon another, and each helps all. On the contrary, immigrants meet as strangers, unknowing and unknown, and must depend upon their own resources. Like soldiers of fortune, who, staking all upon the sword, have thrown away the scabbard, they know that they must either 'do or die.' Every thing around them cherishes that intense feeling of individuality and self-confidence, which always makes a strong, if not a polished character. And such preëminently was the character of the early settlers,— bold, free, resolute, self-dependent, the very character to lay deep and strong the foundations of a state.

"Much also may be justly ascribed to the section of our country, from which so large a number of the first immigrants came. I mean the New England States. Far be it from me to harbour or encourage the narrow sentiment of sectional

pride. If men behave themselves as men, I care not from what quarter of the United States they come. Never would I draw lines among the stars of our banner, to divide them into separate constellations. But the same feeling which would hinder me from depreciating any portion of our countrymen, would impel me to vindicate them, if unjustly aspersed. And is not this the fact with regard to the people of New England? Because, in Europe, all Americans are sneered at as Yankees, until the term has become one of reproach; and because, from some reason, which I am not antiquary enough to understand, Americans have chosen to restrict this appellation to the people of New England, its foreign obloquy has become native only there; and thus, through an unpatriotic imitation of foreign slang, they have been proverbially damned by a cant expression. I know no other reason for this unfounded prejudice, unless it be, that the whole race have been judged of by a few strolling specimens, in the shape of pedlers and swindlers, who early roamed abroad, because they could not stay at home; and, like the subtraction of negative quantities, increased the value of what they left behind. But all states contain such characters; and it would seem to be to the honor of any people to spurn them from their bosom. If, therefore, New England has suffered in the opinion of her sister States, because they may have been molested by some of her recreant sons, for whom her own atmosphere was uncongenial, she must solace herself with this consideration. But the truth is, that the world has never seen a more honest, industrious, frugal, intelligent, orderly, and generous people, than the aggregate population of New England. Stigmatize them by what name you please, this, all who have been among them, know; and strangers would know it too, if they would but weigh the evidence; for without the possession of all these qualities in the highest degree, how could that enterprising people have flourished as they have, and accomplished what they have, on their comparatively bleak and barren soil? But why attempt to eulogize a people, whose whole history is one continued strain of eulogy? I count it, therefore, among the eminently favorable circumstances attending the first settlement of Ohio, that so large a proportion of the early inhabitants were of the substantial yeomanry of New England. With their energies, and this soil, they could not but thrive rapidly; and the customs, opinions, and tastes, in which they had been reared, have been proved to constitute the choicest elements of social organization." —*Transactions*, pp. 192 – 197.

The accounts heretofore published concerning the New England "Ohio Company" are fraught with inaccuracies. The "Transactions under review" are not free from them. Mr. Walker (p. 184) says, "On the 7th of April, 1788, Cutler and his fellow pioneers from New England arrived at (the place afterwards named) Marietta, and there began the settlement of Ohio." Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton, was doubtless here referred to, but he was not in that expedition. Even Mr. Nye, a native of Marietta, a grandson of General Tupper, and well versed in Ohio history, in his Address (p. 321) states, that Winthrop Sargent had been appointed with Dr. Cutler to negotiate a purchase of lands for the Company. This is an error, though not a very material one; it is easy to be accounted for, since Cutler and Sargent actually signed the contract. We have now the materials, and shall endeavour to give a true history of the New England Ohio Company.

Much has been said about the selection of the "Ohio Company's purchase" by General Parsons, who, as we shall show, visited the Ohio before the inception of the business by General Putnam and General Tupper, and was at the mouth of the Great Miami at the very time when that interesting conference took place at Rutland. By whom and on whose advice the selection for the purchase was made, we shall presently show.

General Samuel Holden Parsons was a commissioner appointed by the Old Congress to hold a council, and treat, with the Western Indians, particularly the Shawanoes, at the mouth of the Great Miami. The council assembled in the autumn of 1785. A treaty with the Shawanoes was concluded January 31st, 1786. We have before us an interesting original letter from General Parsons, which he wrote while on this mission from what he calls Fort Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami, and which we shall lay before our readers. It will show, indeed, that he was looking intently for a "place" for settlement. But he had no authority to "select." The New England Ohio Company was formed March 1st, 1786; the selection was made by Dr. Cutler at New York in July, 1787, under the advice of Thomas Hutchins, United States' Geographer. The letter is as follows;

"*Fort Finney, 20th December*, 1785.

"Sir, — Since I left the Muskingum, I have been as far as

the falls of the Ohio, one hundred and fifty miles below this post. That place is in latitude 38° 8′ ; this is in about 39° 30′. From the Muskingum to the falls the lands preserve a great uniformity in appearance and quality. The first place that drew my attention for a settlement, after I passed your post, was the great Konahway, in latitude 39° about one hundred and twelve miles below you. This is a fine river navigable eighty miles, which will bring us within one hundred miles of the Virginia settlements. The lands on the Indian shore are preferable to those on the Konahway. The next place for settlement is this spot. The Miami is a large fine river on which the Shawanese and other nations live. The portage from the head waters to the waters falling into the Lake and to the heads of the Wabash is very trifling ; of course this must be a place of considerable Indian commerce. The lands are very fine. Its situation on the Ohio and Miami forms a peninsula, which, including a town of six miles square, cannot be more than nine miles at the head. As we came down the river, we were fired upon by the Indians, at a place called the Three Islands, about twenty miles above Limestone (Maysville), but suffered no damage. We returned the fire, I believe with no better success, though we were not fifty yards asunder.

" Since we have been here, every measure has been taken to bring in the Indians. The Wyandots and Delawares are here; the other nations were coming, and were turned back by the Shawanese. These at last sent two of their tribe to examine our situation and satisfy themselves of our designs. With these men we were very open and explicit. We told them we were fully convinced of their designs in coming ; that we were fully satisfied with it ; that they were at liberty to take their own way and time to answer the purposes they came for ; that we were desirous of living in peace with them ; and for that purpose had come with offers of peace to them, which they would judge of, and whether peace or war was most for their interest ; that we very well knew the measures the British agents had taken to deceive them. That if they came to the treaty, any man who had filled their ears with those stories was at liberty to come with them and return in safety. But if they refused to treat with us, we should consider it as a declaration of war on their part, &c. &c. These men stayed about us eight days, and then told us they were fully convinced our designs were good ; that they had been deceived ; that they would return home, and use their influence to bring in their nation, and send out to the other nations. Last night we received a belt of Wampum and a twist of tobacco, with a message that they would be in when we had smoked the tobacco. From our information we are led to believe these people will

very generally come in and heartily concur with us in peace. I think it not probable the treaty will begin sooner than January.

"The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced are all opposed to a treaty, and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have very convincing proofs of its reality. The causes I can assign, but they are too many for the compass of a letter. Notwithstanding all treaties we can make, I am convinced we shall not be in safety until we have posts established in the upper country. Some parties of Cherokees are now out to war, therefore mind the first word of command. These Cherokees are but a name for all rascals of every tribe. We are informed by the Shawanese that they have driven these people from among them, and that they have settled on Paint Creek, up the Scioto, and are about one hundred in number.

"I have seen no place since I left you, that pleases me so well for settlement as Muskingum. What observations you make I will thank you to communicate, — much more frequent opportunities occurring to you than to me for writing with safe conveyance. Please to present my compliments to Major Doughty, Mr. Frothingham, and other gentlemen of your post, and believe me, dear Sir, your friend and brother,

"S. H. Parsons.

"Captain Jonathan Hart, at Fort Harmer, Muskingum."

The meeting which convened at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern in Boston, March 1st, 1786, in answer to the call of Putnam and Tupper, was a convention of delegates from different counties in Massachusetts. Their names were,

Winthrop Sargent, John Mills,	From Suffolk;
Manasseh Cutler,	" Essex;
John Brooks, Thomas Cushing,	" Middlesex;
Benjamin Tupper,	" Hampshire;
Crocker Sampson,	" Plymouth;
Rufus Putnam,	" Worcester;
John Patterson, Jahlahiel Woodbridge,	" Berkshire;
Abraham Williams,	" Barnstable.

A committee to draft a plan of Association was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Putnam, Cutler, Brooks, Sargent, and Cushing. Their report was made March 2d, and adopted March 3d. We quote the characteristic points of the plan.

"*Preamble.* The design of this Association is to raise a fund in Continental certificates, for the sole purpose, and to be ap-

propriated to the entire use of purchasing lands in the Western Territory, for the benefit of the Company, and to promote a settlement in that country."

The fund was not to exceed a million of dollars. One year's interest was to be applied to the purpose of making a settlement, and "assisting those who may be otherwise unable to remove themselves." The funds were to be paid by subscribers into the hands of such agents as the subscribers should elect.

There were to be one thousand shares of one thousand dollars each, making a million; — each share-holder to pay ten dollars in gold and silver to defray the expenses of purchasing and other contingent charges in the prosecution of the business.

That the prosecution of the Company's designs may be the least expensive;

"The proprietors of twenty shares shall constitute one grand division, appoint their agent," &c.

"The agent shall make himself accountable to each subscriber that the whole shall be appropriated according to these articles of Association, and that the subscriber shall receive his just dividend as to quantity and quality of lands purchased, as near as possibly may be, by lot drawn in person, or through proxy, and that deeds of conveyance shall be executed to individual subscribers, by the agents, similar to that he shall receive from the Directors."

"*Article* 8th. That the agents, being accountable to subscribers for their respective divisions, shall appoint the Directors, treasurer, and fill up all vacancies which may happen in these offices."

"*Article* 11th. The agents of divisions of twenty shares each, shall, after the seventeenth day of October next, proceed in the same manner as if the whole fund had been raised."

In about a year, the subscription had gone so far that a meeting of agents was held, March 8th, at Bracket's Tavern, Boston, and Samuel H. Parsons, Rufus Putnam, and Manasseh Cutler were chosen Directors to make application to Congress "for a private purchase of lands, and under such descriptions as they shall deem adequate to the purposes of the Company."

This Board of Directors authorized Dr. Cutler to make a contract with the "Continental Congress" for a portion of

the Great Western Territory of the Union. A better choice could not have been made. Mr. Flint, in his "Indian Wars of the West," has the following remarks relative to early Ohio emigration, and to Dr. Cutler;

"The writer of this distinctly remembers the wagon that carried out a number of adventurers from the Counties of Essex and Middlesex, in Massachusetts, on the second emigration to the woods of Ohio. He remembers the black canvass covering of the wagon; the white and large lettering in capitals, '*To Marietta on the Ohio.*' He remembers the food which even then the thought of such a distant expedition furnished to his imagination. Some twenty emigrants accompanied the wagon. The Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, he thinks, had the direction of this band of emigrants. General Putnam seems to have been the one who preceded him in claims to be the patriarch of the Marietta settlement. Dr. Cutler, at the time of his being engaged in the speculation of the Ohio Company's purchase, had a feud, — it is not remembered whether literary, political, or religious, — with the late learned and eccentric Dr. Bentley, of Salem, Massachusetts. Dr. Bentley was then chief contributor to a paper [Salem Register] which he afterwards edited. The writer still remembers, and can repeat doggrel verses by Dr. Bentley upon the departure of Dr. Cutler on his first trip to explore his purchase on the Ohio.*

"The first travellers to explore Ohio, availed themselves of the full extent of the travellers' privilege in regard to the wonders of this new land of promise, and the unparalleled fertility of the soil. These extravagant representations of the grandeur of the vegetation, and the fertility of the land, at first excited a great desire to emigrate to this new and wonderful region. But some returned with different accounts, in discouragement; and the hostility of the savages was painted in the most appalling colors. A reaction took place in the public mind. The wags of the day exercised their wit, in circulating caricatured and exaggerated editions of the stories of the first adventurers, that there were springs of brandy, flax that bore little pieces of cloth on the stems, enormous pumpkins and melons, and the like. Accounts the most horrible were added of hoop snakes of such deadly malignity that a sting, which they bore in their tails, when it punctured the bark of a green tree, instantly caused its leaves to become sear, and the tree to die. Stories of Indian massacres and barbarities were related in all their horrors. The country was admitted to be fertile; but was

* A republication of these doggerels would much amuse the men of the West.

pronounced excessively sickly, and poorly balancing, by that advantage, all those counterpoises of sickness, Indians, *copper-headed and hoop snakes*, bears, wolves, and panthers.

"The tendency of the New England mind to enterprise and emigration thus early began to develope. For all these horrors, portrayed in all their darkness, and with all the dreadful imaginings, connected with the thought of such a remote and boundless wilderness, did not hinder the departure of great numbers of the people, following in the footsteps of General Putnam and Dr. Cutler. They were both men of established character, whose words and opinions wrought confidence. Dr. Cutler was a man of extensive and various learning. He was particularly devoted to the study of natural history, and was among the first who began, scientifically, to explore the botany of our country. He had great efficiency in founding the upper settlement in Ohio; and his descendants are among the most respectable inhabitants of the country at present."

By the favor of Judge Cutler,* we have before us a manuscript book of extracts from the private journal of Dr. Cutler, recording the incidents of his journey to New York, and the history of his negotiation. It is a record of great interest, containing many curious and discriminating remarks on men and things. We shall make copious extracts, confining ourselves to passages which have particular relation to the mission.

Dr. Cutler left his home in Hamilton, Massachusetts, for New York, (where the Congress of the old confederation was sitting,) in June, 1787. The Convention, which framed the new federal Constitution, was sitting at the same time in Philadelphia. The Doctor procured letters of introduction from his friends in Massachusetts to distinguished men in both cities. We commence our extracts from the journal.

"June 23, 1787. Waited on Dr. Willard, (President of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts,) who favored me with a number of letters to gentlemen at the southward. Received several from Dr. Williams, and went with him to Boston. Received letters of introduction from Governor Bowdoin, Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Warren, Dr. Dexter, Mr. Guild, Mr. Belknap, &c. Conversed with General Putnam, received

* Son of Dr. Cutler, and an old and distinguished citizen of Washington County, Ohio.

letters, and settled the plan on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company."

"Middletown, Connecticut, July 2. It was nine o'clock this morning before General Parsons and I had settled all matters with respect to my business with Congress. He favored me with a large number of letters to members of Congress and other gentlemen in New York."

"July 5. I arrived at New York. When I came to examine my letters of introduction, I found them so accumulated that I hardly knew which to deliver first. As this is rather a curiosity to me, I am determined to preserve a catalogue, although only a part are to be delivered at New York."

Here follows a catalogue of upwards of fifty names, among which are the following;

"*New York.* Rev. Dr. Rogers, Sir John Temple, Lady Temple, General Knox, Hon. Richard H. Lee, M. C., Hon. Melancthon Smith, do., Hon. R. Sherman, do., General St. Clair, President of Congress," &c.

"*Philadelphia.* Dr. Franklin, Dr. Rush, Dr. Shippen, Hon. T. Pickering, David Rittenhouse," &c.

"Friday, July 6. This morning, delivered most of my introductory letters to members of Congress. Prepared my papers for making my application to Congress for the purchase of lands in the Western country for the Ohio Company. At eleven o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress chamber, in the city hall, by Colonel Carrington, member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. A committee was appointed to agree on terms of negotiation, and report to Congress."

The next succeeding extracts will show when, by whom, and by whose advice the final selection was made for the Company's purchase.

"July 7. Paid my respects to Dr. Holton and several other gentlemen. Was *introduced*, by Dr. Ewings and Mr. Rittenhouse *to Mr. Hutchins, Geographer of the United States. Consulted with him where to make our location.*

"Monday, July 9. *Waited this morning, very early, on Mr. Hutchins.* He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois, and *advised me by all means to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole western country.* Attended the committee before Congress opened, and then spent the remainder of the forenoon *with Mr. Hutchins.*"

"Attended the committee at Congress chamber; debated on terms, but were so wide apart, there appears little prospect of closing a contract."

"*Called again on Mr. Hutchins. Consulted him further about the place of location.*"

Mr. Hutchins, it should be remembered, visited and examined the regions of the Ohio, as geographer to the king of Great Britain, before the revolutionary war.

Mr. Webster supposes the original draft, by Mr. Dane, of the celebrated ordinance of 1787, to have been adopted "without the slightest alteration." But it appears, by Dr. Cutler's journal, that it was submitted to him, and that he proposed divers alterations, which were adopted. The Doctor was by no means ill qualified for such a revision, having been engaged in the study of law before he entered upon that of theology.

"July 10. As Congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill has been prepared, and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, which I had taken the liberty to remark upon and propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable time to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly, after I had returned the bill with my observations, I set out at seven o'clock."

On the 17th of July, 1787, Dr. Cutler returned to New York.

"July 19. Called on members of Congress very early this morning; was furnished with the ordinance establishing a government in the Western Federal Territory. It is in a degree new modelled. The amendments I proposed have all been made, except one, and that is better qualified. It was, that we should not be subject to continental taxation, unless we were entitled to a full representation in Congress. This could not be fully obtained; for it was considered in Congress as offering a premium to emigrants."

Few negotiations were ever prosecuted with more assiduity and skill than that of Dr. Cutler, as will be evident from the further extracts we shall make from his journal. It was an arduous business, but was brought to a successful issue in ten days after the Doctor's return to New York.

"July 13. Paid my respects this morning to the President of Congress, General St. Clair."

"*July* 19. Called on members of Congress very early this morning."

"As there are a number in Congress decidedly opposed to my terms of negotiation, and some to any contract, I wish now to ascertain the number for and against, and who they are; and must then, if possible, bring the opponents over. This I have mentioned to Colonel Duer, who has promised to assist me. Grayson, R. H. Lee, and Carrington are certainly my warm advocates."

"Clarke, Bingham, Yates, Kearney, and Few are troublesome fellows. They must be attacked by my friends at their lodgings. If they can be brought over I shall succeed; if not, my business is at an end.

"Attended the committee this morning. They are determined to make a report to-day, and try the spirit of Congress.

"Spent the evening at Dr. Holton's with Colonel Duer and several members of Congress, who informed me, that an ordinance was passed in consequence of my petition; but, from the account of it, it will answer no purpose.

"*July* 20. This morning the Secretary of Congress furnished me with the ordinance of yesterday, which states the conditions of a contract; but on terms to which I shall by no means accede. Informed the Committee of Congress, that I could not contract on the conditions proposed; should prefer purchasing land with some of the States, who would give incomparably better terms; and therefore proposed to leave the city immediately. They appeared to be sorry no better terms were effected, and insisted on my not thinking of leaving Congress until another attempt was made. I told them I saw no prospect of contracting, and wished to spend no more time and money in a business so unpromising. They assured me I had many friends in Congress, who would make every exertion in my favor; that it was an object of great magnitude, and *must not expect to accomplish it in less than two or three months.* If I desired it, they would take the matter up this day on different grounds, and did not doubt they should yet obtain terms agreeable to my wishes."

The paragraphs we next quote, not only disclose a part of the latent machinery by which the negotiations were brought to a successful issue, but may throw light on the mysterious subject of the "Sciota Company," by whose professed agents the French emigrants, who finally settled at Gallipolis, were brought into such embarrassing circumstances.

"Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, *to extend our contract, and take in another company;* but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted and offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably; Sargent insisted on my undertaking; and both urged me not to think of giving the matter up so soon.

"I was convinced it was best for me to hold up the idea of giving up a contract with Congress, and making a contract with some of the States, which I did in the strongest terms, and represented to the Committee and to Duer and Sargent the difficulties I saw in the way, and the improbability of closing a bargain when we were so far separated; and told them I conceived it not worth while to say any thing further to Congress on the subject. This appeared to have the effect I wished. The Committee were mortified and did not seem to know what to say; but still urged another attempt. I left them in this state, but afterwards explained my views to Duer and Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Promised Duer to consider his proposals.

"I spent the evening (closeted) with Colonel Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if terms could be obtained, for another company, which will probably forward the negotiation.

"*Saturday, July* 21. Several members of Congress called on me early this morning. They discovered much anxiety about a contract, and assured me that Congress, on finding I was determined not to accept their terms, and had proposed leaving the city, had discovered a much more favorable disposition; and believed, if I renewed my request I might obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. I was very indifferent and talked much of the advantages of a contract with one of the States. This I found had the desired effect. At length I told them that if Congress would accede to the terms I proposed, I would extend the purchase to the tenth township from the Ohio to the Scioto inclusively; by which Congress would pay more than four millions of the public debt; that our intention was, an *actual, large,* and *immediate settlement,* of the most robust and industrious people in America, and that it would be made systematically, which would instantly advance the price of the Federal lands, and prove an important acquisition to Congress. On these terms, I would renew the negotiation, if Congress was disposed to take the matter up again.

"I spent the evening with Mr. Dane and Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Congress had taken up my business again."

"*July* 23. My friends had made every exertion, in private conversation to bring over my opponents in Congress. In order to get at some of them so as to work more powerfully on their minds, were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person who engaged a second, and he a third, before we could effect our purpose. In these manœuvres I am much beholden to Colonel Duer and Major Sargent.

"The matter was taken up in Congress and warmly debated till three o'clock, when another ordinance was obtained. This was not to the mind of our friends, who were now considerably increased in Congress; but they conceived it better than the former; and they had obtained an additional clause, empowering the Board of Treasury to take *order* upon this ordinance, and complete the contract on the general principles contained in it, which still left room for negotiation."

"Spent the evening with Colonel Grayson and other members from the Southward, who were in favor of a contract."

"Having found it impossible to support General Parsons, as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General H. St. Clair had secured, I embraced this opportunity to declare, that if General Parsons could have the appointment of first judge, and Sargent secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency General St. Clair might be the governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members in his favor. This I found rather pleasing to Southern members.

"*July* 24. I received this morning a letter from the Board of Treasury, enclosing the resolutions of Congress which passed yesterday, and requesting to know whether I was ready to close a contract on those terms."

At this stage of the business, Dr. Cutler solicited and obtained the coöperation of Winthrop Sargent in the agency. The Doctor took this step on his own responsibility. Cutler and Sargent then addressed the Treasury Board, and proposed to contract on terms somewhat different from those proposed by Congress. The struggle now was to bring Congress to consent to the terms they proposed in behalf of the Ohio Company.

"Dined with Mr. Hillegas, Treasurer of the United States. Spent the evening with Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of Treasury, who appeared to be very solicitous to be fully informed of our plan. No gentleman has a higher character for planning and calculating than Mr. Osgood; I was therefore

much pleased to have an opportunity of fully explaining it to him. But we were interrupted by company ; we however went over the outlines, and he appeared well disposed."

"*July* 25. This morning the Board of Treasury sent our letter to the Secretary of Congress requesting him to lay it before Congress for their approbation or rejection."

"Mr. Osgood requested me to dine with him, assuring me he had purposely omitted inviting any other company, that we might not be interrupted in going over our plan. I had been repeatedly assured that Mr. Osgood was my friend, and that he censured Congress for not contracting on the terms I had offered ; but such is the intrigue and artifice often practised by men in power, I felt suspicious and was cautious as possible. Our plan, however, I had no scruple to communicate, and went over it in all its parts. Mr. Osgood made many valuable observations : the extent of his information astonished me. His views of the Continent of Europe were so enlarged that he appeared to be a perfect master of every subject of this kind. He highly approved our plan and told me he thought it the best ever formed in America. He dwelt much on the advantages of system in a new settlement, said system had never before been attempted, that we might depend on accomplishing our purposes in Europe ; that it was a most important part of our plan ; if we were able to establish a settlement as proposed, however small in the beginning, we should then have encountered our greatest difficulty ; that every other object would be within our reach ; and if the matter was pursued with spirit, he believed it would prove one of the greatest undertakings ever yet attempted in America. He thought Congress would do an essential service to the United States, if they gave us the land, rather than our plan should be defeated ; and promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor. We spent the afternoon and evening alone and very agreeably."

"*July* 26. This morning I accompanied General St. Clair and General Knox on a tour of morning visits, and particularly to the Foreign ministers. '*Sieur Otto*,' French charge, '*Don Diego Guardoqui*,' Spanish, *Mynheer* '*Van Berckle*,' Dutch ; a frank, open Dutchman who speaks bad English but is very talkative. He is fond of conversing about the Western Country, and seems to interest himself much in the settlement of the Western lands."

"Being now eleven, General St. Clair was obliged to attend Congress. After we came into the street, General St. Clair assured me he would make every possible exertion to prevail with Congress to accept the terms contained in our letter. He appeared much interested and very friendly, but

said we must expect opposition. I am fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons and openly appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed governor. — Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members in favor of his appointment. I immediately went to Sargent and Duer, and we now entered into the true spirit of negotiation with great bodies. Every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work we now put in motion. Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is hope ; but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power. — The Board of Treasury, I think, will do us much service, if Dr. Lee is not against us ; though Duer assures me I have *got the length of his foot*, and that he calls me an *open, frank, honest*, New England Man, which he considers *an extraordinary animal.*"

"Dined with Sir John Temple, in company with several gentlemen. Immediately after dining, called on Dr. Holton. He told me Congress had been warmly engaged in our business the whole day, that the opposition was lessened, but our friends did not think it prudent to come to a vote, lest there should not be a majority in favor. *I felt much discouraged*, and told the Doctor I thought it in vain to wait any longer, and should certainly leave the city the next day. He cried out on my impatience, said if I obtained my purpose in a *month* from that time, I should be far more expeditious than was common in getting much smaller matters through Congress ; that it was of great magnitude ; for it far exceeded any private contract ever made before in the United States. That if I should fail now, I ought still to pursue the matter ; for I should most certainly, finally obtain the object I wished. To comfort me he assured me it was impossible for him to conceive by what kind of address I had so soon and so warmly engaged the attention of Congress ; for, since he had been a member of that body, he assured me on his honor, that he never knew so much attention paid to any one person, who made application to them on any kind of business, nor did he ever know them to be more pressing to bring it to a close. He could not have supposed that any three men from *New England*, even of the first characters, could have accomplished so much in so short a time.

"This, I believe was mere flattery, though it was delivered with a very serious air ; but it gave me some consolation. I now learned very nearly who were for and who were against the terms. Bingham is come over ; but Few and Kearney are stubborn.

"Unfortunately there are only eight States represented, and unless seven of the eight are in favor, no ordinance can pass.*

"Every moment of this evening until two o'clock was busily employed; a warm siege was laid on Few and Kearney from different quarters; and if the point is not effectually carried, the attack is to be renewed in the morning. Duer, Sargent, and myself have also agreed, if we fail, that Sargent shall go on to Maryland, which is not at present represented, and prevail on the members to come on, and to interest them in our plan. I am to go to Connecticut and Rhode Island to solicit the members from those States to go on to New York and lay an anchor to the windward with them. As soon as those States are represented, Sargent is to renew the application; and have promised Duer, if it is found necessary. I will then return to New York again."

We come now to the LAST DAY of the negotiation which opened on the Doctor with little hope, but closed with the joys of victory.

"*Friday, July* 27. I rose very early this morning, and, after adjusting my baggage for my return, for I was determined to leave New York this day, I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the city that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I should, however, wait the decision of Congress; and if the terms I had stated, — and which I conceived to be very advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country, — were not acceded to, we must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges, beyond what we have asked of Congress. The speculating plan, concerted between the British of Canada, was now well known. The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men thoroughly attached to the Federal Government, and composed of young, robust and hardy laborers, who had no idea of any other than the Federal Government, I conceived to be an object worthy of some attention. Besides, if Congress rejected the terms now

* Our readers remember, that, in the Congress of the Old Confederation, the vote *was taken by States*, each State having one vote.

offered, there could be no prospect of an application from any other quarter, if a fair and honorable purchase could not be made, I presumed a contract with the natives, similar to that made with the Six Nations must be the consequence, especially as it might be much more easily carried into effect.

"These and such like were the arguments I urged; they seemed to be fully acceded to; but whether they will avail is very uncertain. Mr. R. H. Lee assured me he was ready prepared for one hour's speech, and he hoped for success; all urged me not to leave the city so soon; but I assumed the air of perfect indifference, which had, apparently, the effect I wished. Passing the city hall, as the members were going into Congress, Colonel Carrington told me he believed Few was secured; that little Kearney was left alone, and that he was determined to make one trial of what he could do in Congress."

"At half past three I was informed that AN ORDINANCE HAD PASSED on the terms stated in our letter *without the least variation.* This was agreeable but unexpected intelligence." "Sargent and I went immediately to the Board [of Treasury,] and after making a general verbal adjustment, left it with Sargent to furnish what remained to be done for the present. I proposed three months for collecting the first half million of dollars and for executing the instruments of contract, which was acceded to."*

"By this ordinance we obtained the grant of near five million of acres of land, amounting to three million and a half of dollars; one million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company."

The ordinance of July 23d, referred to by Dr. Cutler, provided for the sales, by the "Board of Treasury," to any person or persons, of a tract "bounded by the Ohio from the mouth of the Scioto to the intersection of the western boundary of the seventh range of townships," thence "to the northern boundary of the tenth Township from the Ohio," thence due west to the Scioto, "thence by the Scioto to the beginning."

These boundaries would have included Zanesville and Columbus. The tract actually bargained for by the Company is thus described.

* The contract was executed according to this arrangement, October 27th, 1787.

"From the seventh range of townships, extending along the Ohio southwesterly to the place where the west line of the seventeenth range of townships would intersect that river; thence northerly so far that a line drawn due east to the western boundary of said seventh range of townships, would, with the other lines, include one million and a half of acres of land, besides the reserves."

These reserves were;

Two complete townships of good land for the purposes of a University.

The lot, No. 16, in every township, or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the maintenance of schools within said township;

The lot, No 29, in every township, or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the purposes of religion.

The lots No. 8, 11, and 26 in each township, or fractional part of a township, to be reserved for the future disposition of Congress.

The price to the Ohio Company was to be two thirds of a dollar per acre; one million five hundred thousand acres for one million dollars, one half to be paid down, and the other half, one month after the outlines of the purchase should have been surveyed in behalf of the United States, "in gold or silver or in securities of the said United States."

The Company were allowed to enter upon the southeasterly part of the purchase, to the amount of seven hundred and fifty thousand acres, excepting the reserved tracts. This tract extended down the Ohio so as to include the fifteenth range of townships, and it was all the Company ever obtained, excepting two hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five acres, paid for in army bounty rights, and one hundred thousand acres to be *given* to actual settlers.

At a meeting of the Directors of the Ohio Company at Bracket's Tavern, in Boston, November 23d, 1787, it was ordered that a Company should be sent forward to commence a settlement on the Muskingum; consisting of a superintendent, four surveyors, twenty-two men to attend the surveyors, six boat-builders, four house-carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common workmen, all of whom, forty-seven in number, were to be proprietors in the Company. The boat-builders were to proceed on the next Monday; the surveyors were to rendezvous at Hartford, Connecticut, January 1st, 1788, on their way to

the Muskingum. Their tools, and one axe, one hoe, and thirty pounds' weight of baggage were to be carried in the Company's wagons, and they were to be subsisted by the Company on their journey. Upon their arrival at the places of destination and entering on their business, each man was to have his subsistence and four dollars per month (until the next July), payable the next autumn, in cash, or in lands at the same rate as the Company had purchased them. Each man was to furnish himself with "a good small-arm, bayonet, six flints, or powder-horn and pouch, priming-wire and brush, half a pound of powder, one pound of balls, and one pound of buck-shot." They were to be subject to the superintendent "in any kind of business, as well for boat-building and surveying, as for building houses, erecting defences, clearing lands, and planting, or otherwise for promoting the settlement; and, as there is a possibility of interruption from enemies, they shall be subject to orders as aforesaid in military command."

General Putnam was appointed Superintendent. His character and fortunes have been so well sketched (in brief) by Mr. Flint, that we shall do best to use his words.

"General Rufus Putnam had been a respectable and unblemished officer in the war of the Revolution. He emigrated from Leicester, in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts. He was, probably, the member of the Ohio Company who had the greatest influence in imparting confidence to emigration from New England to Ohio. When he moved there it was one compact and boundless forest. He saw that forest fall on all sides under the axe; and in the progress of improvement, comfortable, and then large, commodious, and splendid dwellings rise around him. He saw Marietta making advances toward an union of interest with the Gulf of Mexico, by floating down to its bosom a number of sea vessels, built at that place. He saw such a prodigious increase of navigation on the Ohio, as to number an hundred large boats passing his dwelling in a few hours. He heard the first tumult of steamboats as they began to be borne down between the forests. He had surrounded his republican mansion with orchards bending with fruit. In the midst of rural abundance and endeared friends, who had grown up around him, far from the display of wealth, the bustle of ambition and intrigue, the father of a colony, hospitable and kind, without ostentation and without effort, he displayed in these remote regions, the grandeur, real and intrinsic, of those immortal men who achieved our Revolution. He has passed away. But the memory of really great and good

men, like General Putnam, will remain as long as plenty, independence, and comfort shall prevail on the shores of the Ohio." — *Indian Wars of the West*, p. 145.

We are indebted to William Rufus Putnam, Esquire, for the following list of the first party of emigrants to the territory northwest of the Ohio.

"General Rufus Putnam, superintendent of settlements and surveys.

"Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, Colonel R. J. Meigs, Major Anselm Tupper, and John Matthews, surveyors.

Major Haffield White, steward and quartermaster.

"Captain Jonathan Devol,
Captain Josiah Munroe,
Captain Daniel Davis,
Peregrine Foster, Esq.,
Captain Jethro Putnam,
Captain William Gray,
Captain Ezekiel Cooper,
Jarvis Cutler,
Samuel Cushing,
Oliver Dodge,
Isaac Dodge,
Jabez Barlow,
Daniel Bushnell,
Ebenezer Cory,
Phinehas Coburn,
Allen Putnam,
David Wallace,
Joseph Wells,
Gilbert Devol, Jr.,
Israel Dunton,
Jonas Davis,
Samuel Felshaw,
Hezekiah Flint,
Hezekiah Flint, Jr.,
Amos Porter, Jr.,
Josiah Whitrage,
John Gardner,
Benjamin Griswold,
Elisur Kirkland,
Theophilus Leonard,
Joseph Lincoln,
William Miller,
Earl Sproat,
Josiah White,
Allen Devol,
Henry Maxon,
William Mason,
William Moulton,
Edmund Moulton,
Simeon Martin,
Benjamin Shaw,
Peletiah White."

Forty-eight persons in all. Of these, Phinehas Coburn, Allen Devol, Hezekiah Flint, and Amos Porter are understood to be now living (1841). The first rendezvous of these pioneers was to be at Lumrill's Ferry, about thirty miles above Pittsburg on Yohiogany river. The boat-builders were sent forward to prepare boats at that place in order to descend by water to the Muskingum.

"The winter was very severe, and they were not able to descend the river until the first of April. They arrived at Marietta on the 7th, and cleared the ground and pitched their camp on the east side of the Muskingum at its confluence with the

Ohio. This is the commencement of the settlement, not only of Marietta and the Company's Purchase, but of what now forms the State of Ohio." — Harris' *Tour*, p. 190.

The selection for the "Purchase" has generally been viewed as very injudicious. As a matter of pecuniary calculation, it was doubtless a failure; but it was not so certain that it would have proved more fortunate in this regard, had the location been made further west. The lower part of the Scioto valley is not preferable to that of the Muskingum. The Miami has richer lands; but the wisdom of settling in 1788, on the battle grounds of the Kentuckians and Indians might well be doubted. Could the Indian war of 1791-1795 have been avoided, the progress of the Muskingum settlement would doubtless have been rapid and prosperous. But, as matters turned out, no great speculation could have been made in lands in any part of the Ohio region, since the quantity of public lands of the first quality, thrown into market immediately after the Indian war, would have kept down the price to the moderate terms held out by the government.

The facility of obtaining supplies and assistance from Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, then considerably cultivated, with a population of about sixty thousand people, was doubtless a consideration of weight.

But in these conjectural views, we are losing sight of the real objects of the Ohio Company Association, which was practical colonization, actual settlement. And could this have advanced with the rapidity with which it begun, the Muskingum settlement would soon have spread over the valleys of the Muskingum and Hockhocking, and the real importance and advantages of that belt of land between the Ohio river and Lake Erie, which includes the waters of Muskingum, Hockhocking, Cuyahoga, and Black River, would have been much sooner manifested.

"In the months of May and June, Governor St. Clair and Judges* Parsons and Varnum arrived and entered upon the

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* The first Judges were Samuel H. Parsons, James H. Varnum and John Cleves Symmes. When Dr. Cutler, in his interview with Southern Congressmen, July 23, 1787, had gratified them by declaring in favor of General St. Clair as candidate for governor, they asked him what office he would take? and proposed that he should be one of the territorial judges. "The obtaining an appointment, I observed," says the Doctor, "had never come into my mind, nor was there any civil office I should at present be willing to accept. This declaration seemed to be rather surprising, espe-

duties of their office. Two families, also, arrived within this period, with a number of men, for the purpose of preparing for the removal of their families.

"In September, the first Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas was held. And by the first of December, besides single men, and others for the purpose of building cabins for the reception of their families, about twenty families had arrived.

"In December, 1788, the agents of the Company resolved that one hundred acres out of each right for the purpose of establishing settlements in the different parts of the purchase; to be granted in one hundred acre lots to such persons as should erect block-houses, &c., and make certain improvements. Under these regulations, by the 30th of October, 1789, when about ninety families had arrived, nine distinct associations, amounting to two hundred and fifty settlers, had been formed; and by December, 1790, settlements had commenced, or improvements been made in all but one. Two settlements at Belpré, one at Newbury, and one at Wolf Creek."

"In the year 1790, a settlement commenced at the forks of Duck Creek; one at the mouth of Meigs Creek, thirty miles up the Muskingum; one at Anderson's Bottom, about forty miles down the Ohio, and one at Big Bottom, ten miles above" Meigs Creek. — Harris's *Tour*, pp. 191, 192.

The last-named station was surprised, and nearly all the garrison were massacred, by the Indians, January 2d, 1791. This was the first attack on the Muskingum settlements.

The war, which continued from this time till Wayne had conquered the Indians in 1794, confined the people to the shelter of their fortresses, and stayed, of course, the progress of settlement. Their sufferings were not very great. Very few were killed. The settlers kept very few horses to tempt the savages. They had excellent spies and rangers. The Indians were watching, but they found an enemy too vigilant and too resolute to be attacked with impunity. Notwithstanding the war,

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cially to men who were so much used to solicit or to be solicited for appointments of honor or profit. They seemed to be the more urgent on this head. I observed to them, although I wished for nothing for myself, yet I thought the Ohio Company entitled to some attention; that one of the judges besides General Parsons, should be of that body; and that General Putnam was the man best qualified and most agreeable to the Company, and gave them his character." General Parsons seemed well pleased to be judge under St. Clair, rather than governor, and urged Dr. Cutler to go on the bench, with him; "but," says the Doctor, "I absolutely declined, assuring him I had no wish to go into the civil line."

fields were cultivated around the garrison, and supplies of game and fish were obtained. The inmates of the various fortresses lived in great harmony; the whole colony was a band of brothers, social, cheerful, and benevolent; and afterwards, when severed and pursuing their varied individual projects and vocations, they would look back with regret to the days of brotherly love and social glee, which they had passed in the garrisons.

Though the settlement of the "Purchase" was greatly retarded, as we have already noticed, by the Indian war, and by the difficulty of obtaining the lands from the proprietors scattered far and wide, and the real or supposed superiority of the Miami regions, yet the Muskingum and Hockhocking settlements made no inconsiderable progress during some ten or twelve years after Wayne's victory.

In the first years of the nineteenth century, Marietta was a thriving town. It was thus described by Harris in 1803.

"The situation of this town is extremely well chosen, and is truly delightful. The appearance of the rivers, the banks, and the distant hills, is remarkably picturesque. Marietta is a place of great business, and is rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and elegance. Ship-building is carried on to a considerable extent. A spirit of industry and enterprise prevails."

During the last year (1802) had been launched from the ship-yard of Captain Devol, on the Muskingum, the ship "Muskingum," of two hundred and four tons, and the brigantine "Eliza Greene," of one hundred and fifteen tons. At the spring floods of the present year, the schooner "Indiana," of one hundred tons, the brig "Marietta," of one hundred and thirty tons, and another of one hundred and fifty tons, were launched here, and descended the river for New Orleans.

This business of ship-building, while it pushed forward the town for a time, proved injurious in the end. It carried the town ahead of the country; and when the long embargo of 1807 came on, the prospects of the place were blasted, and the unfavorable effects of this check were not overcome for near a quarter of a century. The town, and indeed the whole Purchase, have been subjected to singular disparagements. It has been stigmatized as a barren region; the Muskingum valley has been said to be "unhealthy," and the whole town of Marietta has, by common fame, been doomed

to desolation by floods. These illusions are passing away. The hills of the Purchase are found to yield bountifully to the hand of skilful industry. There is scarce a district of more general salubrity in the whole Union, notwithstanding the seasons of 1807 and 1822-3. The first of these visitations was shared in common with other new settlements in the West; the last, in successive years, spread over a large portion of the States. The fevers were as prevalent and as fatal on the mountain regions of Virginia, as in the low grounds of Ohio,—in the vales of the Potomac (regions famed for salubrity) as in the valley of the Muskingum. The floods bring trouble, occasionally, through the whole course of the Ohio. Perhaps the greatest misfortune in respect to them, is that, in the earlier days of the settlement, they were more moderate in height than they were afterwards.* Hence many dwellings, and not a few expensive ones, were, unnecessarily, placed within their reach. It was so with a part of Marietta, and with many settlements on the margin of the Ohio and the Muskingum, as well as elsewhere. But Marietta has some three hundred acres of eligible building ground, far above any flood that can, with any probability, be assigned to any period of time since the days of Noah. In the primitive days of the settlement, when scarce a road existed, no situation could be so pleasant, so alluring, as the "river bank," whence might be viewed the floating mansions of the "movers," destined for the fair realms of "Miami" or "Kentuck." We well remember, some thirty years ago, just after a "fresh," which had risen two feet above its predecessors, to have asked some of the dwellers in Belpré why they did not remove their habitations to the beautiful rise which crossed their plantations, and overlooked all floods. They were almost shocked at the thought of quitting the immediate margin of "la Belle Ri-

* We will note the principal stages of progress in the height of Ohio floods, (or freshets,) as they have fallen under our personal notice. The "Christmas fresh," of 1808, was an advance of two feet; the "January fresh," sometimes called the "Ice fresh," of 1813, was four and a half feet higher, the Ohio being then much the strongest. The "April fresh," of 1815, about the same at Marietta, but the Muskingum greatly the strongest, and higher than ever known to the whites before or since. The "February fresh," of 1832, (more than nine years ago, but the last overflowing at Marietta,) was five feet higher still. From the interesting article of Dr. Hildreth on Floods, it seems that the inundation of 1783 was from three to five feet higher than the "great fresh" of 1832.

vière." But the further increase of the floods some nine or ten feet, has changed their "notions" on this subject. There is scarcely a town of importance on the beautiful river, which has not a considerable portion of its "plot" liable to be overflowed. But these floods, when they rise not to an unexpected height, are not so injurious as might be imagined. Men brave, and will brave, these invasions of the watery element, which are but transient, for the sake of advantage and convenience, connected with vicinity to the immense business of this great channel of commercial and social intercourse.

The Ohio Company's Purchase, after its long season of disparagement, is becoming prominent as an important portion of the favored State of Ohio. The advantages of the Purchase in having an extensive border on the Ohio, below its principal obstructions, and as being part of a district of high importance, which extends from Lake Erie to Ohio, must be very obvious.

This district, embracing a large share of the internal improvements, manufacturing facilities, and mineral riches of the State, may be thus described. Beginning on the Ohio river, opposite the northeast corner of Kentucky; thence northerly along the dividing lands between the streams of Scioto and Huron rivers on the west, and Raccoon, Hockhocking, Muskingum, and Vermilion on the east, to Lake Erie, near its most southern bend; thence along the lake about twenty leagues; thence southerly so as to include all the branches of the Cuyahoga and the Muskingum, and to intersect the Ohio at the mouth of Fishing Creek, Virginia.

The district extends to about one third of the five hundred miles of the river coast of the State. It is a fertile and eminently healthy region. Of its salubrity the observant traveller may readily satisfy himself by seeing the number and the sprightliness of the children.

Comparisons have been made between the Ohio Company's Purchase and the lands lying west of it, in which the lands of the former have been too much undervalued. A juster estimate has lately obtained, as we may conclude from the relative increase of population, from 1830 to 1840, of seven counties each, lying nearest the Ohio, in three districts, viz. the Company's lands, the valley of the Scioto, and that of the Miami.

Ohio Company.			*Scioto.*			*Miami.*		
Counties.	1830.	1840.	Counties.	1830.	1840.	Counties.	1830.	1840.
Athens,	9,763	19,108	Adams,	12,278	13,271	Butler,	27,000	28,207
Gallia,	9,733	13,445	Brown,	17,867	21,825	Clermont,	20,466	20,029
Hocking,	4,008	9,735	Fayette,	8,180	10,797	Clinton,	11,486	15,729
Lawrence,	5,366	9,745	Pickaway,	15,931	20,169	Greene,	15,084	17,753
Meigs,	6,159	11,455	Pike,	6,024	7,536	Hamilton,	52,321	80,165
Morgan,	11,796	20,857	Ross,	25,150	25,263	Preble,	16,296	19,481
Washington,	11,731	20,694	Scioto,	8,730	11,194	Warren,	21,521	23,073

The towns * in the Muskingum valley are generally in a very thriving condition. Marietta (with Harmar) has about doubled in ten years, and its lots have risen several hundred per cent. in price.

Ohio has become distinguished for its efforts in the cause of education. One of its constitutional provisions is, that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being essentially necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of instruction shall be for ever encouraged by legislative provision, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience." [*Constitution of Ohio*, art. 3, sec. 3.] The legislature has established a system for the support of Common Schools, equal, perhaps, to any in the Union. Ohio has also taken the lead in the establishment of institutions for higher branches of instruction. She has even been charged with multiplying her colleges to an unwise extent. There may be less ground for this censure than would at first sight appear. A million and a half of people, — soon to be five millions, and ultimately ten or twelve, — will need many such establishments; more especially in view of the greatly increased and increasing demand for improved intellectual culture.

In the next place, Ohio is, and is likely to become more and more, a sort of centre and focus of intellectual pursuits. Ohio has taken the lead in the West in this as in other things, and will probably hold it. A very large number of students, too, may be expected to resort there from the South and Southeast, and not a few from the East. Young men of New England who intend to settle in the West, including those who aim at professional life, will often be disposed to repair to the hill regions of Ohio, where, in the progress of their studies, they may become inured to western seasons and acquainted with western sentiments and habits.

* The improvement of the Muskingum, by dams for slack water navigation, secures a vast amount of water power. M'Connersville, Taylorsville, Beverly, Lowell, &c., are likely to become large manufacturing towns.

There are six Colleges within the portion of the State of Ohio to which we have more particularly alluded, and of which the front on the Ohio river is mostly formed by the Ohio Company's tract. First, Ohio University at Athens; second, Western Reserve College at Hudson; third, Kenyon College at Gambia, Knox County; fourth, Oberlin, in Lorain County; fifth, Granville College in Licking County; sixth, Marietta College, in Washington County.

Ohio University is the oldest institution of learning in the State. Its site is pleasant, picturesque, and healthy. It has trained many young men for the walks of usefulness, numbers of whom have become distinguished throughout the Union. Its support is derived from two townships of land near the centre of Athens County, which were obtained for this purpose by Dr. Cutler, in his negotiation for the Ohio Company's Purchase. The Western Reserve College is a flourishing institution, founded on private benefactions.

Kenyon, Granville, and Oberlin are *denominational* establishments; the first founded by Episcopalians, the second by Baptists, the third by Presbyterians friendly to the anti-slavery cause. Each of them is said to be prosperous.

Marietta College has arisen within a few years. Its first Commencement was in 1838.

From the beginning of the settlement on the Muskingum, under General Putnam, public instruction and the education of the young were prominent objects at Marietta. This was in accordance with the spirit manifested by the Ohio Company. It is on their records, that, at a meeting of directors and agents, at Rice's Tavern, Providence, Rhode Island, a committee, Messrs. Cutler, J. M. Varnum, and Colonel May, reported on the subject of a public teacher, recommending,

"That the directors be requested to pay as early attention as possible to the education of youth, and the promotion of public worship among the first settlers; and that, for these important purposes, they employ, if practicable, an instructor, eminent for literary accomplishments and the virtue of his character, who shall also superintend the first scholastic institutions, and direct the manner of instruction. And to enable the directors to carry into execution the intentions expressed in this resolution, the proprietors and other liberal minds are

requested to contribute by voluntary donation to the forming of a fund to be solely devoted thereto.

"And the report was accepted and approved."

An Academy was established in Marietta at an early day, and common schools were taught from the first year of the settlement. Popular education (as well as business, improvement, and enterprise), it must be owned, was in a comparatively low estate at the close of the first forty years from the landing of Putnam; but a sudden revival, in all of them, took place in Marietta about ten years ago. The first movement that led to the founding of Marietta College (without the least view or aim of that sort) was an effort of the Reverend Luther G. Bingham for the cause of school education in its primary stages. It appeared, in the sequel, that the effort was well-timed, and that aims of a higher and more extended character would be well sustained by the community. Mr. Bingham therefore proceeded, step by step, from the establishment of an Infant School to that of a High School, in the management of which he associated himself with Mr. Mansfield French. But the institution was soon found to be beyond the power of individual management, and was, for public benefit, sold out and surrendered to the care of trustees. This board, appointed by the legislature of Ohio, on mature deliberation, became satisfied that their duty required them to aim at the establishment of an institution of the highest character. They appealed for aid to public liberality, and, to a good extent, have received a favorable response. The Faculty is composed of men distinguished for moral worth, as well as for talent and literary and scientific attainment. The course of instruction, and the exhibition of intellectual power and culture in the students and graduates, have probably not been exceeded in any Western institution. It has a respectable philosophical apparatus, a valuable cabinet of minerals, a philological library, procured in Germany by Professor Smith, not excelled, if equalled in the West, and a handsome beginning of a miscellaneous library. The superior pleasantness as well as the healthiness of Marietta, the habits of order, industry, and morality, with the simplicity of living, prevalent among its citizens, and the facilities of access by water, by means of that great thoroughfare, the Ohio river, and of the Muskingum, now improved by slackwater navigation, are cir-

cumstances highly favorable to the growth and prosperity of Marietta College.

The cause of female education has, by no means, been overlooked in this region. There is a female seminary of high character at Marietta; one at Putnam in Muskingum County; two at Granville, one at Newark, and one at Massillon. Probably there are others which have not come to our knowledge.

A few words of remark on the publications named at the head of this article.

Mr. Atwater's work is not, in fact, a "History of Ohio." It has many interesting facts, and, as too commonly happens, it has some details which are not facts. For instance, at page 131, we are told, that "the settlement commenced under the superintendence of General Rufus Putnam, a son of the Revolutionary General Putnam." At page 154, we read, that "Kerr was killed in a canoe while crossing the mouth of *Wolf* Creek." Fronting this statement, on page 155, is a declaration, that the same Kerr was killed at the mouth of Duck Creek. The last statement, we are informed, is nearest the truth. But Mr. Atwater's book will well reward perusal.

The narrative of Judge Burnet, in the "Transactions of the Ohio Historical Society," is a document of great value. He emigrated to Ohio in the spring of 1796.

"'At this time,' he remarks, 'the country to which I united myself was literally a wilderness. The entire population between Pennsylvania and the Mississippi, from the Ohio to the Lakes, was estimated at fifteen thousand. [Probably too high an estimate.] Cincinnati was a small village of log cabins, including, perhaps, a dozen coarse frame houses, with stone chimneys, most of them unfinished. Not a brick had been seen in the place where now such elegant edifices present themselves to the eye on every side; and where [1837] a population is found exceeding, by estimation, thirty-five thousand.* The city stands on a lower bench and an upper bench, the former rising about sixty feet above low-water mark, and

* What a contrast! By the census of 1840, Ohio has 1,519,467 inhabitants; Cincinnati, 46,382, — more than the town of Boston in 1796. The population of Indiana is 683,314; Illinois, 474,404; Michigan, 211,705; Wisconsin, 30,752; in all, 2,919,642; say, at this present writing, an increase of three millions in forty-five years. And the amount of internal improvement and inland navigation and trade is no less astonishing.

extending back about sixty rods ; the latter rising about forty feet higher than the former, and extending an average distance of about a mile and a half from the river. The surface at the foot of this [second] bench, being much lower than at the bank of the river, was a swamp or narrow morass, extending the entire length of the town. The exhalation from this morass subjected the inhabitants, every summer and fall, to intermittents and agues. . . . . At the northeast corner of Main and Fifth Streets, — now the centre of business and tasteful improvement, — and contiguous to a rough, half-finished frame house, in which our Courts were held, there was a pond, filled with alder bushes, in which the frogs serenaded us, regularly, from spring to fall. This morass extended so far into Main Street, that it was necessary to construct a causeway of logs in order to pass it with convenience. It remained in its natural state, containing its alders and its frogs, three or four years after my residence commenced. The population of the town, including officers and followers of the army, was about five hundred.' "

The Western army had then its head-quarters at Cincinnati. The manners of the officers are represented, by Judge Burnet, as unusually dissipated, and as giving an unfavorable character " to the manners and habits of the settlement."

" When I came to this place," says Judge Burnet, " there were nine resident lawyers engaged in the practice. I have been, for several years, the only survivor of that group ; all of whom became confirmed sots, and have gone to untimely graves, except my brother, whose life was terminated, in 1801, by a rapid consumption. A very large proportion of General Wayne's army were hard drinkers ; General Harrison and Governor Clark, then captains in the army, and Colonel Shomberg, and a few others, being the only exceptions."

Judge Burnet had ample opportunities of observing the various and varying aspects of society in the Northwestern Territory, being a practising attorney in all the Courts.* He

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* In 1796, the Northwestern Territory had been divided into five counties ;

	County Seat.
1. Washington, eastern part,	Marietta.
2. Hamilton,	Cincinnati.
3. Wayne, Michigan Peninsula, &c.	Detroit.
4. St. Clair,	Kaskaskias.
5. Knox,	Vincennes.

gives many interesting details of his journeys and adventures, while traversing the immense wildernesses between the *County Seats.*

"In performing these journeys," he says, "either in summer or winter, the traveller was compelled to swim every watercourse in his route which could not be forded. The country being destitute of bridges and ferries as well as roads, we had to rely on our horses as the only substitutes; and it sometimes happened, that, after swimming a stream covered with floating ice, we had to encamp on the ground for the night. This consideration made it common for a person, when purchasing a horse, to ask the question, whether he was a good swimmer?

"In the fall of 1801, on my return, without company, from the General Court of Marietta, it rained almost incessantly during the whole journey, which subjected me to the necessity of swimming four or five times on my horse; once, at White-oak, with evident peril of my life. That stream was higher than I have ever seen it before or since. The opposite side was a bluff, having a narrow way cut down to the creek. After estimating the velocity of the current as well as I could by the motion of the drift wood, for the purpose of deciding how far I should enter above the landing-place in order to strike it, I put in with the head of my horse a little up stream; he, however, chose to steer for himself, and made directly for the landing. Being a fine swimmer, he struck in at the lower point so as to enable me to grasp a bush, by which I was able to extricate both from the threatening danger. I rose to the bank with a light heart, and proceeded on my way to Williamsburg, where I swam the east fork rather than wait for a canoe from the opposite side. The next morning I swam it again near where Batavia now stands, and arrived safely at home."

We should be pleased to quote Judge Burnet's account of the entertainment given him and the "Judges of the General Court," at an Indian town on the Auglaize, where the company tarried half a day on their way to Detroit, with his account of an Indian game of football, males against females, which "was finally decided in favor of the ladies"; but we have not room.

Judge Burnet was a member of the Legislative Council during the existence of the second form of Territorial Government, from 1798 to 1803, and has since filled some of the highest offices in the State of Ohio. His remarks, therefore, on its legislative history, have a peculiar interest.

Of General Harrison's "Discourse" we have spoken at large in a previous Number.* The object of Mr. Worthington's essay is stated by him to be to "endeavour, from the pages of history, to develope the operation of the great law of progress, in relation to the three great motives of political action," — "liberty, religion, and honor, or the love of personal distinction." To sustain a constitution of government, "founded on those principles of liberty and justice which admit of an equality of rights among any considerable portion of the population," he deems it necessary there should be "a community of men, of the same race and language, deeply imbued with a common religion, of nearly equal and considerably advanced intelligence, in which both the divine and hereditary right to rule are discarded, sufficiently armed with moral and physical force to keep invaders at bay, allowing only temporary depositories of power, and guarding with jealous vigilance against its encroachments."

Every one knows to how vast an extent the prosperity of the West has been indebted to the invention of the steamboat. A sort of prophecy, respecting this mode of navigation on the Western rivers, was circulated in a pamphlet, published in New England about 1787, which, we are informed, was written by Dr. Cutler, though published *anonymously*, on account, says the same story, of the enmity of Dr. Bentley. This was little heeded by the public, though inserted in the earlier editions of Morse's Geography. The pamphlet was written in praise of the eastern part of the Northwestern Territory. In discussing the very important question, how the inhabitants of this region could find a market for their surplus products, the author names four channels; —

1. "Through the Scioto and Muskingum to Lake Erie, and so to the river Hudson."
2. "The passage up the Ohio and Monongahela to the portage that leads to the navigable waters of the Potomac."
3. "The great Kanahwa opens an extensive navigation, and leaves but eighteen miles portage from the navigable waters of James River."
4. "The current down the Ohio and Mississippi."

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 46 *et seq.*

At the close of his remarks on this head we find the following remarkable passage ;

" It is worthy of observation, that, in all probability STEAM-BOATS *will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation.*"

Let it be remembered, that this pamphlet was published in 1787.

Could New Orleans be brought to enjoy equal advantages with New York, in addition to the immense advantages of its own locality, no city on earth could compete with it. As things now are at the mouth of the Mississippi, the opening of the New York route is of unspeakable importance to the West.

The second route is about to be opened, but will be of far less importance than if it led through a similar extent of country in the free States. And for the same reason the great Kanawha route, which drew so forcibly the attention of Washington, and of other distinguished men, will be last opened, and will prove, perhaps, the least important, though Dr. Cutler thought it would " come to be more used than any other " for lighter transportation, especially for the importation of foreign commodities, which, the Doctor thought, might " be brought, from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, much cheaper than [in 1787] carried from Philadelphia to Carlisle." These remarks Dr. Cutler applied to " the country between the Muskingum and the Scioto." Unfortunately, Virginia, with all her natural advantages for commerce, has no Philadelphia on the Chesapeake.

If no great national calamity should occur, the southern border of the States of Ohio and Indiana may hereafter seem, to the steam-boat voyager, like one continued rural village.

We will close with an extract from the pamphlet ascribed to Dr. Cutler, written in view of the (originally) bright and flattering prospects of the Ohio Company.

" The design of Congress and of the Ohio Company is, that the settlement shall proceed regularly down the Ohio, and northward to Lake Erie ; and it is probable, that not many years will elapse before the whole country above the Miami will be brought to that degree of cultivation, which will exhibit all its latent beauties, and justify the descriptions of travellers, which have so often made it the garden of the world, the seat of wealth, and the centre of a great empire."

ART. III. — 1. *Report of* Mr. THOMAS BUTLER KING, *from the Committee on Naval Affairs*, July 7th, 1841. Printed by Order of the House of Representatives. pp. 22. Report Number Three. Twenty-seventh Congress, First Session. House of Representatives.

2. *Letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting Copies of Proceedings of the Naval Courts-Martial, in the Cases of Commander Smoot, and Lieutenants Sharpe and Stallings.* January 30th, 1841. Document Number Eighty-six. Twenty-sixth Congress, Second Session. House of Representatives. Navy Department.

3. *An Epitome Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive of the Royal Naval Service of England.* By E. MILES, with the Assistance of Lieutenant LAWFORD MILES, R. N., &c. London: Ackermann & Co. 1841. pp. 184. 8vo.

4. *The Ports, Arsenals, and Dock-Yards of France.* By A Traveller. London: James Fraser. 1841. pp. 299. 8vo.

WE heartily congratulate the country upon the prompt attention of Congress to a subject, the vital importance of which we urged in the last Number of this Journal; we mean that of a "Home Squadron." We accept with the highest gratification this testimony of the purpose of the present administration to guard the country hereafter from those well-founded alarms, which, in a consideration of our defenceless condition, and the causes and prospect of a war with Great Britain, may well have caused us to "eat our meal in fear, and sleep in the affliction of terrible dreams."

This measure was not only necessary to the repose and security, but to the honor of the country. If another such report as that of the last winter's session should come from a Committee on Foreign Affairs, it may make us appear intemperate, but whilst we have a squadron for Home Service, we shall escape the charge of utter fool-hardiness.

Mr. King, in his admirable state paper, as well as in the speech which accompanied and supported it, has set forth in forcible language the urgent necessity for self-protection; and as this subject cannot be too frequently considered, we shall transfer to our pages such passages from the "Report" as

appear to us most worthy of public attention. We do this the more readily, because we believe the force as yet provided to be altogether too small for the object. Mr. Adams well said, that twenty steam-vessels would be better than two. We hope to see the squadron increased, not only in the number of the steam-vessels, but by the addition of some of those noble ships of the line, of which the Ohio has lately afforded us such a handsome specimen.

"The changes," says Mr. King, "which the introduction of steam power has already effected, and is constantly producing in the naval armaments of the maritime powers of Europe, evidently require the most prompt and efficient action on the part of the government of the United States to meet this new and powerful auxiliary in naval warfare, by so changing the construction, and employment of our navy, as most effectually to protect our commerce, and guard our sea-coast against the sudden approach of an enemy employing this new and formidable description of force; and it is the opinion of the Committee that no measure is more imperiously demanded by every consideration of prudence and safety than that recommended in the Report of the Secretary, — the employment of a Home Squadron composed in part of armed steamers. He very justly remarks, that, had a war with Great Britain been the result, as was at one time feared, of the subjects of difficulty now in the course of adjustment between that power and the United States, not only would our trade have been liable to great interruption, and our merchants to great losses abroad, but a naval force, comparatively small, might on our very shores have seized our merchant ships, and insulted our flag, without suitable means of resistance or immediate retaliation being at the command of the government. To guard against such a result, to be ever ready to repel, or promptly to chastise aggression on our own shores, it is necessary that a *powerful* squadron should be kept afloat at home. This measure is recommended by other considerations. There is no situation in which greater skill or seamanship can be exercised and acquired, than on the coast of the United States; and in no service would our officers and seamen become more thoroughly initiated in all that is necessary for the national defence and glory. In that service, aided by the coast survey now in progress, a thorough acquaintance would be gained with our own sea-coast, extensive, and hitherto but imperfectly known; the various ports would be visited, the bays, inlets, and harbours carefully examined; the uses to which each could be made available during war, either for escape, defence, or annoyance, be ascertained, and the confidence resulting from

perfect knowledge would give us, what we ought surely to possess, a decided advantage over an enemy on our own shores."

This view of Mr. Badger is appropriately designated by Mr. King as "excellent and comprehensive." We confess that we read it with something like surprise. We have seen in time past so much of ignorance or indifference in the head of the Navy Department, that we were startled with its energy of tone, and fulness of thought. We already hail Mr. Badger as the leader under whose commanding efforts we are to welcome home again our discarded faith in this "right and left arm of the country."

Mr. King in his "Report" has noticed the danger to which the Southern coast is exposed in the event of a war with England, from a sudden incursion of the black regiments from Jamaica.

"In the event of a war with Great Britain," he says, "the fortifications at Pensacola, and perhaps others, might be seized and held by the enemy, or any of our unprotected harbours might be entered by fleets of armed steamers, loaded with black troops from the West Indies, to annoy and plunder the country. There are, it is said, ten thousand black troops in the British West Indies; and that orders have been issued to increase the number to twenty-five thousand. These troops are disciplined and commanded by white officers, and, no doubt, designed to form a most important portion in the force to be employed in any future contest that may arise between Great Britain and the United States; and by a reference to the map of the West India mail lines, it will be seen that in our present defenceless condition, a force composed of armed steamers and troops of that description, would not only give great annoyance to our coast, but most effectually, and at once, put a stop to all communication round Cape Florida, or through the passes of the West Indies to or from the Gulf of Mexico; and consequently the commerce of the great valley of the Mississippi must fall into the hands of the enemy, or its vast productions, cut off from market, be rendered useless."

We have discussed this matter in the article alluded to above. We cannot pretermit any occasion, however, of insisting upon its claim to immediate and effectual attention. Any measures in reference to it must originate with southern members; and we pray God that they may realize its moment in time to save our common country from this appalling peril.

They will then adopt the opinion of the Committee, that "a powerful squadron has become as necessary for our protection at home, as the employment of our ships of war has hitherto been, or may hereafter be, for the protection of our flag and commerce abroad." It is well said that Great Britain finds in her colonies an argument for a large military marine to which we have no parallel. But where these colonies are so situated as to threaten our coast, to provide a rendezvous for her blockading fleets, and to supply her with the means of a fatal assault upon a portion of these States, they furnish as strong a reason to us for a large naval force to prevent their coöperation with the mother country, as they do to Great Britain for protection. Whilst, therefore, we express our great satisfaction that the bill for the Home Squadron has passed, we must repeat our declaration, that the force provided is altogether too small for the object. It would hardly be sufficient for the protection of any one point; so extended is our line of sea-coast that an attack in a distant part would be determined before the squadron could hasten to its assistance. The security of our northern ports, and a careful and unremitting watch over the long line of southern frontier must be two distinct objects. The latter, we do not hesitate to say, is far the most important. But to make provision for either, no expense is too great, no diligence can be spared. Accordingly we urge upon the attention of the Honorable Secretary the suggestion of Mr. King, that "this squadron ought, from time to time, to be increased as the means placed at the command of the Department may permit, and the various objects connected with it, as pointed out in the report of the Secretary, may best be promoted and attained."

The Report of the Committee on Naval Affairs enters largely into a consideration of the changes in maritime warfare which are likely to result from the introduction of steam into our own and foreign navies, and points out the great additions which England is making to her navy by the establishment of the Royal Mail steam-packets.

"France," we are informed too, "is pursuing a course of policy in every respect similar to that of Great Britain. The last official register of her navy shows that she then had thirty-seven armed steamers, carrying heavy guns, equal in all respects, if not superior to those of any other nation. The sudden appearance of one of them some years since in the harbour of

Baltimore must be recollected by all. A law has recently been enacted, authorizing the government to establish a line of armed steamers from Havre to New York, on the plan of the British West India mail line. And, surprising as it may seem, a number of gentlemen in Boston have actually sent in proposals to take the contract, if *that* city, instead of New York, shall be inserted in it. Thus, it will be seen that our own merchants, driven by the laws of trade and intercourse, are about throwing the whole weight of their skill, enterprise, and capital into the hands of one of our great maritime rivals, for want of proper encouragement and action on the part of their own government; and that the humiliating spectacle is likely to be presented of American merchants, who have excelled all others in commercial pursuits, being employed to support a naval force which may be directed against the cities in which they reside."

The "Report" closes with the following resolution;

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby directed to inquire into the expediency of aiding individuals or companies in the establishment of lines of armed steamers between some of our principal northern and southern ports, and to foreign ports; to advertise for proposals for the establishment of such lines as he may deem most important and practicable, and report to this House at the next session of Congress."

Congress will certainly not neglect to follow up this measure with all the energy, and perseverance which the importance of the subject imperiously demands. It has become a question not only of self-defence, but of national prosperity. Commercial enterprise and capital are about to be diverted from their natural channel in this country, and applied to swell the triumph of a rival. It has always been felt to be a mortification that the English people, after having so long yielded to the superior skill and daring of the merchants of the United States, shown in their monopoly of the packet trade between Europe and America, should at length have gained an ascendency by originating the establishment of a line of steam communication. For this, however, there was an explanation in the fact, that the English by their position were the first to acquire the requisite knowledge and practice in the conduct of steam-vessels for sea-navigation. It is impossible for them to launch a vessel except upon the open sea. If then, they used steam, it must be upon bottoms fitted to navigate the ocean. We, on the contrary, found an ample field for the application of

this new power in our great lakes, and rivers, and inland seas, where, without exposure to the storms of the open ocean, stability, buoyancy, and capacity, might be, and were, sacrificed to speed. Our steam-vessels, accordingly, are the fleetest in the world, but are wanting in the qualities of a good sea-boat. But when the intelligence of the merchants and mechanics of the country is turned to the study of the subject, we may hope to take our former position as leaders in the intercourse between the United Sates and Europe ; a position which was so easily assumed, and has been so steadily maintained, that it may be called without exaggeration our natural and proper place.

The course is open to us now for a new trial. It seems to be admitted by general consent, that a line of steam-packets is called for between New York or Boston, and Havre. We learn from the work of "A Traveller," of which we have given the title above, that the project has been entertained both at Antwerp and Havre ; that at the latter place it was "resolved, at every risk, to go on with the speculation commenced under the name of the 'Havre Transatlantic Steam Company'" ; and that the English capitalists "who are shareholders in the company, with that good sense and energy which generally distinguish them, determined, in conjunction with some spirited Frenchmen, that it was a question of 'now or never,' the more especially if Belgium were allowed to have the start in the race of competition." We trust this interesting subject will receive such timely attention at home, as will save us from the mortification and the reproach of seeing a French flag flying on board of a Havre steam-packet in any of our harbours. But the government of the country are especially bound by every consideration of policy and duty to lend their pecuniary aid to foster these enterprises, which will place at their disposal such a naval force, as, together with the regular military marine, will suffice for the protection of the country. A million of dollars expended annually in this way will put the President in command of a force which it would cost ten times that sum to construct and keep in efficient repair.

Fourteen mail and packet steam-ships could, at this expense, be engaged in the service of the government in the event of a war, and that too without the annual charge of repairs, manning, victualling, &c. But even this sum would probably be reimbursed in a short time. The London "Journal of Com-

merce" says; "Under the old packet system between Falmouth and Halifax by the gun brigs, the expense to Government was about forty thousand pounds sterling, annually, more than the receipts of postage. By the line of Cunard's steamships a balance of twenty thousand pounds appears already on the credit side of the Atlantic mails." The Post Office Department may eventually discover a new source of revenue in the armed steam-ships which will protect our sea-coast.

We cannot insist too strongly upon the primary duty of self-defence; and what, we ask, have we to oppose to the formidable array of steam-frigates, and other vessels which our great rivals England and France can bring against us? We learn from the "contract whereby *the mails to the West India Islands are to be carried by steam-navigation*," that the company agree to provide

"A sufficient number (not less than fourteen) of good, substantial, and efficient steam-vessels, of such construction and strength as to be fit, and able to carry guns of the largest calibre now used on board of Her Majesty's steam-vessels of war, each of such vessels to be always supplied with first-rate appropriate steam-engines, of not less than four hundred collective horse-power; and also a sufficient number, not less than four, of good, substantial, and efficient sailing-vessels of not less than one hundred tons burden each; all such steam and sailing vessels always to be supplied and furnished with all necessary and proper apparel, furniture, stores, tackle, boats, fuel, oil, tallow, provisions, anchors, cables, fire-pumps and other proper means of extinguishing fire, and whatever else may be requisite and necessary for equipping such vessels, and rendering them constantly efficient for the service hereby contracted to be performed, and also manned with competent officers, and a sufficient crew of able seamen, and other men; and all the said steam-vessels to be likewise manned, and supplied with competent and efficient engineers, machinery, and engines; and to be in all respects as to vessels, engines, equipments, engineers, officers, and crew, subject to the approval of the said commissioners and of such persons as shall at any time, and from time to time, have authority under the said commissioners to inspect and examine the same."—*Return to an Order of the Honorable the House of Commons, dated 22d May*, 1840.

Here we find at once the stimulus to exertion, and the precedent for its direction. We can have no commercial or domestic security until we follow the example which Eng-

land has set us. In considering the present defenceless state of the country our attention has been called to the condition of its navy yards. The facts developed in Miles's "Epitome of the Royal Naval Service of England," and "The Ports, Arsenals, and Dock Yards of France, by a Traveller," render us acutely sensible to their deplorable want of system, and their deficiency in naval and other stores. The accounts of Deptford, Woolwich, Plymouth, and Portsmouth, of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon, remind us by painful contrast how much we have yet to do. Such is the abundant supply of materials, ordnance, and stores of all descriptions in these *dépôts*, that an order to fit a ship for sea may be carried into immediate execution from their own resources. The outfits in the various departments for vessels of all classes are prepared to go on board at the shortest notice, whilst we take it upon ourselves to say, that the smallest vessel in the United States navy cannot be fitted for sea at any one of our naval stations, without having recourse to the stores of the neighbouring city. We suffer great losses too from the want of a sufficient system, losses which might be saved to the nation if a competent and responsible officer were placed at the head of each department of duty, who should give receipts for the numerous articles returned into store by ships arriving from foreign stations, and should be held strictly accountable for their safekeeping and future disbursement. It is desirable that the master-mechanics of the yards should be permanently connected with the navy by receiving fixed salaries, and warrants from the President. By this means the best talent would not only be engaged, but secured to the navy by a tie which could not easily be broken at the caprice of individuals, or for political offences against the party in power. If a war were to take place, there are few respects in which an enlargement of the present means and conveniences of our naval stations would not be necessary. But these defects are better known to the officers commanding these stations than to ourselves. We merely point to the matter as one worthy to engage the attention of the navy department.

We have no room for any extracts from the letters of "A Traveller," but in the perusal of the book we have been struck with nothing so much as the perfect system with which every thing is conducted in the French "Ports, Arsenals, and Dock Yards," and the wise provision made in all the various

departments of the navy for future emergencies. In these things we may profit by good example. Hitherto we have contented ourselves too much with providing for the demands of the time. A more comprehensive policy is to be recommended; one that will embrace the possible wants of the navy when the occasion shall arrive for launching and putting in commission every vessel of war that is now on the stocks. The "Epitome of the Royal Naval Service of England" affords an evidence of the great popularity of the British navy, not only in its details, but in its typographical execution. It is embellished, in the style of an *annual*, with colored engravings of vessels of all rates and classes, and interspersed with appropriate poetical quotations easily found in the English writers of all times, to whom the sea and the navy have ever proved rich themes of song.

"The Main! The Main!
Is Britain's reign;
Her pride, her glory, is her fleet."

From it we take the following table of interesting statistics. It has already appeared in the newspapers of the day, but we would give it a more durable place here for the convenience of future reference.

Rate of vessel.	First Rate,	Second Rate,	Third Rate,	Frigate 4th Rate,	Frigate 5th Rate,	Sixth Rate,	Brig,	Schooner,	Cutter,
Tons.	3000	2635	2300	2082	1468	800	382	183	161
Guns.	120	92	72	50	42	26	16	6	10
Weight of broadside in pounds.	2028	1652	1224	872	708	376	256	30	30
Number of men on a peace establishment.	886	645	540	395	250	210	115	40	40
Number of men required to build her in twelve months.	160	1224	97	69	60¾	35¾	22½	10¼	8¼
Hours time in which twenty men will rig her.	300	285	285	260	230	140	105	80	30
Weight of officers, men, and their effects on board, in tons. Tons.	102	78	65	45	27	20	14	4	2
Cwt.	8				3		7	12	15
Weight of hull, when launched, in tons. Tons.	2466	1889	1616	1042	795	698	213	109	82
Cwt.	18	6	15	12	3		10	6	7
Weight of all received on board, in tons. Tons.	2142	1723	1359	1067	670	582	242	94	76
Cwt.	5	14	11	16	9		18	17	8
Weight of water displaced, when complete, in tons. Tons.	4609	3606	2976	2110	1465	1280	456	204	158
Cwt.	3		6	8	12		8	3	15
Weight of iron ballast, coals, water, wood, and tanks, in tons. Tons.	883	710	508	445	249	211	50	45	38
Cwt.	15		9		10				5
Cost of materials of the hull, in £ sterling.	93,521	65,279	58,388	36,744	28,163	15,611	8,992	4,605	3,980
Cost of masts, yards, and blocks, in £ sterling.	6873	6503	5685	4611	3153	1509	1136	370	522
Cost of furniture and sea stores, in £ sterling.	16,805	15,114	12,433	9,512	7,952	4,434	3,285	1,380	1,368
Total expense, exclusive of provisions, in £ sterling.	117,199	86,896	76,506	50,867	39,268	21,554	13,413	6,355	5,870
Costs in dollars and cents, rating the £ sterling at $ 4·44.	520,363·56	385,818·24	339,686·64	225,849·48	174,349·92	95,699·76	59,553·72	28,216·20	26,062·80

The following statement of the navy of Great Britain is from the last official list for October, 1840, as published in Miles's "Epitome," page 37 ;

Ships, &c.	In commission.	In ordinary.	Building.	Total.	Tons.
Of the line.....	28	54	23	105	466,176
Under that rate, small vessels, &c.	149	220	34	403	
Steam Vessels.....	65	15	7	87	34,056
	242	289	64	595	500,232

"The whole charge for the service of the year ending February, 1841, amounts to £5,659,051. The number of seamen, 24,165. Boys, 2,000. Marines, 9,000. Total, 35,165."

We have sought this opportunity of presenting some considerations upon the present condition of our own navy, and of making some suggestions for its more perfect organization. The field is a wide one, and we by no means expect to occupy it entirely ; but we are bound to say, that we offer our remarks in a spirit of candid inquiry, with an earnest desire to assist the labors of the Navy Department, and to contribute something to the honor and efficiency of this valuable branch of the public service. We need hardly add, that our suggestions will have no other connexion than the subject which is their common basis. It is said, and not we fear without truth, that the discipline of the navy has suffered in common with its other interests from the neglect of late years. There are some unhealthy symptoms apparent to a superficial observer. One of the worst of these, is the want of concert and harmony between the different grades. Cases have recently occurred where junior officers, feeling themselves aggrieved, and having in vain applied to the Department for redress, have been driven finally to appeal to the justice of Congress, or the sympathies of the people. The decisions of courts-martial have justified this appeal, and the fatal consequence has resulted, of a loss of confidence on the part of young officers in those to whom they would naturally look, and ought to look, for protection.

It is suspected, that rank has proved a shield against the penalties of the violated law. An attempt has been made to fix upon the junior officers the calumny, that they are not interested to preserve discipline and proper subordination.

It has been declared from a high place, that publicity in the proceedings of courts-martial impairs their authority, and, what is more strange, that the members of a court are not bound to make up a finding according to the evidence, but are authorized to go beyond the record, and consult their private feelings and opinions.

Some of these pernicious doctrines are set forth in a "Letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting Copies of Proceedings of the Naval Courts-martial in the Cases of Commander Smoot, and Lieutenants Sharpe and Stallings." A few extracts from this letter will suffice as a text for our future remarks.

"With the most unfeigned deference to the assembled representatives of the people of the United States, I would respectfully suggest for their consideration, whether the frequent practice, among officers of the navy, of appealing to Congress, when dissatisfied with the decisions of courts-martial, or the course of the department, is not well calculated to impair that just and salutary authority committed to them by the laws, and the exercise of which seems indispensable to the preservation of discipline and subordination in the service."

It may safely be trusted, that it will never be in the power of any individual, however exalted his station, to withhold from any other, however mean his condition, the right of proper and respectful appeal to the high court of the nation; our comment therefore will rather apply to the spirit than to the effect of this passage. No publicity can impair the just and salutary authority, which is exercised with impartiality. Discipline and subordination are best preserved by the distribution of an equal justice, which has no cause to dread exposure and discussion. So far from fearing the evil anticipated by the late Secretary, we think that nothing can be more conducive to proper subordination than a publication of the proceedings of those tribunals in which the guilty are punished, and the innocent acquitted; — where the good may find encouragement, and the bad warning; which afford precedents, that cannot be too much multiplied, and instruction that cannot be too often repeated. The *public* administration of the laws is a main principle of our government. It is a principle founded on truths, that admit of no exceptions in favor of military rule. Any attempt to give to military courts a secret and inquisitorial character will terminate in the subversion of

their authority, and in the prostration of one of the main pillars of the military system,— the exclusive administration of its own laws.

In the following sentences, "I would respectfully call the attention of Congress to a consideration of the complete contrast between our civil and military codes ; the object of one is to secure equal rights to all, — the other recognises no equality," the distinction of ranks in a military establishment is confounded with the exercise of judicial power. The assertion, that the military code recognises no equality is, in this connexion, a specious error. It is true, so far as the external condition of the individual is concerned, but erroneous, with regard to the right of that individual to simple and equal justice. We fear that we have before us, clothed in a more seemly garb, a sentiment which was once more common in the service than now, that juniors have no rights. Inferior officers have few privileges, side-boys fewer ; but all have rights, as well as duties, and the first of these is their right to perfect justice in the execution of the laws.

"That there may have been great disparities in the punishments awarded by courts-martial, for offences apparently similar, is very certain. . . . . From the int imacy of their association, almost every officer is acquainted with the character and habits of his brother officers from his own personal knowledge. It is not always, therefore, that the decisions of courts-martial are exclusively founded on the testimony given on trial. They are necessarily influenced by this direct personal knowledge ; . . . . . Hence the records of these tribunals do not always clearly indicate the whole ground upon which their decisions are based."

In these passages of the late Secretary's letter, the very singular, and indeed monstrous, doctrine is asserted, that the members of a court-martial are justified in making their private opinions and feelings the basis of their legal decisions ! With this assertion we hardly know how to deal. It is surely not necessary in this community, at this time, seriously to undertake the exposure of its falsehood and evil tendencies ; yet it comes to us from one having authority, and holding a high station ; one, whose instructions are supposed to be such as may be listened to with respect, and relied upon with safety. We must express our wonder, how any man could have had the temerity to stand before the Congress of the United States as the

avowed advocate of such an abominable heresy. It may be thought, that it may claim some reasonable palliation from the peculiar constitution of a military court. But we know nothing in the nature or profession of a navy-officer to exempt him from the ignorance, prejudices, and passions, that affect other men, to guard against the operation of which is the final object of the forms and defences of the law. On the contrary, he is more liable, from the very "intimacy of association," to entertain partialities, which, in the situation of a judge, he is called upon to control.

For the late Secretary we entertain a proper respect. We regard him as one of the successful pioneers in our literature. We, and all his countrymen, are indebted to him for amusement. We are happy, moreover, to record the testimony of friends to the purity of his private character, and of all to the unblemished integrity of a long life of useful public service. But we must admit, that he is grievously mistaken in the doctrines he has maintained in this letter. He seems to think that rank alone is to be justified, — that it possesses the privilege of concealment ; and, stranger than all, that it may pronounce its private opinions from the judgment-seat, under the solemn sanction of a judicial oath, razing the sanctuary of justice for ground on which to plant its passions. This is to declare, that

> "authority, though it err like others,
> Hath yet a kind of medicine in itself,
> That skins the vice o' the top."

But we feel assured, that, in this country at least, justice, "even-handed justice," justice which is no respecter of persons, is the only secure and permanent basis of discipline, in a military or any other establishment.

The late Secretary has remarked, with great good sense,

> "Though composed of different grades, the officers of the navy constitute, in reality, but one body, united in one bond of common interest. To instil into them the opinion, that each separate grade is not only distinct from the other, but, in fact, constitutes an antagonist interest, is to excite jealousies, propagate dissensions, and engender antipathy, which must necessarily destroy all confidence, and eradicate every feeling of brotherhood, among the different classes,— one of which will be looked upon as oppressors, the other as the victims of oppression. No cordial concert of action, or of effort, can be ex-

pected from a body so constituted, the component parts of which bear this relation towards each other."

Yet we fear he is to be especially charged with producing the very evil he deprecates, not only by the injurious opinions he has promulgated, in the passages already cited, but by a further remark, in which he implies, that junior officers have no regard for the preservation of discipline. It will be recollected that there are lieutenants, who have been in the navy twenty-five years, and have attained the age of forty years. Their grey hairs attest their experience. If they do not now understand the interests of the service, (and their own,) they may well be despaired of. This remark is peculiarly unfortunate at the present time, whilst expositions of oppression, corruption, peculation, and brutality, (we are careful of our use of words,) are too recent to be forgotten, and whilst a lieutenant is in command of the most important squadron, which has been fitted out since the last war. We may affirm without the danger of contradiction, that, excepting the distinguished officers of that war, some of the most widely celebrated names are to be found on the list of lieutenants. It may be thought that we are dealing uncharitably with the late Secretary, in forcing him before the public from the retirement of private life, but we have a duty to perform to which personal regards must submit.

If superior officers are justly charged with exhibiting an undue sympathy with rank when it has appeared before them in criminal characters, we can only say, that they are singularly unwise. A severe condemnation of dishonorable practices in one of their own grade, whose situation lessens his accountability, and increases his means of evil, is required by the general good of the service; it is necessary, also, to their own honor. By openly avowing, that they have no lot or part with such men, they will acquit themselves of any participation in corruption, oppression, and cowardice. If any amongst them should entertain the mistaken notion, that, in collisions between officers of different ranks, the superior is in all cases to be sustained; and in doing so, they may claim as a justification, that in wresting the law to their authority they do a little wrong, to do a great right; we will then advise them seriously to consider what we have before affirmed, that no system can endure in this country that wants the vital elements of truth and justice. We invite them to contemplate the

injury that has already accrued to the character and discipline of the navy from exposures and newspaper controversies, which insidious attacks upon character, and high-handed aggression, have rendered unavoidable. We remind them, that, among the junior officers, there are men in the maturity of their powers, respectable in character and influence, who have pledged the deepest stake and most earnest zeal in the cause of the profession. Above all, we heartily beseech them to reflect, that there is a higher duty and responsibility than any which can belong to this false estimate of naval discipline, a responsibility from which some of them, in the course of nature, are not far distant. Time is passing, and the revolving years are constantly taking away something from their exclusive control, and bringing nearer to them in power and place those who are now the subjects of their authority, and whose opinions are hereafter to perpetuate their naval reputation. It remains for them to determine, whether, when they are called upon to leave the profession for ever, they will be attended to their graves with the blessings, or execrations of those, whose happiness, honor, and advancement have so long constituted their momentous trust.

The excessive appointment of midshipmen is about to prove a serious injury to the navy. The number of midshipmen on board the British ships in commission is four hundred and eighty-five (Miles's "Epitome," p. 182). The number of midshipmen on the United States Navy Register, for 1841, is two hundred and sixty-two, to which fifty-five are to be added, the appointments of the late administration between the first of January and the fourth of March, making in all three hundred and seventeen, nearly two-thirds as many as are actually employed in the British navy, whilst the proportion of ships is nearly as one to ten. A fatal consequence of this abuse of patronage is, that the list of passed midshipmen (nearly two hundred in number) is overcharged so far beyond the power of relief from vacancies in the upper ranks, that these gentlemen must attain the age of from twenty-six to thirty years, before they can be promoted. In the mean time, men in stature, age, and experience, they are but little more than boys in professional standing. They belong to a class of officers to which "no particular duties can be assigned." On board ship without a fixed position, or settled duties, they usurp the place of the elder "young gentlemen," depriving

them of useful opportunities of improvement; suffering from constant pains of "hope deferred," their spirits are broken by delay; harassed by the necessary restrictions and petty inconveniences belonging to their station, though ill-suited to their matured minds and characters, they are fretted into insubordination of language and conduct. Their knowledge and skill deteriorate from disuse; the eager and high-swelling ambition of youth is gradually exchanged for the despondency arising from long-continued disappointment; and when at length, at the late age of twenty-eight years, the tardy commission by which they pass from official boyhood to manhood arrives, it finds them utterly indifferent to an honor which, at twenty-two, would have seemed the consummation of happiness.

If this evil be not arrested in time, the *young* lieutenants will be men advanced in years, who, by the ordinary duration of human life, cannot live to be captains. Not only do individuals suffer, but, what is a more important consideration, the country and the navy suffer. The present body of passed midshipmen are hereafter to become the high and responsible officers of the service. Their long delay in their present rank is, as we have truly described it, a most unfortunate part of their early education. Their love of the profession, their *esprit de corps*, their habits of industry and subordination, their knowledge and means of usefulness, their ambition, and finally their faith and hope, the spurs to generous exertion, are weakened and blunted. From too long a continuance in humble rank, from habitual submission to the will of others, people come at last to lose the power of self-reliance, of thinking and acting for themselves. Unaccustomed to responsibility, they are unfitted to assume the tone and authority of command. The ready and palpable remedy for this evil, which, we believe, we have not exaggerated, is promotion, and that, haply, the expected increase of the navy will prescribe. The preventive to its future recurrence is a discreet and conscientious exercise of the appointing power. We see no reason, indeed, why midshipmen should be admitted, except as vacancies (in all the grades) occur.

The experience of this country is enforcing the idea, confirmed by the practice of foreign navies, that a *Retired List* is an indispensable appendage to every military establishment. The active and arduous nature of military duties requires health,

strength, and physical perfection; its solemn responsibilities equally demand intellectual energy and moral correctness. Accident, disease, the vices incident to the profession, and the unresisted temptations of power produce occasional instances of entire disqualification; and in order that the country may know its effective force, that merit may not be overlaid by worthlessness, that individuals may not be rewarded for services which they are unable or unwilling to perform, that the influence of bad example may be suspended, in fine, that justice, both to the servants and to the country that employs them may be preserved, some mode of distinction must be adopted. A chosen mode of distinction in the English and French marines is a Retired List. In the former, of the commanders, "the first fifty on the list have the option of retiring with the rank of captain," and of the lieutenants, "the first hundred on the list have the option of retiring with the rank of commander," at one rate of pay, and "the next three hundred on the list may retire with the rank of commander," at another rate of pay (Miles's "Epitome," p. 119). A bill has lately passed the French Chambers, fixing the ages at which officers of the various grades from Admiral will take their places on the retired list. The bill not being at hand, we will not venture to quote from memory its exact provisions. We by no means bring forward these statements as precedents to be strictly followed. They afford, however, a powerful argument in favor of a retired list, as the result of matured experience in navies older than our own.

This is a measure which can only originate at the department with any appearance of propriety, or chance of success. The invidious task of making selections is a part neither of our duty nor pleasure. Even the rule of distinction is so delicate a subject that we may hardly hope to treat it with satisfaction. We will, therefore, refer it again to the Honorable Secretary, the head of judgment in the Navy, the independent agent, whose position commands perfect information concerning the characters and qualifications of officers, and, whilst it makes him accountable to the state for the well-being of the service, removes him from any necessary participation in the passions, prejudices, and partialities of its members. Commodore Perry, as we are informed by Mr. Slidell Mackenzie in his Biography, copied into his note-book the following passage from Vattel; "A man, who, by great application, has

enabled himself to become useful to his country, or he who has performed some signal service to the state, may justly complain if the prince overlooks him in order to advance useless men without merit." There is frequent occasion for applying this sentiment in the navy, when age and accidental position on the list are above all talent, all virtue, all deeds. We are not prepared at present to advance the principle of promotion by merit; a principle, which, though attended in its operation with formidable difficulties, strict justice and the best interests of the state distinctly recommend. In time of war, it will secure its own recognition. But a retired list will in some measure counteract the blind disregard of merit which follows upon promotion by seniority, that mechanical system, which recompenses the worthless, and retards the meritorious; which awards to idleness and industry, to tameness and ambition, the same meed; which gives the hire of the laborer, who has borne the burden and heat of the day, to him who has stood all the day idle in the market-place.

The English maxim (and English naval maxims are precious) is, "Old men for admirals, and young men for captains." We cannot act up to the letter of the latter part. But, that we may partly fulfil its spirit, we must insist upon the right and duty of selection for commands being exercised by the department. An officer who has been suspended for corruption, who has been removed from his post for peculation, or who is notorious for drunkenness, or the brutal treatment of seamen, is incapable of performing the duties of a command, and is unworthy to represent abroad the American name and character.

It is desirable to provide for the useful occupation of as many officers as possible, in order that a sufficient number may be retained to meet the exigency of manning the whole fleet. We accordingly suggest that officers may be profitably employed at the head of the different departments in navy-yards, as naval store-keepers at the several stations, as instructors (following the example of the Academy at West Point) of the midshipmen, as secretaries to the commanders-in-chief, as is the excellent custom in the French military marine, and on revenue service when it shall be transferred to the direction of the Navy Department.

We think that the complement of officers on board of some ships might be advantageously increased. The English un-

derstand a truth, of which every day's naval experience furnishes abundant testimony, that officers are the soul of a ship. The flag-ship *President*, of fifty guns, on the South American station, has ten lieutenants. The flag-ship *Melville*, of seventy-two guns, in the East Indies, (the seat of war,) has nine lieutenants. On the lakes, the *Niagara*, of twenty guns only, has six; on the North American station, the *Winchester*, of fifty guns, has eight lieutenants; and on the Mediterranean station, the flag-ship *Princess Charlotte*, of one hundred and four guns, has eighteen lieutenants! ("British Navy List," January, 1841, pp. 73, 74, 76, 84.)

The organization of an ordnance corps, with an office at Washington, and proper officers, commanders or lieutenants, and gunners, at the different yards, exclusively devoted to this duty, is loudly called for by the vital necessity of having every thing relating to the great-guns, small-arms, ammunition, signals, and gunner's stores, on board of every ship, in a perfect condition. We will merely state as a lemma to this proposition, that the Ohio performed her late cruise in the Mediterranean with *flint* locks. The honor of the nation, the great interests of commerce, and the business accumulating from the progress of the coast-survey demand the establishment of a bureau of hydrography, where all the information connected with the navigation of the seas, and particularly with the knowledge of our own shores may be collected and preserved, and whence authentic charts may be issued for the use of the mercantile and military mariner. The geodesic operations conducted by Mr. Hassler,* eminent both as an engineer and a

* The mention of this gentleman's name reminds us of the obligations which science acknowledges to him, in this country and abroad. He has been engaged in Europe in several distinguished scientific operations, and, amongst others, (if we are not mistaken,) in the measurement of a degree of a meridian, by Méchain and Delambre, in 1790-1805. In 1826 he contributed to mathematical science a work on the "Elements of Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical," of which it is sufficient praise to say that it met the highest approbation of Dr. Bowditch. The treatise is not only complete, but philosophical. It affords in its analytic form of expression an appropriate introduction to the study of physics, and in the number and convenient tabular arrangement of its formulæ, which to the higher student have the merit and utility of definitions, a fertility of resources only surpassed by Delambre, in his treatise on Spherics, in the 10th chapter of his "*Astronomie théorique et pratique.*" The question has been asked, if no *native* American could be found to superintend the great work with which Mr. Hassler is at present occupied. It would be enough to say, that national distinctions in science are invidious. But we may add, that if any American is capable of directing this task, he has been qualified by the instructions of Mr. Hassler; and further that Mr. Hassler is the only gentleman who can command the confi-

theorist, with such signal advantage to the scientific character of this country in Europe, and which are redeeming us from the disgrace of depending upon English surveys for the navigation of our own maritime frontier, would form an adequate commencement for the labors of this office. The government owe this tribute to commerce, the principal source of the revenue of this country.

We pass over these important subjects in haste, to allow ourselves space for some remarks on the enlistment and mode of treatment of seamen, in relation to which we submit the following suggestions.

1. The service of seamen might be dated from a certain fixed day of the year on which they enter, without reference to the exact period of enlistment. The object of this is to have the terms of service of whole crews expire on the same day. Then the period necessary for a return of a ship to the United States will be pointed out; the jealousies and discontents arising from one part of a crew's being discharged, whilst another part is retained, will be avoided; the crew will look forward to the same moment of expiration of service, with uniform expectation; and the whole question of discharge, with all the difficulties growing out of the gradual breaking up of a ship's company abroad, will be adjusted.

2. The present regulations prevent the admission of young men between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, as interfering with the apprentices. The door should be freely opened, and every encouragement offered to all such persons (who are mostly Americans) to enlist.

3. Men who have once served a term in the navy, and sustained good characters, are entitled to readmittance. Instances occur of their being rejected from various causes. A man by the name of White, an excellent seaman, who performed the late cruise of the Razée Independence, was turned away from the New York rendezvous because he was not twenty-one years of age. We mention this merely as an illustration. We do not propose to dispense with the medical examination. But if a man has suffered an injury in the

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dence of the scientific, we mean the *whole* scientific, community. The slowness of the progress of the coast-survey, as of all great and durable undertakings, is commensurate with its vast importance. To estimate justly either the one or the other, it is essential to comprehend something of the profound science, mature skill, and elaborate method indispensable to its successful execution. See, on this subject, the *North American Review*, Vol. XLII. p. 75, *et seq.*

public service, he should be taken again ; and, if the injury is such as to require medical treatment and disqualify him for duty, he should be sent (at his own request and without pay) to a naval hospital.

4. Contracts with seamen ought to be strictly fulfilled, particularly respecting discharges. They have (not to mince the phrase) been most frequently and shamelessly violated. Seamen are jealous of their rare but precious liberty. They should be induced to entertain confidence in the government, to feel as Americans. Let there be no appearance of a desire to break faith, and escape from agreements, a strict fulfilment of which is rigorously exacted from the weaker party. Then the moment of discharge will not be regarded as one of happy escape from prison. We must express our suspicion that five years may be considered too long a time of engagement. Seamen are a short-sighted race, and not prepared to look forward so far. One term of enlistment is also preferable to two. If the above course were pursued, and the periods of service were dated from the first day of the sixth month, then a plan might be adopted of fitting out ships for foreign stations in the summer and autumn, and of ordering them home in the spring and summer. Their return would help to supply the necessary crews. Seamen would all receive their discharges at the same time, would be at home in a season better fitted for their enjoyment, would be properly provided for during the severe winters, and would come at last to understand that this was an established routine.

5. When men are discharged, their discharges might run in such a way as still to attach them to the navy ; specifying, that if they presented themselves, within two or three months, at any rendezvous, receiving-ship, or station, home or foreign, they should be entitled to be reëntered, to be borne on the books at their former rates, named in the discharges, and receive pay for the intermediate months as if they had continued on duty ; provided always, that they were in a good personal condition, and possessed a supply of clothing such as is required of a new recruit.

This pay for the intervening months of absence would correspond to the bounty at present allowed, with this difference, that it would be given to tried servants of the navy instead of strangers. This plan would cost no more than the present bounty ; men-of-war would be recognised as the permanent home of seamen ; the men would be picked,

and sifted by numerous trials ; they and the officers would become well acquainted ; and the former, like the latter, would consider themselves attached to the service for life.

6. Discharges ought to particularize the characters and qualifications of men ; they should be of two kinds, one of which may be distinguished as the *honorable discharge*, and should be put upon good, durable paper. No man should be readmitted into the service unless he produced the honorable discharge. It is an object plainly to give character to the service, and to let the service give character to those who engage in it, in the humble rank of seamen.

7. The importance of confirming petty officers, and keeping them always in their rates, cannot be too strongly urged. They never should be disrated except for disability or misconduct. Now a man may perform one cruise as a petty officer in a ship of the line, and the next in a sloop-of-war as a seaman. He has no security for continuing in his former situation. Petty officers might be advantageously divided into classes, as boatswain's mates, gunner's mates, &c., in the first class ; quarter-masters, quarter-gunners, &c., in the second class ; captains of the tops, &c., in the third class. This will multiply promotions, and supply a field for the ambition of the apprentices. They should be borne on the books according to classes, and then they may be promiscuously employed in the different duties of the class to which they belong. This classification would become a useful addition to the systematic economy of a man-of-war, and afford convenience in transfers.

Lastly. We propose a separate office (bureau) of enlistment, to attend to the manifold details of this system, and to record the names and descriptive lists of those who have received honorable discharges.

It is full time that systematic effort was made to ameliorate the condition of seamen in the navy. The humanity of the times demands that their mess economy should be improved, and that the spirit ration, the hateful source of all insubordination, should be abolished, and tea and coffee substituted in its stead. In the English navy the seaman receives a portion of his monthly pay, at regular intervals ; it would be well if the practice were adopted into the American navy, and if the men were permitted to go on shore more frequently, so that they might learn to use this indulgence with discretion, and be treated, in this respect, with something of the same

confidence as officers. They would then enjoy their hard-earned pay, which is now, in great part, pilfered from them by the rapacious "land-sharks." If we were going to treat the subject of discipline, we should enlarge upon the necessity of introducing a system of rewards as well as punishments, and of relieving the seamen from a course of government wholly founded upon the debasing principle of fear. If his calling has its besetting sins, it has also its appropriate virtues ; some attention to the cultivation of the latter would evince humanity, as well as wisdom.* But we will pass suddenly from the lowest to the highest grades of the profession. We have before had occasion to treat at some length the creation of Admirals, a measure without which, every effort towards the perfect organization of the Navy will be, if not fruitless, at least attended with only partial success. A single fact, pregnant with meaning, has since come to our knowledge, which may well be added in illustration of our remarks. In a case of appeal made by a lieutenant, the commodore of a station found it necessary to reverse the decision of the captain commanding his flag-ship. The latter officer replied to the order of the commodore, that he was his equal in rank, and might therefore decline obedience. If experience and example can teach, we may here profit by their instruction.

Something has been heard of opposition to promotion, and to an increase of force, in the navy itself. It is so manifestly to the advantage of all, that every thing should be done to multiply the general means of usefulness, that the suspicion would seem to refute itself. A lieutenant can hardly be imagined to cherish an envious dislike to promotions, for they favor his own grade ; and a captain as little, for they enhance the honor and dignity of his station. The humblest boy in the service can enjoy no melioration in his condition, whether moral or physical, but that the good redounds to the credit of all above him. We may suppose, however, that there are minds unable to grasp a comprehensive scheme of general

* In 1825, Captain Matthew C. Perry submitted to the Department, through Commodore Rodgers, a plan for the introduction of apprentices into the navy. The system has since been adopted, and, fostered by the judicious care of Mr. Paulding, it promises to supply the country with a body of seamen, superior in education and moral character to men of the same class to be found in any navy, or army, in the world. Our suggestions and observations are not intended to apply to these, but to the seamen admitted into the navy, in the ordinary manner, through the rendezvous.

improvement ; whose petty vigilance extends only to details. Whilst they preserve the silence becoming their insignificance, and are content to receive with gratitude the benefit resulting from the exertions of others, they are harmless. But, if any active traitor is found in the ranks, — and reflection warns us that no service is altogether exempt from them, — let it be the duty of every one to point him out, that the general voice may proclaim his infamy.

In what has been said upon the present condition of the navy, or suggested for its improvement, we are not aware of having advanced any thing that is novel, any thing that has not been discussed in naval circles. In fact, we have omitted to notice a striking feature, — the active and inquiring tone of mind in all ranks of the profession. There is a universal conviction, that something must be done to build up the defence on which alone the country can depend in time of need, to give it a better organization and a more extended usefulness, to make it more worthy of the public reliance, and to provide, as far as possible, a security against its future neglect. It has been our desire in some degree, to embody this sentiment, which cannot be safely disregarded, and to collect, and put into form, useful information and ideas. If, unfortunately, there should be any men in civil or military stations, whose opinions derive weight from their authority, and who are opposed to progress in the navy, either on account of personal jealousies, or from a fear of innovation, we would admonish them, that " it is the part of wise legislators and military men, to watch and study the modification and changes which have gradually developed themselves in the character, and conduct, and *feelings* of those under them, bearing always more or less resemblance to the changes going on in society around them, and therefore commanding the countenance and influence of this public opinion. To conform to this in time, is to direct the change, and not yield to it, — is retreating without discovery to take up a stronger position. In this way may be retained the highest degree of discipline and subordination, which the character of our people, and the nature of our institutions, will admit ; — to attempt to stem the natural current is the sure way to be overwhelmed by it."

Art. IV. — 1. *An Address delivered on the Dedication of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn, September 21st*, 1831. By Joseph Story. *To which is added an Appendix, containing an Historical Notice and Description of the Place, with a List of the present Subscribers.* Boston. 1831.

2. *An Address delivered on the Consecration of the Worcester Rural Cemetery, September 8th*, 1838. By Levi Lincoln. Boston. 1838.

3. *The Dedication of the Green Mount Cemetery, July 13th*, 1839. *Address* by John P. Kennedy. Baltimore. 1839.

4. *An Address delivered at the Consecration of the Harmony Grove Cemetery, in Salem, June 14th*, 1840. By Daniel Appleton White. *With an Appendix.* Salem. 1840.

5. *Exposition of the Plan and Objects of the Green-Wood Cemetery, an Incorporated Trust, chartered by the Legislature of the State of New York.* New York. 1830.

6. *Regulations of the Laurel Hill Cemetery, on the River Schuylkill, near Philadelphia ; the Act of Incorporation by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in* 1837 ; *and a Catalogue of the Proprietors of Lots.* Philadelphia. 1840.

7. *Cemetery Interment : containing a Concise History of the Modes of Interment practised by the Ancients ; Descriptions of Père la Chaise ; the Eastern Cemeteries, and those of America ; the English Metropolitan and Provincial Cemeteries, and more particularly of the Abney Park Cemetery, at Stoke Newington, with a Descriptive Catalogue of its Plants and Arboretum.* London. 1840.

"Here 's fine revolution, an we had the trick to see 't. Did these bones cost no more the breeding, but to play at loggats with them ? Mine ache to think on 't." Hamlet speaks here, in his "moody moralizing" over the bones in the churchyard, which the clown, "who had no feeling of his business," threw out of the grave, the common sentiment of the human heart. But of what consequence, it may be asked, is the condition of these mortal bodies of ours, when they have fulfilled their brief office, and the aching frame has returned to its kindred earth ? Suppose they be "knocked about the mazzard with a sexton's spade," what is that to the disenthralled spirit, which alone is cognizant ? The Cynics did affect thus to speak of the burial of the dead. Plato, in his Republic, allowed no larger funeral monument than one

which would contain four heroic verses, and set apart the most barren ground for sepulture. Pliny says, all interest in this subject is a weakness only known to men. Socrates *seemed* to be of this way of thinking, when he told his friends, after his manner, that they might bury or burn his body, if they would not think they thereby buried or burned Socrates; while in reality he only meant to declare his belief in the soul's immortality. Solon, one of the seven sages of Greece, wished that his body might be carried, after death, to his native Salamis, to be burned there, and its ashes to be scattered to the winds. The Cynic Diogenes directed his friends to expose his body after death to birds and beasts of prey. Seneca would give no directions in regard to his, saying that the necessity of the case would provide for it. There are insulated cases too, in all ages, of persons who, in like manner, are indifferent to what may befall their remains; and it is not, we suppose, a very difficult thing to make an argument to show why we might be thus indifferent. But argue and philosophize as we may on this subject, the fact, — the all but universal fact, — is otherwise. We all, as a general rule, *feel* otherwise; and feeling, on a question like this, is the best of all good arguments. We *do* care for the future condition of that, which was once so intimately a part of ourselves. It is no pleasant thought, that, in a few years, even perhaps before the grave-worm shall have done his whole work, these material parts of ourselves, once instinct with the deathless principle which makes us what we are, once the seat of all our sensations, and the medium of our whole intercourse with the world without, — should be crowded in their last narrow house, or jostled from their final resting-place to make room for unbidden comers, or be cast up to the vulgar eye, and be "jowled to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder!" No, for ourselves, and, we repeat it, the sentiment is all but universal in human hearts, we desire a quiet and appropriate place of sepulture, where, secure from intrusion, and in decent observance, our remains may repose; and where those who loved us while here, may go and ponder on our memories when earthly intercourse is over.

But, whatever may be our unconcern for the final disposition of our own remains after death, we cannot be indifferent to the disposal of those of our friends. However coolly we may speculate on the nothingness of the "mortal coil," when the mysterious principle, that kept it from mingling with its

kindred elements is extinct, the heart here again assumes its own high prerogative, and decides the question by an impulse that supersedes all argument, and with an authority that must be obeyed. All that was truly them and theirs survives with us. They yet live on in our affections. We still commune with them in our holiest hours. We hold a spiritual intercourse with them, which is more solemn, if not more tender, than their living presence could afford. How often, in standing by the grave of a friend, are we ready to respond to the beautiful tribute of Moore to "Mary." (*O si sic omnia!*)

> "Though many a gifted mind we meet,
> Though fairest forms we see,
> To *live* with them is far less sweet
> Than to *remember* thee." *

These recollections we feel it to be equally our duty and our privilege to cherish, and, though they are kindred with painful regrets, they are the last that we willingly forego. Hence all that once belonged to the departed, whom we loved, is now held as consecrate. All that they once valued is now yet more endeared to us. We love to multiply the tokens of what they were, and what they were to us. We are especially concerned to mark the spot where we took our last leave of all of them that was mortal. It henceforth becomes to us as holy ground; a place set apart and hallowed to tender recollections, to holy musings, to fruitful meditations, to virtuous resolves, to strong yet chastened anticipations of the hour when this "mortal shall put on immortality," and of that reunion and mutual recognition in an eternal state, where the changes of time and the blight of death can never enter!

But, in addition to the natural promptings of sentiment and feeling, the appropriate burial of the dead is a subject of deep interest on many accounts. It is fraught with moral and religious uses, which the thoughtful will readily interpret. It is enforced by considerations, which, though of a less refined character, are absolutely imperative. The strong law of necessity leaves us little choice in this matter. The great destroyer is ever busy. A generation of men passes away in less than half the "threescore years and ten" allotted to men. Thrice in a century all the generations of the dwellers on the earth are changed, by death. In

* "Heu! quanto minus est cum reliquis versari, quam tui meminisse." Byron's version of the same beautiful thought is as much less graceful, as it is more paraphrastic.

nearly every second of time, some one, somewhere, dies. The only alternative left therefore to survivors is, whether the remains of the departed shall be buried with decency, reverence, and edifying rites, or hurried out of sight in brutal neglect and contempt. It is not strange, then, that a subject thus commended to human regard by feeling, duty, and necessity, should always have been regarded as one of personal concern. Such is the fact. The earliest memorials of the earliest times illustrate this.* Indeed, it is a singular circumstance, and one not very creditable to modern times, that this sentiment of reverence towards the dead was most fully and elaborately manifested in the most remote periods, and in the rudest forms of society, while it has almost uniformly decayed with the progress of civilization. Egypt, that land of wonders, is even now peculiarly distinguished for its stupendous monuments, erected, time out of mind, in honor of the dead ; and its soil, around the site of its great cities, is almost literally sown with the carefully preserved remains of millions of bodies. Petra, the Edom of prophecy, whose existence was unknown for a thousand years, presented, when discovered, on every side, tombs and mausoleums of surpassing splendor. It was evidently the Necropolis of a nation. Etruria, which flourished before Romulus was born, has recently become a region of enlightened curiosity,† on account of its sepulchral vases and monuments. The funereal structures of ancient Greece and Rome are yet consulted as models, while the ruder tumuli, which are scattered over the face of the whole earth, show the prevalence of the sentiment in which both originated. All literature of former times, both sacred and classical, abounds with allusions to the pious care that was devoted to the remains of the dead. This subject, moreover, has attracted a large share of the attention of learned men,‡ and their researches have brought to light all the

* The horrid charnel-pits in Naples, into which the undistinguished dead are thrust at the present day, with even no affectation of common decency, compared with the ancient monumental structures with which they are surrounded, may well illustrate the remark in the text.

† See the "Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria," by Mrs. Hamilton Gray.

‡ See "Johannis Meursii de Funere Liber singularis, in quo Græci et Romani Ritus, &c.;" "Josephi Laurentii, Lucensis, de Funeribus Antiquorum Tractatus, in quo Ritus Funebres ante Rogum, in Rogo, et post Rogum explicantur, &c.;" "Jo. Andreæ Quenstedii, Wittenburgensis, de Sepultura Veterum Tractatus, sive de Antiquis Ritibus sepulchalibus Græcorum, Romanorum, Judæorum, et Christianorum;" "Libri III de Sepulchris Hebræorum Veterum — Ex S. Scriptura Gen. 2, 3, 2., Reg. 13. &c. — Ex. Rabinorum Commentis, quæ extant in Mishna Bava." &c. But the work

different usages and ceremonies, which, from time to time, have prevailed in the burial of the dead.

We had prepared ourselves to offer some remarks on each of the topics here suggested, but find that we have not room, perhaps not an appropriate place in the pages of our journal, for those details into which such inquiries necessarily lead, and without which they are of little use. We shall confine ourselves to those more popular views of the subject, that may seem best adapted to reward the attention of the general reader.

A new interest has recently been awakened in this country in regard to this subject, and it has taken a direction, — that of the establishment of *Rural Cemeteries*, — which we have been happy to notice, and shall feel ourselves privileged to promote. The first movement of the kind in Massachusetts was made in Boston, in the year 1825; but, as the committee then appointed in furtherance of the design were unable to find a suitable lot of ground, they never made a report, and the project fell through. In 1830, the subject was revived, and Mount Auburn, a spot of surpassing loveliness and fitness for the object, having been secured, the project was at once adopted by the public with especial favor, and carried forward with energy to its completion.

The consecration of Mount Auburn Cemetery was solemnized on Saturday, September 26th, 1831, by sacred music, prayers, and an address by Mr. Justice Story. The services were performed in a glen, which seemed to be scooped out by the hand of nature for the express purpose. Thousands of sympathizing auditors were arranged around its circular acclivities ; the day was one of almost unearthly serenity, and peculiarly fraught with those pensive and religious influences and associations, which mark the early approaches of autumn in this climate ; and the whole scene and service left on the mind an unbroken impression of devout solemnity and pathos.

The successful establishment of Mount Auburn was probably the immediate occasion of the foundation of many others,

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by John Kirchman, entitled "De Funeribus Romanorum Libri Quatuor, cum Appendice, nitidissimis figuris illustrati — Lug. Batav. 1672," contains, in a small compass, and in quite readable Latin, a vast amount of learning, and the most satisfactory information on the subject upon which it treats. This last treatise we have seen in a separate form; the three first mentioned are to be found in the eleventh volume of the Thesaurus of Gronovius.

since more rural cemeteries have started into existence in this country within the last ten years, than during two centuries before.* They have been established at Worcester and Salem, in Massachusetts; at Baltimore; at New York; at Philadelphia; and there is a small but beautiful one belonging to one of the religious societies at Dunstable, and another upon a larger scale at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire.† The same just taste has been manifested in many of the smaller towns throughout the country, in the renovation and embellishment of the grave-yards which were already in existence, while a better propriety is now deemed necessary in the location of new ones.

The addresses, whose titles we have placed at the head of this paper, were delivered at the consecration of the several cemeteries to which they refer. It is impossible, within our prescribed limits, to speak of them with that particularity to which their merit, severally, entitles them. It must suffice to say, that they are worthy of the occasions which called them forth. We subjoin a few extracts from the descriptive parts of these discourses, both in justice to the writers, and that we may place permanently on our pages such true and beautiful descriptions of the spots to which they refer.

From the first of these addresses, that delivered at Mount Auburn, we select the following;‡

"And what spot can be more appropriate than this, for such a purpose? Nature seems to point it out, with significant energy, as the favorite retirement for the dead. There are around us all the varied features of her beauty and grandeur,—the forest-crowned height; the abrupt acclivity; the sheltered valley; the deep glen; the grassy glade; and the silent grove. Here are the lofty oak, the beech, that 'wreathes its old fantastic roots so high'; the rustling pine and the drooping willow;—the tree, that sheds its pale leaves with every autumn, a fit emblem of our own transitory bloom; and the ever-

* The Cemetery or Burial Ground in New Haven was formed many years ago, and doubtless has had no small effect in preparing the public mind for similar enterprises. The published thoughts of the late President Dwight on this subject are very worthy of the theme and the author.

† Since writing the above we have learned, that a lovely and picturesque spot has been set apart for a Cemetery at Springfield, in Massachusetts, and that the work of laying it out, and embellishing it have fallen into the proper hands. A Cemetery in the city of Lowell has also been set apart and consecrated.

‡ This address has also been published entire, in the volume entitled "Cemetery Interment."

green, with its perennial shoots, instructing us, that 'the wintry blast of death kills not the buds of virtue.' Here is the thick shrubbery, to protect and conceal the new-made grave; and there is the wild-flower, creeping along the narrow path, and planting its seeds in the upturned earth. All around us there breathes a solemn calm, as if we were in the bosom of a wilderness, broken only by the breeze, as it murmurs through the tops of the forest, or by the notes of the warbler, pouring forth his matin or his evening song.

"Ascend but a few steps, and what a change of scenery to surprise and delight us. We seem, as it were in an instant, to pass from the confines of death, to the bright and balmy regions of life. Below us flows the winding Charles, with its rippling current, like the stream of time hastening to the ocean of eternity. In the distance, the city, — at once the object of our admiration and our love,—rears its proud eminences, its glittering spires, its lofty towers, its graceful mansions, its curling smoke, its crowded haunts of business and pleasure, which speak to the eye, and yet leave a noiseless loneliness on the ear. Again we turn, and the walls of our venerable University rise before us, with many a recollection of happy days passed there in the interchange of study and friendship, and many a grateful thought of the affluence of its learning, which has adorned and nourished the literature of our country. Again we turn, and the cultivated farm, the neat cottage, the village church, the sparkling lake, the rich valley, and the distant hills, are before us, through opening vistas; and we breathe amidst the fresh and varied labors of man." — pp. 16–18.

The success which has attended this enterprise is fully answerable to its auspicious commencement.* The whole extent of the ground has been enclosed, and commodiously and beautifully intersected by avenues and foot-paths. The gate is a chaste and beautiful specimen of Egyptian architecture. It is modelled, as we learn, after one of the principal gates of Thebes, in which the sloping wall, so common in Egyptian architecture, is avoided in the side piers. The loftiness of the lower part of the entablature, and the boldness and breadth of the curve, give to this specimen a decided superiority over most modern imitations of Egyptian archi-

* The Cemetery comprises 110½ acres. Nearly all the avenues and paths that will be required are now made. The whole cost of the Cemetery, including improvements up to the close of the year 1840, is $37,066·20. The amount of lots sold and appropriated by votes of the Trustees to the same date, is 751; of these 172 contain tombs, and 149 have monuments. The amount of sales, to the above date, is $60,842·01; and the funds invested and on hand, amounted to $19,477·32.

tecture.* This style is wanting, indeed, in those religious associations, which peculiarly recommend the Gothic for monumental purposes; but still it is remarkable for its originality of conception, massiveness, simplicity, and boldness of outline; and, derived as it is from a land which is emphatically a monumental one, and one that may be regarded now as little else than one vast cemetery, it cannot be considered as out of keeping with associations of a place of burial. In regard to the design before us, it is in itself so beautiful, and has met with such general approval, that we conceive there can be no longer any reason for delaying to perpetuate it in the proper material.

From the address delivered at Worcester, by Governor Lincoln, we select the following brief but graphical remarks.

"Standing here in your midst, with all the preparation of the place in full view before us, it needs not, that I point you to its picturesque beauties, or mark how art has improved, or taste embellished, the loveliness of nature. The broad avenue and the winding path are before you. The open plain, the gently rising hill, the easy sloping declivity, the natural rivulet, and the miniature lake of artificial creation, are among the diversified objects of this attractive spot. Here are the deep shade of the evergreen tree, and the pure cold water of the perennial fountain, to soothe and refresh the weary and the disconsolate. Even solitude's self may here find retirement, and melancholy her chosen food for meditation. In the capaciousness and diversity of the grounds, and the order of their arrangement, the requirement of every taste will be satisfied. The head of the humble may be laid low in the glen, and the green moss gather upon the dampness of the gravestone, or the ashes of the world's favored ones be mingled with the dust of the hillock, and the sculptured marble upon the mound, proclaim the end of earth's greatness. Sympathies and feelings will select the spot where congenial associations cluster, and that spot will become sacred to affection and the

* We have heard this gateway favorably contrasted with that recently erected at the "Granary" burial-place in Boston. In the latter, "the entablature is said to be altogether too low; the curve too nearly circular for beauty; and above all, the length of the whole top, where it joins the posts, two or three inches too short." We do not pretend to decide such questions as these, but, as every thing connected with the public architecture of our cities is a public interest, we submit the above criticism to the consideration of those qualified to decide. But, whatever may be thought of the details of this re-construction of the wall of the "Old Granary" burial-place, there can be but one opinion respecting the pious care that has been recently bestowed upon it by the public authorities, and the good taste, with the above exception, in which it has been manifested.

love of virtue. Religion shall find here a temple in every grove, and prayer an altar on every mound. The throng of the idle multitude shall not obtrude within these walks, nor the din of the world's cares disturb the quiet of these shades, nor the footsteps of business cross the pathway to the tomb, nor the swift heel of pleasure press the bosom of the fresh tenant of the grave." — pp. 20, 21.

From the address of Mr. Kennedy, at the consecration of "Green Mount Cemetery," in Baltimore, Maryland, we extract the following beautiful and characteristic passage.

"I know not where the eye may find more pleasing landscapes than those which surround us. Here within our enclosures, how aptly do these sylvan embellishments harmonize with the designs of the place! — this venerable grove of ancient forest; this lawn shaded with choicest trees; that green meadow, where the brook creeps through the tangled thicket begemmed with wild flowers; these embowered alleys and pathways hidden in shrubbery, and that grassy knoll studded with evergreens and sloping to the cool dell where the fountain ripples over its pebbly bed, — all hemmed in by yon natural screen of foliage which seems to separate this beautiful spot from the world, and devote it to the tranquil uses to which it is now to be applied. Beyond the gate that guards these precincts we gaze upon a landscape rife with all the charms that hill and dale, forest-clad heights, and cultivated fields may contribute to enchant the eye. That stream, which northward cleaves the woody hills, comes murmuring to our feet, rich with the reflections of the bright heaven and the green earth; thence leaping along between its granite banks, hastens towards the city whose varied outline of tower, steeple, and dome, gilded by the evening sun and softened by the haze, seems to sleep in perspective against the southern sky; and there, fitly stationed within our view, that noble column, destined to immortality from the name it bears, lifts high above the ancient oaks that crown the hill, the venerable form of the Father of his Country, a majestic image of the deathlessness of virtue.

"Though scarce an half hour's walk from yon living mart, where one hundred thousand human beings toil in their noisy crafts, here the deep quiet of the country reigns, broken by no ruder voice than such as marks the tranquillity of rural life, — the voice of 'birds on branches warbling,' — the lowing of distant cattle, and the whetting of the mower's scythe. Yet tidings of the city not unpleasantly reach the ear in the faint murmur which at intervals is borne hither upon the freshening

breeze, and more gratefully still in the deep tones of that cathedral bell,

'Swinging slow, with sullen roar,'

as morning and noon, and richer at even tide, it flings its pealing melody across these shades with an invocation that might charm the lingering visiter to prayer." — pp. 30, 31.

Green Mount Cemetery is a part of the country-seat of the late Robert Oliver, of the city of Baltimore, the whole of which was purchased by an association of gentlemen in 1838, for sixty-five thousand dollars. Its local beauties and advantages are alluded to in the above extract. Unlike Mount Auburn, the trees are, for the most part, set regularly to form avenues. It is surrounded by a permanent wall of stone, and ornamented with a very beautiful gate-way, which is in the Gothic style of architecture, and by some persons is preferred to that of Mount Auburn. One provision deserves particular mention. After reserving out of the proceeds of the sale of lots $40,000, to be invested as a permanent fund for the preservation of the cemetery, all further proceeds are to be appropriated, in certain definite proportions, to the improvement and ornamenting of the cemetery, to the promotion of the cause of Temperance, Sunday Schools, a Seamen's Home, and an Apprentices' Library. Indeed the whole arrangement of the Cemetery seems to have been conceived and carried on in a spirit of wisdom and philanthropy that deserves all confidence and encouragement, and we are happy to learn that the success of the enterprise has surpassed all expectation.*

We close these extracts with one from the "Address at the Consecration of Harmony Grove Cemetery, in Salem (Mass.), June 14th, 1840, by D. A. White;" which is as true to nature and to fact, as it is high-toned and beautiful in the expression.

"The lovers of nature had long been familiar with this rural retreat, attracted not only by the beauty of its scenery, but by the early flowering plants, which abound here in great variety, and by the harmony of the feathered songsters, which have ever delighted to collect here and to enliven with their notes the beautiful grove which owes to them its name. This portion of our grounds is finely wooded, presenting also an in-

* According to the Report published in 1840, lots had been sold to the amount of more than $70,000.

teresting variety of trees in proportion to their number. To some of you it may have been a subject of regret, that the fields, which have been added to complete the necessary extent of grounds, are not equally adorned with trees. But, I think, we must all be satisfied with their present condition, when we consider the opportunity thus afforded for introducing improvements in the order and kind of trees and shrubs. We may confidently trust to the correct judgment and taste of our friends who superintend these improvements, that every thing in their power will be done to enrich and adorn these fields with appropriate plants and foliage. It is their intention to introduce here, as far as may be practicable, every variety of American forest tree and shrubbery, forming a complete Arboretum Americanum, delightful to the lover of nature, and useful in a high degree to the student of natural history. This object alone, together with the beautiful promenades and healthful influences attending it, affording exhilarating exercise and the purest enjoyment, is of infinitely more value than its whole cost, to the people of our city and community who appreciate the gratifications of taste and the blessings of health. How incalculable then is the value of these grounds, when, in addition to all other advantages, we take into view the great and holy purpose to which they are now to be consecrated, and for which they are so admirably adapted.

"In casting our eyes around us, we are at once struck with the bold, yet beautifully variegated scenery of the place, presenting, at a single glance, every desirable structure and modification of grounds; high lands and low lands, the rocky cliff, the woody knoll, and the sheltered valley, with shady groves, and sunny slopes, and verdant plains, all graced by the gently winding stream beneath, which flows so softly by, that it seems to linger as if to enjoy the scene. Ascending the summit, our eyes open upon an extensive and richly diversified landscape, around the whole horizon, embracing delightful views of our neighbouring villages of Danvers and Beverly, and, in the wide range between them, cultivated hills and fruitful orchards, with handsome edifices interspersed, half buried in the foliage. In an opposite direction, rise before our view the spires and towers of our city of peace, with noble prospects of the harbour and of the ocean. Before quitting the beautifully varied landscape, our eyes will not fail to be arrested by that ancient 'garden of graves' on the opposite margin of the river, where sleep the forefathers of some of our worthy associates; — an object, always beheld from these groves with solemn emotions, and now to mingle its holiest influences with all that is hallowed here.

"But I would not undertake to describe to you, my friends,

what you behold in such vivid perfection, and what gives increased delight every time your eyes open upon the beautiful and picturesque scene. I would merely allude to some of the more prominent features and attributes of this fascinating retreat, which so preëminently qualify it for the uses of a rural cemetery. Its irregularities and varieties, affording a thousand interesting traits and local beauties, and always presenting something new in aspect or association, are among its leading charms. In such a region, the heart is never at a loss to find what is suited to inspire and fix its deep and tender sympathies, as well as to excite delighted emotions. Our local affections, like the vine, seek something to cling to and twine about in order to become strongly attached. Think you that the captive children of Judea would have mourned for their country with such undying love and tenderness, had not that country attached them by its varied and beautiful mountains, as well as its luxuriant vales? Think you that the Swiss patriot would cling to his native land with such ardor of soul, were its sublime mountainous scenery a level plain?

'Dear is that hill which lifts him to the storm.'

So, too, the striking varieties of land and scenery presented by these lofty summits and lowly vales, with these rocks and trees, these shrubs and flowers, while they afford every desirable form and aspect of ground for sepulture, are, in the highest degree, adapted to attract the affections, and to produce strong and tender attachments." — pp. 21–24.

This cemetery is, and promises to continue, one of the most beautiful and interesting in this country. It comprises thirty-five acres of land, and the loveliness of its site and prospects is not overrated in the quotation we have here made. It is situated out of the centre of the population, and is yet sufficiently near to the city to be easy of access. In some respects, it is thought to possess peculiar advantages. It combines the two objects of a rural cemetery and a public burial ground, thus obviating an objection which has sometimes been expressed against rural cemeteries, that, as they are exclusively private establishments, and are elaborately cared for and ornamented, they contrast invidiously with the ordinary places of public burial. But by this union of the two, and by a combination of public and private effort, provision is made for those who wish to secure private lots for themselves and their families, and at the same time, also, for

those who may not, for any reason, either of choice or necessity, avail themselves of this privilege ; while the great advantages of seclusion, rural beauty, inviolability of the relics of the dead, and an inalienable possession, are extended to all.

Another trait in the plan of this cemetery which deserves notice, is, that it contemplates the erection of a chapel or oratory within the enclosure, where the last religious rites of burial are to be performed. This, though common in similar establishments in Europe, has not, we believe, found a place in more than one in this country.* And yet, where the cemetery is sufficiently near to the centre of population to admit of the easy access of friends, a chapel for the performance of the religious services of burial, and sacred to them alone, seems to be all but indispensable. These services, as they are now conducted in private dwellings, are obviously liable to great objections. They render much bustle and irksome preparation necessary ; they fill the house of mourning with strangers, many of whom are often drawn thither by no worthier motive than a vulgar curiosity ; they disarrange the home of the mourner, and interrupt the usual habits of the family during the whole period that must intervene between death and the performance of the last rites, and, when these are paid, oblige the bereaved to return to a scene of confusion and disorder ; — thus adding, in various ways, disagreeable circumstances and unnecessary discomfort to what is in itself necessarily most painful ; — and all this at a time, too, when the heart, if ever, in the providence of God, sighs for quiet and seclusion. All these difficulties are obviously aggravated when the house, where death has been, is small and confined, and where, as is often the case in cities, two or three families dwell beneath the same roof. Many of these difficulties and annoyances may be obviated, indeed, by performing the last religious services in the church, as is the practice of some classes of Christians. But the arrangement is better still, when a suitable edifice is prepared, adapted in its style of architecture, and in its internal arrangements, for the reception and safe preservation of the remains of the dead, and where the last appropriate services may be duly paid. All this, as we have intimated, enters into the plan of the "Harmony Grove Cemetery." A beautiful natural mound, situated nearly in the

* Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia.

centre of the grounds, has been set apart for a chapel, in the exercise of that excellent taste that has reigned throughout the whole disposition of the place. It only now remains for some of the many wealthy inhabitants of that ancient city to honor themselves by the erection of a suitable chapel, and thus raise a noble monument to their memories. Indeed, it is seldom that such an admirable opportunity for the exertion of a large and enlightened public spirit presents itself.*

The cemetery at Laurel Hill is situated about four miles from the city of Philadelphia, on the banks of the Schuylkill River. The part reserved, in perpetuity, as a place of interment, and secured as such by an act of incorporation, lies westwardly of the "Ridge Turnpike Road," and comprises about thirty-two acres. It is a place of many rural charms, and is furnished, in addition to the receiving tomb usual in such places, with a mansion, chapel, superintendent's cottage, green-house, gardener's and porter's lodges, and shrubbery. It is also ornamented with statues of "Old Mortality" and his pony, and of Sir Walter Scott, cut from a quarry in New Jersey by the celebrated Thom. The description of "Old Mortality" in the "Tales of my Landlord," is faithfully and felicitously realized in stone, and should furnish to all subsequent proprietors a hint to keep the place in perpetual repair. "The figure of Sir Walter is one of two full length statues of the great author extant in stone, and is pronounced by competent judges an excellent likeness." The cemetery was incorporated in 1836. The first interment took place in October, 1836, before the survey of the plot was finished, in consequence of a lady having requested that she might be buried under a particular clump of trees. In one respect, and that

* A triangular lot has been reserved in a central part of the ground, where it has been proposed to erect a statue or monument to the memory of the honored and lamented Bowditch. This is peculiarly proper, and when completed, as has been proposed, will be honorable alike to the dead and the living. It is right and becoming that the city where this distinguished man was born, where he passed the greater part of his life, where he received, or rather where he achieved for himself, his high mental and moral culture, where his affections always turned with the ardor of a first love, and to which he left valuable tokens of his regard at his decease, should possess a permanent monument like this. It would be worth a thousand times its cost in the gratification of a proper self-respect it would afford to his fellow-citizens generally; and who shall estimate its propitious influences upon the minds of those ingenuous youth, who, generation after generation, shall thus be permitted to see an enduring memorial of what unaided self-training, united with high moral worth, can accomplish?

a very important one, it possesses an advantage over Green Mount Cemetery and many others in this country and elsewhere. We refer to the fact that graves are used in preference to vaults or tombs. The whole enterprise is considered by its friends to be in successful progress, though it has been obliged, we regret to learn, to contend with old customs and antiquated notions, together with the religious prejudices of one or two sects, and more than all, with an original outlay of funds, more than double that expended on Mount Auburn.*

Green-Wood Cemetery is situated on the undulating high ground back of Gowannis Church, in Brooklyn, near the city of New York, two miles and a half from the South Ferry. "The surface of the ground is beautifully diversified with hill and valley, descending in some places to less than twenty feet above tide-water, and, in others, rising to more than two hundred. One position in particular, called by way of pre-eminence, Mount Washington, is two hundred and sixteen feet high, being the most elevated ground in King's County, and is one of the highest points on Long Island. A considerable portion of the ground is now covered with a fine old forest of native growth, the verdure and shade of which originally suggested the name of *The Greenwood.*" The site of the cemetery comprises an area of two hundred acres. The carriage avenues already opened and completed extend about three miles and a half in various directions, and have been staked out for the distance of twelve miles. The place has become one of frequent resort during the summer months, and this circumstance alone has done much to recommend it to public favor. Though the corporation have lost the immediate superintendence of its president, Major Douglas,† whose place, as a scientific and practical man, they may not hope easily to fill, yet there can be little doubt of the ultimate and entire success of the enterprise.

There are, as we have intimated, other very beautiful cemeteries of less note and importance scattered over the country, which we have not space to notice particularly. We have

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* The cost of Laurel Hill Cemetery, up to the commencement of the present year, has been ninety-one thousand dollars. There were, at the same period, five hundred and fifty proprietors of lots, of different values, from fifty to many hundred dollars.

† Removed to the Presidency of Kenyon College in Ohio.

briefly referred to the above for the purpose of showing that a better feeling has begun to prevail amongst us in regard to the burial of the dead. And from these facts we indulge the hope that a great public interest is henceforth to receive that care which it imperiously demands, and which will serve, in some measure, to do away that reproach, to which our neglect and indifference to it have, hitherto, justly subjected us.

We would now add some suggestions on the appropriate rites and modes of burial. There seems to us to be quite as much need for improvement in these, as there was, until recently, in the places of sepulture.

And, first, the funeral service should, in our apprehension, be brief, and as *private* as the circumstances of the case will allow. The religious exercises should be condensed, comprehensive, and strictly in keeping with the person, place, and occasion. None but the immediate relatives and near friends, and those who really mourn, should be present at the service. The house of the mourners should be kept as quiet, as free from the intrusion of strangers as possible, for they need to be alone, who are attempting to gather up their religious resources, and reconcile their hearts, by degrees, to the now remediless blank that is left in the circle of their affections. Let it not become a sort of temporary bazar, where undertakers, and tailors, and mantua-makers, and milliners, *et id genus omne*, do congregate, to consult upon the last fashion that the "mockery of woe" has assumed. Let not the house, as we have before intimated, if funerals *must* be solemnized there, be disturbed in all its interior arrangements, to make room for a vacant crowd, who come as to an exciting spectacle. Let the funeral itself be simple, disfigured with no dark pomp and parade, no long procession of nodding plumes; and let the shocking mummery of hired mourners, whether bipeds or quadrupeds, be shunned as an abomination. In one word, let all things be done simply, fitly, quietly, reverently, and with an utter rejection of all idle show and empty pageantry.

In the next place, we must say, though we are aware that opinions differ on the subject, that the *earth* is the proper place for the remains of the dead, and not a tomb or vault above or beneath it. In other words, they should be interred or inhumed, not entombed. There is beauty in the thought of Cicero, that we thus commit them to the protection of a

mother.* "What can be happier," says Cyrus† to his children, "than that my body should mingle with that earth, which is the common giver of all things good!" We sympathize entirely with Laertes in his direction respecting the remains of his sister Ophelia;

> "Lay her i' the earth;
> And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
> May violets spring."

Why should we wish to preserve the unsightly and necessarily offensive relics of our departed friends? We can scarcely picture to ourselves a more disgusting scene than that of a cadavery of any kind; that, for example, of the Capuchins near Palermo, which is the most famous in the world, where two thousand dead bodies are set up, habited in their accustomed dress, exhibits a wretched spectacle of diversified hideousness. And yet this is but a mitigated form of the horrid reality, as it must elsewhere exist, since desiccation here arrests decay. The corpse of Carlo Borromeo, which lies in a crypt in the cathedral of Milan, decked out, in all its ghastliness, with fine clothes and ornaments, is another specimen of this shocking mode of preservation. The Egyptians had some excuse for their extreme care in preserving the bodies of their dead, in their peculiar notions of Metempsychosis, thinking that they might thus retard the departure of the soul on its long series of transmigrations, or keep its pristine body ready for its reception on its return. The Romans cut off a finger from the corpse, partly, as is supposed, that they might have something that once made a portion of the deceased, in the practice of their parentations, or renewed funeral rites at the burial-place of their friends. But why men of this day, who have not the poor excuse of such superstitions to plead, should wish to preserve, or even render accessible, the decayed and debased and unsightly fragments of what were once their friends, is to us inconceivable. Could we, even by a word, arrest that process of decay, by which the elementary

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*"Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm, quasi operimento matris obducitur." De Legibus, Lib. ii. It was also an ancient saying, "Terra es, terram geris, terram teris, in terram converteris." Lucretius says of the earth,

> "Omniparens, eadem rerum est commune sepulchrum."

† Xenophon. Cyrop. Lib. viii. c. 5.

principles of our bodies, loosened from the control of the mysterious principle of life, are allowed to obey their natural affinities, and hasten to dissolution, we would not utter it. Could our departed friends speak to us, would they desire such a disgusting preservation as this? No. When the spirit has gone to God who gave it, — let "dust go down to dust, earth to earth, ashes to ashes," — and no matter how soon. Only let it be in a spot in harmony with the recollections of our friends, as they were, and were to us, when living. Let it be in retirement, away from the noise and bustle of towns and streets, and all the garish show of life. Let it be under the open sky and in the free air. Let it be amidst the "inexpressible beauty of trees" and shrubs. Let it be among the harmonies, and beauties, and sublimities of rural nature.* Let it be set apart and enclosed, as our living homes are, from vulgar intrusion. Let it be adorned with the appropriate tributes of taste and feeling, and the spot, the spot, is memorial enough for us. The ghastly and loathsome image of what was once beautiful and lovely, would only serve to interrupt the trains of thought which we most wish to cherish when we think of those who were once here.

But there are other and obvious objections to tombs or vaults, besides those of taste and sentiment. They are necessarily insecure and comparatively temporary in their duration. We only distantly allude to those offensive results that must attend their dissolution. It is impossible, that, after a series of years, they should not, in the sure process of decay, that waits on the most elaborate structures of human skill, reveal what has been committed to their charge; and those who have visited *Père la Chaise*, which has not yet an antiquity of a half a century, will understand what we mean by these remarks. Indeed we need not go so far for an illustration of our meaning. Already have numbers been

* With what just taste and manly feeling does Propertius express himself on this subject! And how remarkable are the lines, too, when viewed in contrast with the all but universal practice of his age! They are almost beautiful enough to induce us to read his other poems, — even though they be his love elegies.

"Dî faciant, mea ne terrâ locet ossa frequenti,
Quâ facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter.
Post mortem tumuli sic infamantur amantûm.
Me tegat arboreâ devia terra comâ.
Aut humet ignotæ cumulus vallatus arenæ.
Non juvat in mediâ nomen habere viâ."

repulsed from our own cherished Mount Auburn, by circumstances to which we can only bring ourselves thus indirectly to refer.* Tombs, moreover, as ordinarily built, are so liable to interfere with the beauty of the scene, that in the cemetery of Green Mount, at Baltimore, where, as we have said, this mode of burial peculiarly and most unhappily prevails, the board of managers have restricted, by certain regulations, what they did not feel authorized wholly to interdict, allowing no vault to be erected of more than three feet in height. They have also employed their architect to design a model for tombs, that shall be less unsightly, and better adapted to the rural aspect of the place, than those in common use in Baltimore. Their language in their report is, "To cover Green Mount with the vaults common around our city, would be to deprive it wholly of its rural character, to make that gloomy which is now bright, to destroy the cheerful visage which nature has given to the spot, and substitute in its place one of sombre melancholy." We only add on this part of the subject, that, by the establishment of rural cemeteries, the only excuse that has any speciousness in it in favor of tombs and vaults, that of gathering into proximity and preserving together the remains of families and friends, is done away, since the "secure possession" of a lot for a burial-place affords every facility for this purpose that can be desired. On the whole, we cannot but think, upon consideration of all the facts, that the comparatively modern, and in many respects objectionable practice of entombment will be done away, and that the ancient, and on all accounts preferable method of inhumation, or interment in graves, will take its place.†

* Since writing the above, we have been greatly gratified to learn that the trustees of the cemetery have passed an order, prohibiting, except under certain specified circumstances, the erection of tombs therein. This regulation is another proof of the enlightened vigilance they exercise over the important trust committed to their keeping. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that the proprietors will not heartily respond to it. If they do not, we hesitate not to say, that the place will ere long be comparatively deserted.

† As we wish to render our remarks practically useful, and leave nothing unsaid, by which the painful circumstances attending the last rites may be alleviated, we observe that the practice of enclosing the coffin in a case of simple brick work, at the bottom of the grave, and covering it with a flat stone or marble slab, with or without an inscription, thus keeping it from direct contact with the earth around it, is, in every respect, an im-

Another important circumstance to be regarded in our burial-places, is the Epitaphs or Inscriptions on the monuments, which are there erected, if indeed any thing beyond names and dates be desired or tolerated. "Of all funeral honors," (says the venerable Weever, quoting from Camden,) "epitaphs haue alwayes beene most respectiue; for in them loue was shewed to the deceased, memorie was continued to posteritie, friends were comforted, and the reader put in mind of human frailtie: and indeed the frequent visiting, and aduised reuiewing of the tombes and monuments of the dead, (but without all touch of superstition,) with the often reading, serious perusall, and diligent meditation of wise and religious epitaphs or inscriptions, found upon the tombes or monuments of persons of approued vertue, merit, and honour, is a great motive to bring us to repentance." ("A Discourse of Funerall Monuments," p. 47). But to secure any of these worthy purposes, epitaphs or inscriptions should be brief, condensed, solemn, suggestive, and above all, deeply and thoroughly religious in their tone. How grossly all these requisitions are constantly sinned against, is known to all. Among the millions of epitaphs that have been devised and carved on solid stone, there are a very few that are barely tolerable, while many are marked with decided silliness and affectation, and many others are so quaint and ridiculous as to find their more appropriate place in jest-books. We have before us a thick folio volume devoted to "ancient funeral monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands adjacent," * which is filled with their inscriptions, and we have not seen a single one of the whole that is entitled to any special commendation, while there are not a few which fall under the categories last stated. We remember to have seen, many years ago, five whole vol-

provement on the common mode of shovelling the earth directly upon the coffin. And while speaking on this point, we earnestly beseech all sextons to pause, in this last office, until the mourners are out of hearing, at least.

* This book is by the worthy Weever, above referred to. It is a curious volume, and is ornamented by the "vera effigies" of the author, with his hand upon a skull, all of which is in beautiful consonance with the subject and book, and appears to be a "vera effigies" of his mind, as well as person. His biography is summed up in the following lines affixed to his portrait.

"Lancashire gave him breath,
And Cambridge education;
His studies are of death,
Of heaven his meditation."

umes full of American epitaphs, collected by a countryman of ours, which is open to a similar remark. Of the multitude of inscriptions of the various cemeteries near Paris, including that of *Père la Chaise*, there are very few, as it seems to us, that are unexceptionable. They comprise, not unfrequently, touching expressions of human tenderness, love, and disappointed hope; are full of what the French call "*la plus touchante émotion*," and of "*une expression aussi douce que consolatrice*," and "*empreint d'une douce mélancolie*"; but among many hundreds, there is scarcely a distinct recognition of a Christian's hopes, or so much as an allusion to the great verities of a Christian's faith. The French language seems to be eminently adapted to give point, brevity, and terseness to this species of composition; and it is the more to be regretted, therefore, that it should be so often used only to ring changes on such topics as mere earthly emotions, the sleep of the grave, the frailty of human life, and the night of death. Indeed, in thinking on this subject, we are ready to respond to the sentiment of Byron, who, when he wrote it, little thought *what* an epitaph his "name alone" would be.

> "O! may my shade behold no sculptured urns
> To mark the spot, where earth to earth returns;
> No lengthened scroll, no praise-encumbered stone;
> *My epitaph shall be my name alone.*"

In the cemetery of Mount Auburn a better taste prevails, not only with regard to inscriptions, but also in the general style and structure of the monuments on which they are inscribed. They are for the most part, in good taste, and singularly free from conceit, prettiness, and affectation.

We would further add, in reference to the adornment of our final resting-places, that not only should the graves be carefully guarded and protected, all weeds and brambles removed, and the turf kept close and green, but that they may be appropriately adorned with flowers and shrubs. We do not sympathize with some late writers who regard the planting of flowers as out of place in a grave-yard. On the contrary, we think with Mr. Irving, that it is a "beautiful and simple-hearted custom,"* and appreciate the justness of the analogy which has been felt in all ages, and happily

* See his delightful Essay on "Rural Funerals." *Sketch Book*, Vol. I.

expressed by Evelyn in his "Sylva." "We adorn," says he, "their graves with flowers and redolent plants, just emblems of the life of man, which has been compared in Holy Scripture to those fading beauties, whose roots being buried in dishonor, rise again in glory." And again, — "This sweet flower," (the rose,) "borne on a branch set with thorns, and accompanied with the lily, are natural hieroglyphics of our fugitive, umbratile, anxious, and transitory life, which, making so fair a show for a time, is not yet without its thorns and crosses." Why should not flowers and flowering shrubs, which are among the most beautiful and wonderful creations of God, and are among the most express tokens of His beneficence, since, as has been noted by others, they are provisions for human happiness, as an ultimate purpose, — why should they not, we ask, be placed to mark the spot, where the mortal relics of those who were once most lovely and endeared to us repose? They may be, indeed, clustered there in too great profusion; they may be injudiciously arranged; they may be of a too common, flaunting, and gay character; and thus give to the grave a finical and frivolous aspect; — but still, when fitly chosen, and duly placed, they are among the most appropriate, and, we will add, the most suggestive adornments of the place. The very general practice of men in all ages shows too, that it is founded in a natural, and not in a casual association. The Greeks and Romans scattered them, not only over the funeral pile and tomb, but also over the body and bier of the departed.* The rose, first in beauty as in estimation, was employed by both these ancient nations for this purpose, but was particularly valued by the Romans. They sometimes made it a condition of inheriting their property after death, that their monuments should be strewed with roses.† The amaranth, the emblem of immortality, was held peculiarly sacred to funeral rites among the Greeks. The Thessalians, according to Philostratus, crowned the tomb of Achilles with roses. The white pothos, the parsley, and the myrtle, were in like manner employed. The urn of Philopœmen was covered with garlands. The grave of Sophocles was decorated, according to Simonides, with roses and ivy;

* Plin. Lib. xxi. c. 3.

† This appears from monumental inscriptions remaining. This is one. "UT. QUOTANNIS. ROSAS. AD. MONUMENTUM. EJUS. DEFFERANT."

"Wind gentle evergreen to form a shade
Around the tomb where Sophocles is laid.
Sweet Ivy, wind thy boughs, and intertwine
With blushing roses and the clustering vine;
Thus will thy lasting leaves, with beauty hung,
Prove grateful emblems of the lays he sung."

The same tribute was paid to the tomb of Anacreon;

"This tomb be thine, Anacreon; all around
Let ivy wreathe; let flowerets deck the ground."

Virgil strews over the corpse of Pallas, the leaves of the arbutus and other funeral evergreens.* The pine and cypress were held to be peculiarly funereal trees. The latter, according to Pliny,† was held sacred to Pluto; and both were thought to be emblematical of the death of men, because when once cut off, they will not spring up again. A different but not less apt reason is suggested by Sir Thomas Browne. "In trees," says he, "perpetually verdant, lie silent expressions of surviving hopes." The tomb of Hafiz stands beneath a cypress which he planted with his own hand. Sadi asks his friends to

"rifle every floweret's bloom,
To deck the turf that binds my tomb."

The earliest Christians discountenanced the practice, probably on account of their dislike to every thing belonging to the heathen; but in subsequent ages, when this cause was removed, they adopted it.‡ Shakspeare, as we should expect, often refers to the same beautiful analogies. "There 's rosemary," says Ophelia, "that 's for remembrance, pray you love, remember; and there 's pansies, that 's for thoughts. . . . . .

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* How beautiful is the following passage;

"Qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem,
Seu mollis violæ, seu languentis hyacinthi;
Cui neque fulgor adhuc, necdum sua forma recessit;
Non jam mater alit tellus, viresque ministrat." — Æn. xi.

† Lib. v. 10.

‡ Thus St. Jerome says, "Ceteri mariti super tumulos conjugum spargunt violas, rosas, lilia, purpureosque flores, et dolorem pectoris his officiis consolantur." And in a hymn of Prudentius, the following stanza occurs;

"Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequenti."

We may add on the authority of Bucke, ("Beauties, &c. of Nature,") to whose third chapter we have been much indebted in this part of the subject, that the practice of placing flowers on graves prevails in Morocco, Java, China, Surat, Lapland, the South Seas, the Liew Kiew Islands, Japan, among the Indians of North America, and in Africa.

There 's a daisy ;* — I would give you some violets, but they withered all, when my father died." The appropriate gift of Perdita, in the " Winter's Tale," will at once recur to the mind here. Arviragus, in Cymbeline, true to the natural dictate of the heart, says ;

> " With fairest flowers,
> Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
> I 'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack
> The flower, that 's like thy face, pale primrose ; nor
> The azured harebell, like thy veins ; no, nor
> The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander,
> Out-sweeten'd not thy breath. The ruddock would
> With charitable bill, (O bill, sore-shaming
> Those rich-left heirs, that let their fathers lie
> Without a monument !) bring thee all this ;
> Yea, and furred moss besides, when flowers are none,
> To winter-ground thy corse."

And, with what kindred beauty, has Collins embodied these thoughts in the song beginning with, —

> " To fair Fidele's grassy tomb,
> Soft maids and village hinds shall bring
> Each opening sweet, of earliest bloom,
> And rifle all the breathing spring."

Shirley has a very touching allusion to the same practice in the " Traytor." The allusion, we hardly need say, is to Death.

> " I shall be married shortly,
> To one whom you have all heard talk of ;
> Your fathers knew him well ; one, who will never
> Give cause I should suspect him to forsake me,
> A constant lover ; — one whose lips, though cold,
> Distil chaste kisses : though our bridal-bed
> Be not adorned with roses, 't will be green ;
> We shall have virgin laurel, cypress, yew,
> To make us garlands."

Indeed, the older English poets abound in tender allusions of the same kind. The following lines from Milton's " Lycidas " are among the most beautiful of that solemn strain ; —

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* Commentators have been much perplexed to ascertain the allegorical meaning of the other flowers in Ophelia's parting gift. It has occurred to us that the exposition might be furnished by the poet W. Browne, who was contemporary with Shakspeare, and doubtless embodied in his verse the prevailing impression of the time. According to him, the columbine was the emblem of desertion; and the daisy, that of beauty and innocence. Shakspeare himself, in one of his sonnets, tells us what the *violet* typifies ;

> " Violet is for faithfulness
> Which in me shall abide ;
> Hoping likewise, that from your heart,
> You will not let it slide."

"Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,
The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,
The white pink, and the pansy freak'd with jet,
The glowing violet,
The musk-rose, and the well-attir'd woodbine,
With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
And every flower that sad embroidery wears:
Bid amarantus all his beauty shed,
And daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
To strow the laureate herse where Lycid lies."

Chatterton, in one of the sweetest stanzas of his "Mynstrelles Song," says;

"Heere uponne mie true love's grave,
Schalle the baren fleurs be layde,
Nee on hallie seynete to save
Al the celness of a mayde."

But we may not further multiply quotations. The whole body of English poetry, which is more thoughtful and suggestive, and deals more with the real and inherent, though often remote and obscure analogies of external things with the inner heart, than all other poetry, — is fraught, throughout, with allusions to the beautiful practice of placing flowers on graves.

We conclude these remarks by a slight reference to a subject, intimately connected with the preceding, — that of Symbols or Emblems which are placed on tombs and funereal structures. Some of the more common of these are the following; — The Caudivorous Snake, Inverted Torch, Winged Globe, Hour-glass with and without wings, Cross, Harp, Globe with star surmounted by a cross, Veiled Urn, Lacrymatories or tear-vessels, Snake tasting from a bowl, Scythes, Bows with broken strings, &c. Some of these fall under the category of what are called conceits in design; some are exceptionable on other accounts; and some seem to be employed on no other ground than the long-continued usage of the stone-cutters. We shall not here attempt to go deeply into the philosophy of those rules by which this species of symbolical representation should be governed. There is one principle, however, as it seems to us, which lies on the very surface of the subject, and which should never be violated. It is, that a symbol or emblem should be the natural and obvious expression of the idea or event it is intended to suggest. It is desirable, moreover, though not indispensable, that an emblem should be beautiful in itself, or at least one free from mean and offensive associations. They who have compared the sym-

bols of ancient Egypt with those of classical antiquity, will at once appreciate the force of this remark. On this account, as well as for other reasons, we must object to the emblem first named above, which has now become very common, the snake with its tail in its mouth. The only authority that we have heard assigned for this, is, that it is an old Egyptian emblem of eternity. We believe this to be an entire mistake. Pettigrew, a very high authority, says, this emblem "is not found on any Egyptian sculptured mythological representation of an early epoch." * Wilkinson, in his late learned work on Egypt, † comes to the same conclusion. His words are; "It is doubtful if the snake with its tail in its mouth was really adopted by the Egyptians as the emblem of eternity. It occurs on papyri, encircling the figure of Harpocrates; but there is no evidence of its having that meaning, and I do not remember to have seen it on any monuments of an early Egyptian epoch." He quotes Macrobius in a note, who declares it to be a "Phœnician mode of representing the world." The Greek writers, it is ascertained, "imagined that this emblem was used by the Egyptians to indicate the unutterable name of the eternal Ruler of the universe." ‡ We may add, that our own inquiries, after much research, including the great work of the French *savans* who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, have led us to the conclusion that it rests on *no early authority* of the Egyptians.

But even if the emblem were Egyptian and ancient also, it seems to us that the utter opposition between our associations and those of the early dwellers on the Nile, in relation to the snake, render it an incongruous and improper emblem for us. With them, a certain species of this class of animals was looked upon with respect, from the circumstance of their use in destroying mice and reptiles. But with us, the old curse still abides with the serpent in all its forms, and there is yet "enmity put between us and him," so that his image is to us the emblem and appropriate embodiment of guile and sin. It is thus the furthest possible from the associations we cherish in regard to our departed friends, and is, in no respect, suggestive of the emotions and sentiments proper to a burial-place. We only add on this subject, that if there be

* Pettigrew on Egyptian Mummies, p. 215.

† Second Series of the "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians." Vol. II. p. 243.

‡ Wilkinson, Vol. I. p. 178.

any soundness in these remarks, all must revolt especially from one very common use of this emblem, we mean that of the caudivorous snake *encircling the cross.*

Another of these symbols appropriated to funereal monuments is the hour-glass, employed as typical of the steady lapse of time. If this can be used singly without being liable to the objection of conceit, yet the addition of *wings* seems to constitute a very incongruous image, — a sort of mixed metaphor. The inverted torch is an emblem of undoubted antiquity, and was an appropriate symbol of death to those who believed it to be the *extinction* of life ; but with Christians, who regard death but as an event in an imperishable existence, its use is at least questionable.

We will close these remarks with a slight reference to one other of these symbols, — the winged globe. This is one of the oldest and most common that is found on Egyptian sculptures. It is said, in some books on architecture,* to be a type or symbol of the Deity. But this is probably a mistake, since, according to Wilkinson,† it is very questionable whether the Deity himself was ever represented under any form by the Egyptians, or was supposed to be "approachable unless under the name and form of some deified attribute indicative of his power." The winged globe was probably one of this latter kind.‡ But in modern times, this emblem is almost uniformly misapplied, whether it be regarded as typical of the one or the other. Thus it may be found at the gate-way of a *railroad car-house*, in the western part of Massachusetts, where an emblem of this sacred significance will not be considered as *peculiarly* called for. It is scarcely less out of place, as we think, on the monumental structures of cemeteries, where it is often found, both in this country and elsewhere. It is at least doubtful, whether, at the present day, and under the spiritual light of Christianity, any "graven image" of the Deity, or of His attributes, should be employed ; and still more doubtful, if used, that

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* In Stuart's "Dictionary of Architecture," for example.

† "Ancient Egypt," Second Series. Vol. I. pp. 178, 179.

‡ Since writing the conjecture in the text, we have ascertained it to be well founded. According to Wilkinson, (Vol. I. p. 412,) the symbol of the Winged Globe, supported by two asps, is that appropriated to Hor-Hat, or Agathodæmon, the genius who presided over the persons of kings and sacred temples. It unites the emblems of *Re*, the Sun, of *Neph*, the Spirit of the Deity, and *Mant*, Nature.

it should be derived from the ancient Egyptians, whose idolatry was so gross, sottish, and bestial, and its outward expression so grotesque, mean, and contemptible, as to render them the laughing-stock of even the idolatrous Greeks and Romans. Thus Juvenal, in one of his most severe and dignified satires, exclaims ;

> "O holy nations! Sacro-sanct abodes!
> Where every garden propagates its gods!"

But we do not intend to protract these remarks, and would not willingly incur the charge of hypercriticism, and especially on a subject of such seemingly small importance. We think, however, that all must agree with us, that if these symbols or emblems are used at all, they should be appropriately used ; and that all incongruity, and still more any approach to absurdity, sadly jar with the fitting associations of the place.

ART. V. — 1. *Speech of* MR. CHOATE, *of Massachusetts, on the Case of Alexander McLeod, delivered in the Senate of the United States, June 11th*, 1841. Washington : "National Intelligencer" Office. 8vo. pp. 16.

2. *Speech of* MR. BENTON, *of Missouri, on the Case of McLeod. In Senate, Monday, June 14th*, 1841. Washington : "Globe" Office. 8vo. pp. 8.

3. *Opinion delivered by* Mr. Justice COWEN, *in the Matter of Alexander McLeod, in the Supreme Court, on Habeas Corpus*, July Term, 1841. (Published in the "New York Spectator" of July 14th.)

4. *Message* from the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, (July 14th, 1841,) *transmitting a Communication from the Secretary of State, in Relation to the Seizure of American Vessels by British armed Cruisers, under the Pretence that they were engaged in the Slave Trade ; and also, Correspondence with Consul Trist, upon the Subject of the Slave Trade, in Compliance with a Resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 21st ultimo.* Twenty-seventh Congress. First Session. Document No. 34.

THERE is no question that we stand just now on rather a slippery footing with our stern mother England. The affair

of Schlosser, though by no means the only disturbing cause, is enough alone to threaten plenty of trouble. On the 29th day of December, 1837, Navy Island, on the river Niagara and within the British border, being occupied by a party of Canadian rebels and a rout of American "rascaldom," their allies, an American steam-boat passed over to it with a reinforcement of men, provisions, and munitions of war. That night, as she lay made fast to a wharf in the village of Schlosser, full of people asleep, perhaps prepared for a similar expedition the next day, she was attacked by an armed party in boats from the Canada side. They boarded her, drove out her passengers and crew, threw off her fasts, towed her into the stream, and sent her blazing down Niagara Falls. One man, Amos Durfee, was killed on the shore. Whether others came to their death in the boat, by sword, fire, or drowning, has not been ascertained, the adventurers being little known to each other, and being generally of a class of people whose whereabout is not easily traced.

The "transaction," as Mr. Fox daintily calls it, occasioned, not unnaturally, a strong feeling of resentment in this country. Armed irruptions into a neutral territory are never kindly taken by the invaded party. When attended with the destruction of property, and the death of men, they do not fail to create extreme dissatisfaction. A nation is tenderly jealous of the sanctity of its soil. The peaceable citizen is thoughtful for the security of his fireside. Mr. Van Buren, then President, applied to the British Government through the Minister at London for explanation and redress. The British government said nothing to the purpose, waiting to be further pressed. By and by, one Alexander McLeod came over to the American side, and boasted, truly or falsely, that he belonged to the boarding party, and with his own hand had put one of the Caroline's people to death. He was apprehended and examined; the Grand Jury of the County of Niagara found a true bill against him for the murder of Durfee, and he was put in prison to await his trial.

As things grew serious for McLeod, they melted the diplomatic reserve of England. A British subject was in peril of his life under a foreign jurisdiction, for doing (so it was said) a subject's duty; and the practised mane of the British lion could not choose but bristle. The minister of that power

at Washington, Mr. Fox, demanded McLeod's release. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, replied, that he was in the hands of justice in New York, and must await his deliverance in the regular course. Mr. Fox reported this answer to his government, and in reply was directed by Lord Palmerston to assume the attack upon the Caroline as an act done by the authority of the British government ; — an act, therefore, for which that government was responsible, — responsible to any foreign power, which might consider itself aggrieved, and bound to its own subjects to secure to them impunity for whatever agency they had had in it. And on this ground, he, in the name of his government, repeated the demand for McLeod's immediate discharge.

Thus the business assumed a new phase. Mr. Webster, who had become Secretary of State, replied ; Now you let us understand you. You tell us, what you have not told before, that you hold yourselves answerable as a nation for this intolerable wrong, and that, this being so, we ought to put out of the question McLeod and his associates, who were bound on their allegiance to be your instruments, at your discretion, in any act of war. We assent to the principle, and will act in good faith upon it. But as yours and ours are governments of law, we do not understand you to demand of us to compass what we both desire, by any illegal step. In Great Britain and the United States of America, whoever is in the custody of law, must by process of law be delivered. If the matter of McLeod were in a Federal court, the President would release him by directing the prosecuting officer to enter a *nolle prosequi*. As it is, we must proceed differently ; and should he not be discharged by the inferior tribunals, we will take care to have his case carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, to whose especial prerogative it belongs to take cognizance of legal questions involved in the foreign relations of the country.

This correspondence, communicated to Congress early in the extra session, in June last, led to a vehement debate in both Houses. When is an individual, engaged in hostile acts against one country or its citizens under the authority of another, clothed with the immunities which attach to a prisoner of war ? If he enters foreign lines as a spy, or robs a mail to get at a government despatch, he cannot throw the responsibility on his superiors, and plead their commands in

his defence ; what acts can he do, and have that defence avail him ? What *war* is that which will be a legal justification of acts done in its prosecution ; and was the affair of the Caroline, with its concomitants, actually a war in the contemplation of this principle ? If a nation avows an injurious act of its citizen, and we determine to hold it accountable in the way of national redress, are we thereby precluded from visiting the individual also with the penalties of municipal administration ? These are some of the questions which were argued. Some exciting topics naturally came in to extend the range of debate. A piquancy was given to it by an expression in the British minister's letter, construed into a threat of consequences to follow a neglect of his demand ; and one Senator, from a rather turbulent region, professed himself disposed to hang McLeod, if it were for no other reason than that the British had threatened us with what they would do in that event.

In the July term, McLeod was brought up before the Supreme Court of the State of New York, under a writ of *habeas corpus*. Availing themselves of a provision of the recent *Revised Statutes* of that State, his counsel put in his affidavit to the effect, 1. " That he was absent, and did not at all participate in the alleged offence ;" 2. " That, if present and acting, it was in the necessary defence or protection of his country against a treasonable insurrection, of which Durfee was acting in aid at the time."

After a full hearing, the writ was dismissed. The opinion of the court was delivered by Mr. Justice Cowen. The Judge, in the first place, produces the authorities to show, that by the Common Law, McLeod, being under indictment for a felony, could not claim even to be admitted to bail on such grounds as those on which he had claimed a final discharge. Then he considers whether the statutes of New York have, in this respect, enlarged the powers of the court, and concludes, that when, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, they allow the allegation of any fact " to show that imprisonment or detention is unlawful," they refer to facts touching the lawfulness of the *authority* for imprisonment or detention, and not to facts touching the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, these being only cognizable by a jury. Next, he inquires whether it is the duty of the court to direct the entry of a *nolle prosequi*, the concurrence of the court with the

prosecuting officer being required for this by the laws of New York; and he answers the question in the negative, for the reason that the statute gives the court no power of directing this entry, but only of consenting to it when proposed by the public prosecutor.

The shell broken, the Judge addresses himself to the kernel, in a consideration of the argument of counsel, denying jurisdiction on the ground that the case "belongs exclusively to the *forum of nations*, by which counsel mean the diplomatic power of the United States and England, or, in the event of their disagreement, the battle field." We need not follow him in the distinctions, which he here labors at length, between *solemn* and *unsolemn* war, since, as he rightly concludes, by the modern law of nations, "both sorts of war are lawful, being carried on under the authority of a power, having, by the law of nations, a right to institute them." But, he says, "to warrant the destruction of property, or the taking of life, on the ground of public war, it must be what is called *lawful war*, by the Law of Nations, a thing which can never exist without the actual concurrence of the war-making power. This, on the part of the United States, is Congress; on the part of England, the Queen."

Without the *actual concurrence* of the *Congress of the United States*, or the *Queen of England*, no hostile act can be lawfully done by a portion of the American or the British people; — if by the phrase *actual concurrence*, in this proposition, is not meant that which it seems to mean, the proposition is a very sound and unassailable truism; if otherwise, it is a very bold absurdity. It would be worth while to *assist* at General Gaines's reception at his first visit to the Presidential mansion, if a party of Indians should come to beat up his head-quarters at Memphis, and he should stack his arms, and take steam-boat to report at Washington that he had no intimation of the *actual concurrence* of Congress in his adopting measures of defence. The concurrence of the sovereign is necessary, without doubt, to constitute a lawful war, but it is a concurrence, which, in a variety of circumstances, must be presumed. It is to be presumed that the Queen of England, and the Congress of the United States, mean that their frontier shall be defended whenever it is threatened, and the officers and soldiers who defend it may very safely rely on their *actual concurrence* in

the defence, and would be very imprudent to entertain any doubt about the matter. According as Judge Cowen's words here are construed, his doctrine is altogether immaterial to the purpose in hand, or else it is not only not true, but admits of, or rather is, a *reductio ad absurdum*. If the *actual concurrence* of the sovereign in necessary hostilities for the defence of his territory, (this doctrine, of course, is independent of the question *what* hostile measures of defence may in any case be necessary,) if this is not to be understood as expressed in a general commission, or presumable from the object of self-protection, incident to the organization of civil communities, there is small safety for the subject except as he seeks it close by the capital; — there is nothing to prevent our company on the Aroostook from installing itself next week in Quebec; the garrison at Quebec will point a cannon against them at its peril. And as this is common sense, so it is good, old-fashioned law. Says Vattel;

"Every military officer, from the ensign to the general, enjoys the rights and authority assigned him by the sovereign; and the will of the sovereign in this respect is known either by his express declarations, contained either in the commissions he confers, or in the military code, or is, by fair deduction, inferred from the nature of the functions assigned to each officer; for every man who is intrusted with an employment is presumed to be invested with all the powers necessary to enable him to fill his station with propriety, and successfully discharge the several functions of his office. . . . . These particulars merit the utmost attention, as they furnish a principle for determining what the several commanders, who are the subordinate or inferior powers in war, may execute with sufficient authority. Exclusive of the consequences which may be deduced from the very nature of their employments, we are likewise to consider the general practice and established usage in this respect. If it be a known fact, that, in the service of a particular nation, officers of a certain rank have been uniformly invested with such or such powers, it may reasonably be presumed that the person we are engaged with, is furnished with the same powers."— Book III. Chap. ii. § 19.

"It was conceded in argument," however, says Judge Cowen, "that the Canadian provincial authorities had no inherent power to institute a public war." Then something utterly absurd was conceded, if by *public war* and *inherent*

power in this proposition is meant any thing which shall cause the proposition to be at all a pertinent one. Nothing can be more preposterous than to deny that colonial authorities may take hostile measures for the defence of their soil, and of their sovereign's right in it, and that this action of theirs will clothe the armed men whom they employ, with the immunities, whatever these may be, of soldiers in public war. No publicist, of credit, has ever ventured any thing like such a denial. Judge Cowen refers, for his doctrine, to Rutherforth (Vol. II. pp. 496–8). But Rutherforth, though perhaps he does not express himself with entire clearness or consistency, is evidently treating no such case as that of the powers of the military authority of a colony threatened with invasion; and when, in this passage, he says, "A war, though it begins from a person who is a magistrate, will not be a public war, unless it begins from him *as a magistrate*, that is, unless he is authorized by the society to make war," he leaves all to depend on the very question of fact which is the only one that can be at issue in this part of the case; viz. Are the colonial authorities to be considered as so charged with the safety of the colony, as to be competent to take hostile measures in their sovereign's behalf, for its defence? And Rutherforth immediately adds (p. 502), in a passage which Judge Cowen appears to have overlooked; "An inferior magistrate may use what force he has at hand to repel such an immediate danger, as will not allow him time to have recourse to the supreme executive body."

Again, Judge Cowen quotes Ward ("Foundation and History of the Law of Nations," Vol. I. p. 294), as saying, that "no *private* hostilities, however general, or however just, will constitute what is called a legitimate and public state of war." But Ward here means by *private hostilities*, as any one may see who will turn to the passage, hostilities carried on by "individuals possessing no public character, and authorized by no public commission;" and the same is the intention of Blackstone in the passage ("Commentaries," Book I. chap. vii. § 3) to which Judge Cowen merely refers; he is treating the case of "unauthorized volunteers in violence," by whose hostilities, he says, "the state ought not to be affected, unless that should justify their proceedings." Once more; Judge Cowen cites a *dictum* of Lord Ellenborough; (Blackburne *vs.* Thompson, East's "Reports," XV.

90.) "I agree, that it belongs to the government of the country to determine in what relation of peace or war any other country stands towards it, and that it would be unsafe for courts of justice to take upon them without that authority to decide upon those relations. But, when the Crown has decided upon the relation of peace or war, in which another country stands to this, *there is an end of the question.*" Judge Cowen italicizes the last words, denoting their meaning to be, that there can be no other end to the question. He perhaps did not observe that Lord Ellenborough goes on; "*And, in the absence of any express promulgation* of the will of the sovereign in that respect, it may be collected from *other acts of the state.*" Indeed, in the report of the same case in Campbell, (Vol. III. p. 66,) his Lordship is represented to have said, "the *most potent* evidence upon such a subject is the declaration of the state," establishing the inference that there may be other evidence.

Proceeding from the concession of counsel "that the Canadian provincial authorities had no inherent power to institute a public war," Judge Cowen says;

"We were, however, referred to Burlamaqui, Part 4, ch. 3, §§ 18, 19, to show that those authorities might do so on the presumption that their sovereign would approve the step, and that such approbation would reflect back and render the war lawful from the beginning."

The language of Burlamaqui is as follows;

"A mere presumption of the will of the sovereign would not even be sufficient to excuse a governor, or any other officer, who should undertake a war, *except in a case of necessity*, without either a general or particular order. . . . . Certainly sovereigns will never consent that their ministers should, whenever they think proper, undertake without their orders, a thing of such importance as *an offensive war*, which is, the proper subject of the present inquiry. In these circumstances, whatever part the sovereign would have thought proper to act, if he had been consulted, and whatever success the war undertaken without his orders may have had, it is left to the sovereign to determine whether he will ratify, or condemn, the action of his minister. If he ratifies it, *this approbation renders the war solemn*, by reflecting back, as it were, an authority upon it, so that it obliges the whole Commonwealth."

Nothing, it would seem, could be more unquestionable than this doctrine, or more directly applicable to the present

case. Judge Cowen, however, proposes to regard it as inapplicable, simply because England, in the guarded civility of diplomatic correspondence, has refrained from giving to the assault upon the Caroline the very plain-spoken title of an act of public war. "Neither the provincial authorities nor the sovereign power of either country," he says, "have, to this day, characterized the transaction as a public war, actual or constructive." Perhaps they have not, and perhaps they will not, at least till they have gone further in losing their temper and their manners. But, diplomacy apart, Mr. Fox's periphrastic expression, "a transaction of a public character, planned and executed by persons duly empowered by her Majesty's colonial authority to take any steps and do any acts which might be necessary for the defence of her Majesty's territories and for the protection of her Majesty's subjects," is one, we take it, not so very far from being synonymous with "public war," or any other equivalent shorter phrase which Judge Cowen might prefer. "Again," says the Judge, "if this view of the transaction [that is, as a 'lawful act of magistracy'] can be sustained, it was lawful *ab initio*. It required no royal recognition to render it national." Of course not. It is not the nature of *recognition* to *render* a thing one thing or another, but simply to explain and determine what it was and is. Avowal, in a case like the present, does not invest the subordinate with any new power, but it ascertains the point, that with such and such a power he had already been invested. As to the assailants of the Caroline, we of this country could not tell at first whether they acted on their own behalf, or on that of England. Had it turned out that they acted on their own, we should have been entitled to punish them ourselves, if in our hands, or to demand their punishment at the hands of England. England, who certainly has a right to know, says that they did it in her behalf and by her authority. All that remains then is, that she will justify it to our satisfaction, or expose herself to our displeasure and its consequences.

But we must do Judge Cowen the justice to say, that though his so explicitly asserted doctrine forbids colonial authorities, without express antecedent warrant from their sovereign, to protect their soil by warlike operations, he forthwith virtually rejects that doctrine. He speaks of a "power which the Canadian authorities held from England

to act in her place and stead," and says, "*So long as they confined themselves* within the territorial line of Canada, they were doing no more than the nature of their connexion with England required, sustaining that absolute and exclusive jurisdiction to which she is entitled with every other nation." So then, the rule is not precisely what it was just now. Just now, to justify any hostilities whatever on the part of colonial authorities, the "actual concurrence" of the sovereign at home was necessary. Now it is not necessary to justify hostilities within the colonial border, but only those exterior to it. The Judge is arguing here the question, what colonial authorities may do without the express direction of the government, and he now says, that they may not cross their border in any operations pretended to be for its defence. If they do, they divest themselves of the immunities of public war. This doctrine is a wide enough departure, to be sure, from what had before been so elaborately maintained ; still it makes an intelligible distinction, as it appears designed to make a grave one, between the lawfulness of foreign hostilities waged by the sovereign, or by colonial, authority. But the confusion of ideas is rendered complete, when, in the very next sentence it is said ; "Whether they had power, without pretence of being engaged in a war with the United States, *or could derive power from England*, to fit out an expedition, cross the line, and seize or destroy the property and persons of our citizens in this country, and whether *any one* acting such an assumption of power can be protected, is quite a different question." And so, after all, the question is not about the power of colonial authorities to conduct, 1. hostilities of any kind, or, 2. hostilities beyond their own border ; but, about the power of England to command any of her subjects to enter in arms a neutral country.

This is nothing more nor less than the old question, unembarrassed with any foreign incidents whatever, What circumstances those are which will justify a breach of the well-established rule that a nation's soil, like a man's house, is its castle. Neutral territory is in theory inviolable ; no doubt of it ; and so are many other things which, notwithstanding, are in fact violated, and for the violation of which the violator is held justified by the emergency of the case. I have no right to roil my neighbour's fish-pond ; but if my child has fallen into it, I shall take the risk of the trespass,

and expect to be excused. I have no right to tread down his standing corn ; but this consideration will hardly keep me quiet, if I see some one, whom he cannot control, pointing a blunderbuss at me from his side of the fence. The inviolability of territory is a law ; but self-defence, — and this extending to aggressive operations, if the necessity of the case requires them, — is the supreme law, to which every other does and must yield. It is a law, no doubt, subject to be referred to in erroneous applications, to justify what cannot be justified by it ; but its reasonableness as a law, and its cogency when fitly applied, no sane man will call in question. All that, in such an event, the government of the invaded country can say to the invader is, You have not made out that case of extreme danger to yourselves, which alone can justify a step so extraordinary. The mischief apprehended by you was not intolerable ; or it was not imminent ; or you might have been protected against it by our own action ; or your action transcended the limits which the existing emergency covered. If none of these pleas can be maintained, all that it can do is to sit down content, and guard itself for the future by such precautions as it may, against the recurrence of occasion for a step so justifiable in the other party, but still to itself so unpleasant. Our own government stood on the correctness of this statement, in its justification of itself to the Spanish government for the invasion of Florida by General Jackson, in 1817. In the following paragraph, Judge Cowen remembers only the rule, and forgets the exception. What is more to the purpose, he waves all distinction between colonial and national hostilities.

" All rightful power to harm the person or property of any one, dropped from the hands of McLeod and his associates the moment they entered a country with which their sovereign was at peace. *No exception* can be made consistently with national safety. Make it in favor of subordinate civil authorities of a neighbouring state, and your territory is open to its constables; in favor of their military, you let in its soldiery ; *in favor of its sovereign, and you are a slave.* Allow him to talk of the acts and machinations of our citizens, and send over his soldiers on the principle of protection, to burn the property or take the lives of the supposed offenders, and you give up to the midnight assault of exasperated strangers, the dwelling and life of every inhabitant on the frontier, whom they may suspect of a disposition to aid their enemies. Never, since the treaty of 1783, had

England, in time of peace with us, any more right to attack an enemy at Schlosser, than would the French have at London in time of peace with England."

This last statement is precisely correct. If an attack of the French upon London would not, under similar circumstances, be justifiable, then cannot the Canadian attack upon Schlosser be justified. The question simply is as to the exigency of the dispensing circumstances. Judge Cowen, though he had just now ruled that the law knows no exception, proceeds presently to allow that some exception must be made, and accordingly goes on to inquire whether the attack upon the Caroline was made under such circumstances as entitled it to the plea, — in itself relevant and sufficient, — of necessary self-defence. If what he had before said was well-founded, it was needless to ask this question as to the lawfulness of that movement; *de re actum esset;* but he does ask it, and concludes that the circumstances were not such as to afford that justification. The Secretary of State had so concluded before him, and in our judgment both concluded rightly. But in their ulterior conclusions they differ. England, says the Secretary, has by her colonial authorities done us a wrong, and must answer for it. England, says the Judge, has does us a wrong and must answer to our sovereignty in negotiation or war; McLeod also has done us a wrong, and must answer to our courts in the issue of an indictment and trial. And as to the practical application of the doctrine of individual irresponsibility under the given circumstances, Mr. Webster further says, The doctrine being sound, McLeod ought to have the benefit of it before trial, and be forthwith discharged. Judge Cowen says, The doctrine being unsound, McLeod ought not to have the benefit of it either before or on trial, but (the facts being proved) he should be convicted. We humbly conceive that neither ground can be defended. As we view the matter, the doctrine is sound, and McLeod, things having gone on as they have, ought to be put upon trial, and then to have the benefit of it, if the facts permit. The supposed facts being proved, it will be a good defence to a jury, and after conviction (should that take place) it will be a valid ground of further proceedings to stay judgment.

As to the soundness of the doctrine, all the writers agree to what common sense itself dictates, that, civil government being instituted for the common security, one of the obligations of a citizen is to do military service at the command of

his lawful governors. The government has a right to command that service, and to proceed to any length of compulsion or punishment in order to enforce it. This being so, the government is bound to save the citizen harmless for what he does in this way, under its dictation. It is not right that he should be liable to be hung, if he disobeys, by his own government; if he obeys, by the government of a foreign nation. In other ages a different practice has prevailed, and still does among barbarians. But this is the approved doctrine of modern times, and by civilized communities the person of a prisoner of war is now held to be inviolable.

The answer of Judge Cowen and some of the debaters in Congress to this, is two-fold. One part of it consists in adducing cases where the command of a government does not justify the citizen; the other, in an erroneous interpretation of a few passages from the publicists, chiefly one from Vattel. They say, the command of a government to its subject will not justify him to other governments for every thing that he may do. It will not justify him for entering foreign lines as a spy or a recruiting-officer, nor for robbing a mail, nor for poisoning wells, nor for private assassination.

Certainly it will not; the understanding among nations is, that it shall not; and, accordingly, such cases do nothing to illustrate the question in hand, being what the logicians call *impossible suppositions*. A government will not and does not command its subject to become a spy, or a mail-robber, or a private assassin, for the very reason that it knows its command will be no protection, if he obeys. The policy of nations has determined that it is not expedient to allow individual impunity to certain acts, even though they should be done under public direction, and accordingly the public abstains from directing them. The policy of nations, on the contrary, has agreed with the dictate of humanity in according individual impunity to public military operations, carried on under the authority of governments; and accordingly governments, as they see occasion, direct such operations without scruple, and the citizen, with as little scruple as to what his duty is, takes his own prescribed part in them. War, *solemn* and *unsolemn*, may lawfully be carried on by a government for sufficient reason; and, when it is carried on, the soldier engaged in it cannot lawfully be punished for doing any of the acts properly incident to its prosecution. Of

the sufficiency of the reason for waging war in either form, the government waging it is the only judge, and the soldier is not responsible for the correctness of the judgment. A government, when it can make out an extreme case of necessary self-defence, may lawfully send troops into a neutral country. When it determines to do so, the soldier whose agency it commands is bound to presume that it is proceeding rightfully, just as much as in any other case of hostile movement; at any rate, the right or wrong is not for him to determine in this case, more than in any other. And if he obeys orders, and does a soldier's part, (not a spy's, or robber's, or assassin's, — these he is not bound to do, while a soldier's he is,) then he is personally to be held harmless, if taken. And that is the whole plain common-sense philosophy of the matter.

So clear is the general doctrine, that the doing of a soldier's duty is not imputable as a felony, that it would be quite superfluous to collect authorities in its support. Let one or two suffice. Says Rutherforth;

"The members of a civil society are obliged, in general, and those members that have engaged themselves in the military service of it, are obliged in particular, to take up arms and to fight for it at the command of the constitutional governors, in the defence and support of its rights against its enemies from without. . . . . In consequence of the general consent of mankind to consider nations as collective persons, whatsoever is done by the members of a nation at the command of the public, or of the constitutional governors who speak the sense of the public, is the act of the nation, and, if the act is unjust, the guilt in the view of the law of nations is chargeable upon the nation, and not upon the individual members. . . . . When all mankind have agreed to consider the several members of a civil society only as parts of a collective person, that act under the direction of the common will of such collective person, however inexcusable a man who fights against them might be in the view of his own conscience, or of the law of nature, which considers him as an individual, they cannot consistently with this agreement, that is, they cannot consistently with the law of nations, charge him with having been guilty of a personal crime, merely upon account of his having fought against them." — Book II. Chap. ix. § 15. (Vol. II. pp. 545 – 547.)

Again;

"By giving the name of public war to reprisals or other acts

of hostility which fall short of being solemn wars, I suppose the reprisals to be made, or the acts of hostility to be committed, by the authority of a nation, though it has not solemnly declared war. For if the members of the nation make reprisals, or commit acts of hostility, *without being thus authorized*, they are not under the protection of the law of nations. — *Ibid.* p. 548.

Again ;

"In the less solemn kinds of war, what the members do, who act under the particular direction and authority of their nation, is, by the law of nations, no personal crime in them ; they cannot therefore be punished consistently with this law for any act, in which it considers them only as the instruments, and the nation as the agent." — *Ibid.* § 18. (Vol. II. p. 580.)

But, say the opponents, Vattel lays down a different doctrine ; and to show this they refer to the sixth chapter of his second book. The whole passage is as follows ;

"§ 73. As it is impossible for the best regulated state, or for the most vigilant and absolute sovereign, to model at his pleasure all the actions of his subjects, and to confine them on every occasion to the most exact obedience, it would be unjust to impute to the nation or the sovereign every fault committed by the citizens. We ought not then to say in general, that we have received an injury from a nation, because we have received it from one of its members.

"§ 74. But if a nation, or its chief, approves and ratifies the act of the individual, it then becomes a public concern ; and the injured party is to consider the nation as the real author of the injury, of which that citizen was perhaps only the instrument.

"§ 75. If the offended state has in her power the individual who has done the injury, she may without scruple bring him to justice, and punish him. If he has escaped, and returned to his own country, she ought to apply to his sovereign to have justice done in the case.

"§ 76. And since the latter ought not to suffer his subjects to molest the subjects of other states, or to do them an injury, much less to give open audacious offence to foreign powers, he ought to compel the transgressor to make reparation for the damage or injury, if possible, or to inflict on him an exemplary punishment, or, finally, according to the nature and circumstances of the case, to deliver him up to the offended state, to be there brought to justice."

Now it seems to us to be clear beyond the shadow of a

doubt, that Vattel is here asserting, in the strongest and most express terms, the doctrine which we maintain to be the correct one.

In the first of the paragraphs quoted above, he says, that one nation having received an injury from a citizen of another, may not absolutely conclude that other nation to be in fault; and this for the simple reason, that the nation to which the offender belongs may not have commanded or approved, but on the contrary may be ready to disavow and punish, its citizen's injurious act.

But, he says in the second paragraph, should the contrary prove to be the case, should the "nation or its chief approve or ratify the act of the individual, it then becomes a public concern." And the language which Vattel here uses would alone show his opinion to be the opposite of that for which his authority has been appealed to. The act, he says, "becomes a *public concern*," not a public and private concern both. And again; "The injured party is then to consider the nation as the real author of the injury of which the citizen was perhaps only the instrument." There can be no meaning in these words, except to define who is the *real author* of the injury, and accordingly the person who is to be held accountable, in distinction from him who is *only the instrument*, and therefore to be suffered to go free. The second paragraph accordingly disposes of the case where, an individual having done a wrong, his "nation or its chief approves and ratifies." This is the predicament of the assailants of the Caroline, and Vattel's rule is that adopted by our government.

The third paragraph, by every reasonable principle of interpretation, requires to be construed as disposing of the remaining case under the general subject; viz. the case in which "a nation or its chief" *does not* "approve and ratify." Then it is, and then only, that "the offended state" may "bring to justice and punish" the offender, if she has him in her power. That this is the meaning we hold to be altogether unquestionable, because to suppose the contrary is 1. to suppose that Vattel has passed over, without the slightest notice, one feature of the general question, as important as any; 2. it is to suppose that Vattel was capable of writing such nonsense as this; "If a nation or its chief approves and ratifies the act of the individual," and "the offended state

has him in her power," "she may without scruple bring him to justice and punish him. If he has escaped, and returned to his own country, she ought to apply to his sovereign to have justice done." If the case of an act having been approved and ratified (which is that of Captain Drew's enterprise against the Caroline), is the case treated in the third paragraph of the above extract, then it is the case treated in the second period of it as well as in the first; but will any man of common sense pretend, that after a sovereign had approved and ratified an act, Vattel meant to advise an application to him "to have justice done" upon the actors?

This passage, which it seems extraordinary that any reader should misunderstand, and which contains so express a contradiction of the doctrine of Mr. Benton and Mr. Buchanan, was the only one relied on by them in argument in the Senate. It also figures for the same purpose in the opinion of Judge Cowen, who further refers to Blackstone, (Book iv. ch. 5,) and Rutherforth (Book ii. chap. 2. [an error for 9.] § 12.), in which passages, a nation neglecting to punish the offence of a citizen, which it *has not authorized*, is called an *accessory*, an accomplice, and abettor, of his crime; — to another passage of the latter writer (Book ii. chap 9. § 20.) which treats of the privileges of ambassadors, and in which nothing more to the purpose is to be found than that an ambassador "can be proceeded against no otherwise than by a complaint to his own nation, which will make itself a party in his crime, if it refuses either to punish him by its own authority, or to deliver him up to be punished by the offended nation;" — to Rutherforth, again, (Book i. chap. 17. § 6.) and to Burlamaqui, ("Natural Law," Part 2. chap. 11. § 10.) where the subject under discussion is not any relations of states to individuals, but the relations of individuals who become accomplices in each others' acts; — and to Vattel, (Book iv. chap. 4. § 52.) where the case treated is so far from being in point, that in an express reference to the important passage above quoted from the same writer, it is stated to be a different one from the case therein discussed, and to be that of "refractory subjects," "who commit acts of hostility *without being able* to produce a commission from their sovereign."

But, while we are clear respecting the validity of the principle asserted by the British Minister, and acquiesced in by the American Secretary of State, we are equally satisfied of

the correctness of the decision of the New York court, in refusing to discharge McLeod upon *habeas corpus*. Said Judge Cowen;

"That he acted in right of a nation, or under public authority, is no more than matter of justification. It is like the case mentioned in Foster, 265, the public execution of malefactors; and the jury must judge whether the authority may not have been exceeded. But more; where either public or mixed war is alleged in mitigation, either allegation may be fictitious, and it shall be put to the jury, on the proper evidence, whether it existed or not."

We have argued that the principle of personal impunity for doing a soldier's duty, is a sound one. But whether the facts are such as to bring McLeod under its shield, is another question, and one which can only be solved when he shall have been put upon his trial. A legal principle, however good, protects only those who come within its conditions. A prisoner of war, keeping within his prerogatives as such, is secure; but if on his way homewards he steps into a house, and butchers its master, he shall be tried and executed. A public military expedition will protect its agents; but it will not protect any one, who, feigning himself engaged in it, shall have taken advantage of the disorder of the time to gratify a private enmity. Lord Hale appears to intimate, ("Pleas of the Crown," i. 565.) that plunder or robbery by an enemy, in time of war, may be burglary, if not done in the regular prosecution of the war, but "by those that are not in hostility *one to another*." * McLeod claims the benefit of a legal principle, which has reference to a certain class of acts, done under a certain set of circumstances. The principle is a good one, and let him have the benefit of it, if he ought. But who knows whether he ought or not? Who knows what acts he did, and under what circumstances? Who can know, till a jury has made inquisition? For any thing that the New York court had learned to the contrary,

* Burlamaqui, upon this point, after adverting to the difficulty there is in "determining precisely how far it is proper to extend acts of hostility even in the most legitimate wars, in defence of our persons, or for the reparation of damages, or for obtaining caution for the future," goes on to say; "Those who, in a just and solemn war, have pushed slaughter and pillage beyond what the law of nature permits, are not generally looked upon as murderers or robbers, nor punished as such. The custom of nations is to leave this point to the conscience of the persons engaged in war, rather than

when McLeod was brought before them on *habeas corpus*, — for any thing that it knows yet, or can know before the trial, — he was invited home to breakfast by Durfee the morning after the fray, and shot him across the table. The British government claims that he shall immediately have the benefit of a rule of public law, and yet it does not itself pretend to be informed whether the facts are such as properly to bring him under its protection. So far from it, that it is rather of opinion that the facts are not such. "Her Majesty's government," says Mr. Fox, in his letter of March 12th, "have the strongest reasons for being convinced that Mr. McLeod was not in fact engaged in that transaction." That, of the truth of which "her Majesty's government have the strongest reasons for being convinced," may very likely turn out to be true. If it does turn out to be true, then what McLeod did on that night, whether more or less, has nothing to do with the legal principle, so strenuously urged. And at any rate, until it turns out to be false, the American court cannot safely proceed to apply a principle, which it does not know, and even the British government does not suppose, to be applicable. It seems that we are not here reasoning on a mere abstract possibility of McLeod's having done a deed of blood, without the justification put forward for him; for, according to Mr. Choate,

"*It has been said*, in some of the discussions of this subject, although not here, that McLeod left the Caroline after the whole object of the enterprise had been accomplished, and committed an unnecessary, and distinct, and malicious murder on shore. I can say only to this, that no such fact forms any part of the basis of the opinion of the Secretary. He had either never heard of it, or he disbelieved it, or he assumed that the courts of law or the Attorney-General would allow its proper influence to a discriminating circumstance so important." — *Speech*, p. 4.

Now if this has been said, or has been liable, from the circumstances, to be said, the court could not proceed with too much caution. Until it has been ascertained that the putting

involve themselves in troublesome broils, by taking upon them to condemn either party" (Part iv. chap. 5. §14). This is well said; but in the case of mere sudden and transient hostilities, the reason for this connivance at acts of individual malice and wantonness not existing, it seems to follow that they remain to be judged upon their demerits, if the injured party should esteem it worth the while.

to death of Durfee by the hand of McLeod was an act done in furtherance of the objects for which the expedition from the Canada side was set on foot, it is to no purpose to inquire how far the colonial authority could extend protection. No matter what immunity its orders might confer, provided the thing done proves to be altogether different from what it ordered.

We are therefore decidedly of the opinion that the case cannot be properly disposed of without going to a jury. In the uncertainty, necessarily existing at this stage of the business, concerning the nature of the act done, we are not sure that a *nolle prosequi* would be a right and prudent measure. At all events we entertain no doubt respecting the proper action of the Court on the writ of *habeas corpus*. When it has been proved, if it should be, that McLeod put Durfee to death, and that he did it in the execution of a military enterprise set on foot by his lawful superiors, then his counsel will argue that it was justifiable homicide agreeably to the doctrine we have been maintaining, and the jury, being so instructed, as we doubt not they will be, by the court, will pronounce a verdict of acquittal. Should he, on the other hand, which we cannot imagine to be probable, be convicted through erroneous instruction concerning the law, the point will be reserved, and the matter will remain to be set right by the court of ultimate appeal.*

We have argued in defence of the course pursued by the New York court in remanding McLeod for trial, not only because we believe it to be correct, but because it intimately concerns the peaceful relations between the two countries that it should be seen to be so. If he ought not to be tried, then, in refusing his application for a discharge, a great wrong has been done to him, and to England whose subject he is, which country will accordingly be justified in resorting to the most energetic measures of redress. If, on the contrary, as we undoubtingly believe, no wrong has as yet been done, England will have to see that it is so, and to own that

* Under an indictment for murder, the plea of self-defence is as good as the best to procure an acquittal, provided the fact can be made out. But it would not do to discharge a person so indicted, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, in consideration of his affidavit of having been compelled to defend himself, even if the statement were further confirmed by common report and universal belief. So in the case of McLeod. If he killed Durfee in the discharge of a soldier's duty, he ought to go harmless. But the fact that the homicide was committed under that circumstance of justification must be shown, and the burden of proof is on the accused.

as yet she has no cause of complaint. We only regret, — and that we do right seriously,— that the New York court has compromised its own impartiality, by arguing and adjudging that decisive question, which, on its own showing, belongs to a later stage of the proceedings.

We have no great anxiety about the case of McLeod. The worst of it is over, as soon as the parties begin to understand one another. If he killed Durfee in the discharge of a soldier's duty, however unjustifiable the proceeding on the part of his superiors, we have no fear that he will suffer for it. If he killed him under other circumstances, he ought to suffer, and the English government cannot pretend to have cause of dissatisfaction. Our apprehensions are not upon that score, nor can we persuade ourselves that that government feels all the uneasiness which it expresses. Its ingenious diplomacy well knows how to present another issue, in order to keep out of view the true one. The real difficulty will begin when McLeod is at large ; for then there will be no longer an excuse for neglecting to look at the great question of the commanded and avowed outrage upon the American territory. No nation, which means to keep the peace with its neighbours, can do such an act without reasons of urgent necessity, showing the act to be consistent with friendly dispositions on its own part, and with security for the future on the other. No nation which means to hold its own, and to extend protection to its citizens, — none which has not made up its mind to become a by-word and a prey, — can think of sitting down quietly with such an assault unexcused or unatoned for. Before the matter can be disposed of, that strong case is to be made out, which Mr. Webster, in his letter of the 24th of April, has laid before the British minister.

"It will be for her Majesty's government to show upon what state of facts and what rules of national law the destruction of the Caroline is to be defended. It will be for that government to show a necessity of self-defence, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation. It will be for it to show, also, that the local authorities of Canada, even supposing the necessity of the moment authorized them to enter the territories of the United States at all, did nothing unreasonable or excessive ; since the act justified by the necessity of self-defence must be limited by that necessity, and kept clearly within it. It must be shown that admonition or remonstrance to the persons on board the Caroline was impracticable, or would have been unavailing ; it must be

shown that daylight could not be waited for ; that there could be no attempt at discrimination between the innocent and the guilty ; that it would not have been enough to seize and detain the vessel ; but that there was a necessity, present and inevitable, for attacking her, in the darkness of the night, while moored to the shore, and while unarmed men were asleep on board, killing some and wounding others; and then, drawing her into the current above the cataract, setting her on fire ; and, careless to know whether there might not be in her the innocent with the guilty, or the living with the dead, committing her to a fate which fills the imagination with horror."

The best thing to be hoped is, that the English government may be able to make out this case, so as to stand justified in the premises. It would be unprofitable to prejudge an argument, which as yet has not been presented ; but it is impossible to suppose, that silence on the subject can be eventually acquiesced in, or that any thing like the allegation of mere pretences for an act of such high-handed violence can quiet the feeling of anxiety and resentment with which it has agitated this country.

Another of the existing occasions of discontent with England, came under the notice of Congress at the late extra session. On the 14th of July, the President, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, communicated to that body parts of a correspondence between the American Secretary of State and the Minister at London, "in relation to the seizure of American vessels by British armed cruisers, under the pretence that they were engaged in the slave-trade," and of a "correspondence with Consul Trist [at Havana] upon the subject of the slave-trade."

Our readers are aware, that, in the course of the negotiations prosecuted by England in order to establish a mutual right of search by cruisers of one nation in ships of the other, supposed to be concerned in the slave-trade, the American government has refused to be a party to any such stipulation. It has said ; That trade is piracy by our laws, and we mean, in good faith, to prevent and punish its prosecution by our citizens ; but we cannot permit another power to do it for us. It has maintained the inconvenience of submitting its merchant ships to search by the officers of foreign men-of-war to be so great, that it must decline to come into any such arrangement, or to regard any act of the kind other-

wise than as a violence and indignity to its sovereignty and flag.* As the case now stands, if an English cruiser lies anchored by the side of an American slave-ship while she is receiving her cargo, the former cannot interfere. If an English officer fully believes that a slave-ship bearing the American flag is not in reality American, it is at his peril that he boards her, even to ascertain that fact. If, on examination of her papers, she turns out in fact to be Portuguese or Spanish, he stands justified; but if she proves to be American, no matter what reasons he had to suppose the contrary, his offence is complete. This latter case, it is true, is not likely to arise. The master of an American slave-ship will keep out of an English cruiser's way, because he knows, that, though theoretically secure against arrest, yet, if the cruiser should exceed its authority and send him home, he would be tried for piracy by the laws of his own country. But, if a *bonâ fide* American vessel, not a slave-ship, or able to conceal the fact that she is so, should be examined by an English officer, under the strongest presumption of her being engaged in that traffic under false colors, this is a violation of the friendly relations between the two countries, and one which will not fail to be brought by the injured party to the notice of its government.

It is obvious, that this state of things is fruitful in opportunities for mutual vexation. The English government has put itself to great pains and expense in negotiations for a combined action of the civilized states for the suppression of the slave-trade, to which it has not been able to persuade this country to become a party; and, while it supports a naval force on the African coast to carry into effect its own laws and its treaty rights in relation to this subject, it believes that it is often foiled by the fraudulent protection of the American flag. The British officer on the spot is annoyed by the belief, that, under the lying shadow of the Stars and Stripes, what ought to be his lawful prize is floating under his guns in impudent security. On the other hand, the apprehension, which the Duke of Wellington was candid enough to allow justified our government in not acceding to the right of

* A negotiation for this object came near to being successful in the year 1825, when it was arrested in the Senate, on account of the inequality of the concessions made on the part of England. The proposal has not, we believe, been revived since the letter of Mr. Clay to Mr. Addington, British Foreign Secretary, in April of that year.

search, is realized from time to time. A Salem merchant despatches his ship on an honest voyage, for African ivory, coffee, and gums. A rude and hasty British captain, vexed that he has been so often cheated, makes up his mind too incautiously on the case before him, insults the master, harries the men, vituperates the flag, embarrasses or ruins the voyage, perhaps sends the vessel home. And this is what honest traffickers can ill bear, and a watchful government will not submit to.

Of this description, cases have lately occurred with a very disagreeable frequency. No less than seven are presented in the papers lately sent by the President to the House of Representatives.

On the 13th of November last, Mr. Stevenson, the American Minister at London, addressed a note to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, calling his attention to the circumstances of "the seizure and detention of the American brig *Douglas*, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, on the African coast, by Lieutenant Seagram, of her Majesty's brigantine, the *Termagant*, on the charge of having on board a suspicious cargo, and intended for slave-trade." Another note, of the 27th of February, detailed the circumstances of two other like outrages, as follows;

"The first case is that of an American schooner, the *Iago*, of New Orleans, commanded by Captain Adolphe Dupouy.

"This vessel sailed from Matanzas, in the island of Cuba, in November, 1838, for the Cape of Mesurado, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of trading in palm-oil, wood, and other African produce.

"That, after proceeding on her voyage to different parts of the coast, she arrived at Cape St. Paul, where the captain landed his cargo, and from whence he was preparing to go into the interior of the country to trade, having bought for that purpose a quantity of oil and produce.

"That, on the 21st of February, 1839, and whilst within 5° 46′ north latitude, and 00.55′ east longitude, and whilst Captain Dupouy was on shore, the schooner was boarded by Lieutenant S. S. Seagram, commanding Her Majesty's brigantine of war, the *Termagant*, and during his absence his trunk was broken open, and a sum of money, amounting to one hundred and sixteen Spanish doubloons and fifty-four dollars, was taken therefrom, as also his chronometer and watch,

and that a large quantity of wine was drank, destroyed, and lost; that all his men had been conveyed on board the *Termagant*, except the mate; that the captain thereupon asked leave of Lieutenant Seagram to search the sailors, and, in doing so, found upon them a sum amounting to one hundred and fourteen doubloons, and nineteen dollars, and that the sailors informed him, that they had taken the money because they were afraid that they would be set on shore and abandoned, and the schooner destroyed. That all the captain's clothes were left on shore, and have been wholly lost.

"That all the crew, and a passenger by the name of Bouyolli, an American citizen and native of the State of Maryland, were put on shore at Cape St. Paul, and that Captain Dupouy was detained and brought to Sierra Leone, where he arrived on the 18th March, 1839.

"That Lieutenant Seagram then endeavoured to proceed against the Captain of the *Iago*, in the British and Spanish mixed court of justice, established in the colony for the prevention of illicit traffic in slaves, but the court would not allow such proceeding; and that, accordingly, on the 30th March, 1839, Captain Dupouy was put in possession of his vessel, which was done in the presence of four masters of vessels, who signed a receipt for the vessel, and who were present when an inventory was taken of the articles on board the said schooner.

"Amongst the documents herewith transmitted are two certificates of Lieutenant Seagram, the one admitting the capture of the vessel, and the other stating the amount of money found in the possession of the crew, and left in charge of the prize master.

"The other case is that of the schooner *Hero*, of New Orleans, commanded by Captain James B. McConnell.

"It appears, that this schooner sailed from the Havana in June, 1840, with a cargo of assorted merchandise, bound to Wydah, on the African coast. That on her voyage, on the 9th of August, she was boarded by Her Majesty's brig the *Lynx*, and brought to anchor; her hatches were broken open and overhauled, and the commander of the *Lynx* then determined to send the schooner into Sierra Leone. That, after removing a part of the crew of the schooner on board the cruiser, and sending his own men to take charge of the *Hero*, who robbed her of a part of her supplies, the commander of the *Lynx* determined to surrender the schooner, and permit her to pursue her voyage. That, on the arrival of the schooner at Wydah, her cargo was found to have been greatly damaged by the crew of the *Lynx*, during her capture and detention by the British commander."— *Cong. Doc. pp.* 4, 5.

Mr. Stevenson hereupon repeats the assertion of the principle, always assumed by his government, and also, as he shows by an extract from a letter of Lord Palmerston, maintained by the British government itself, in its correspondence with that of Hayti;

"Of the right of one nation to search or detain the ships of any other (who may not be a party to the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade) on the ground of their being engaged in slave-trade, there is no shadow of pretence for excusing, much less justifying, the exercise of any such right. That it is wholly immaterial, whether the vessels be equipped for, or actually engaged in, slave traffic or not, and consequently the right to search or detain even slave vessels, must be confined to the ships or vessels of those nations with whom it may have treaties on the subject." — *Cong. Doc. pp.* 5, 6.

On the 2d of March last, Mr. Forsyth forwarded to Mr. Stevenson papers relating to four more such cases, and instructed him "to address without delay to the British government a demand for proper redress," with the warning that "persistence in these unwarrantable proceedings is not only destructive of private interests, but must inevitably destroy the harmony of the two countries."

On the 16th of April, Mr. Stevenson complied with this instruction, arguing the question again at some length, and expressing "the painful surprise with which the government of the United States have learned, that the repeated representations which have heretofore been made on the subject, have not only remained without effect in obtaining a favorable decision, but have failed to receive the attention which their importance merited;" and avowing, again, "the fixed determination of the American government, that their flag is to be a safeguard and protection to the persons and property of its citizens, and all under it, and that these continued aggressions upon the vessels and commerce of the United States cannot longer be permitted." Mr. Stevenson adds, that "her Majesty's government have permitted a delay to take place of so marked a character as not only to add greatly to the individual injuries which have been sustained, but to become itself a fit subject of complaint," and that "neither the dignity of the government of the United States, nor the duty which it owes its citizens, can justify any further delay." On the 14th of May, he informed Mr. Webster, that he had received Lord Palmerston's promise of

"an early attention to the subject"; but, writing again on the 18th of June, he has still nothing better to say, than "in relation to the cases of African seizures, I have been unable to get any answer, although, as you will perceive, I have pressed the subject with every degree of urgency." And here, as far as the public knows, the negotiation stands at the present day.

One thing is certain about this matter, that if England means forcibly to insist upon and exercise a right of search, which she has never been able to extract from us by negotiation, and allows herself to treat us in a manner, in which, holding our own argument, she refuses to allow Hayti to treat her, she has first made up her mind to push us to the issue of war. Whether this be so, will be better known when an answer comes to Mr. Stevenson's remonstrances. Meanwhile, there is another thing, besides remonstrating, which our government has to do, in order to stand upright in this controversy. It is the part of wise rulers, as well as of other wise people, to take men as they find them, and, accordingly, to avoid offering the provocations of even unreasonable offence. It belongs to sensible and just nations, as well as individuals, not only to defend themselves against injury, but to remove, when they honestly may, its occasions. The manifestation of a heartier purpose on the part of our government to execute its own laws for the suppression of the slave-trade, would go far towards removing both the occasion of the outrages complained of, and that distrust of its sincerity, which accounts for, while it does not excuse, them. There would be no pretence for a British man-of-war to examine the papers of a supposed slave-ship under the American flag, when there was an American cruiser at hand to do it. But did any one ever hear of the capture of such a ship by an American cruiser? We never did, and should be much obliged to any one who would acquaint us with a case. Two or three light vessels would at the same time clear the coast of the horrible scandal of the American flag being engaged in that business, and exclude the occasion of indignity being offered to that flag by any foreign power. Again; no suspicion of transactions like those reported to have taken place at Havana, — of which the nation is impatient to know more than it has yet been told, — should be suffered to gain, or at least to maintain, any currency. We take no ground respect-

ing the criminality of Mr. Consul Trist. We are willing to suppose him to be the purest sufferer that ever the wanton tongue of rumor wagged against. But certain it is, that the British honestly believe that, with his privity and aid, the slave-ships from Cuba have gone furnished with a double set of papers to be used as occasion might require, one set being American, to which they were no more entitled than to Chinese. Nothing but the strongest proof, it is true, should be suffered to convict him as a partner in any such atrocity. But, on the other hand, nothing but the strongest proof of innocence should have been held sufficient to retain him in a place, in which his presumed mal-administration was bringing so much mischief, and, worse, so much dishonor, on the country.

Besides the imminent causes of difference which we have mentioned, two others of a grave character exist. We might, perhaps, be expected to say, three. But the third, we suppose, can hardly assume hereafter any great practical importance. The British refuse to give up American slaves, who, by stress of weather or other accident, are carried into their ports. It is idle to imagine that England will ever be brought so much as to entertain a question upon that point. Her determination, that whoever sets foot upon her soil shall be free, is, without doubt, irrevocable, and beyond the power of any possible coercion to shake it. Massachusetts and Ohio, — and probably the other free states of the Union, in which the question has not yet come to trial, — refuse to surrender slaves, except in the case of *fugitives*, in which they are bound by a provision of the Federal Constitution. What members of the American confederacy will not do in this matter, it is hardly to be dreamed of that England will, or that the American government will see its way clear to insist that she shall do.

The two other questions to which we refer, we scarcely need say, relate to the recent British encroachments on American territory along its Northeastern and Northwestern boundary. Our readers will remember that we have at different times treated both these questions at large, bringing our accounts of their position down to the present time. As to the first,* from the period when England, disappointed in its

* For discussions of the Northeastern Boundary question, see *North American Review*, Vol. XXVI. 421; XXXIII. 262; XXXIV. 514; XLIII. 413; LII. 424 *et seq.*

endeavour at Ghent, to obtain a cession of part of the district of Maine in order to connect Quebec and Halifax, was tempted to set up a claim of right to it as falling to her within the provisions of the treaty of 1783,—from that period down to the time when Mr. Forsyth recently took a stand upon the subject, things have been constantly going on from worse to worse for us, thanks to the bad management of Mr. Livingston, and the cool pertinacity, on the other hand, of the English government, deluding many who have not attended to the facts, into the idea that England must have something of a case. All now is as unsettled, and apparently by no means so easy to be settled, as when President Jackson came into office. With as clear a right as ever nation had, we have meanwhile embarrassed ourselves with causeless concessions and fruitless attempts at compromise. England has more and more boldly assumed ground, which to assume costs all the difficulty, and put on an arrogant bearing, which it may be hard for her now to put off, so as to recede to the ground of reason and fair-dealing. Disorders have broken out along the line, which have only been pacified from time to time by great prudence and good fortune. It is as clear as day, that the present state of things is altogether too insecure, and fruitful of mutual provocation, to last long. The borderers of Maine and New Brunswick can scarcely keep their hands off one another, so as even to give the hitherto baffled diplomacy of the two nations any further chance. Nobody can conjecture how the thing is to be settled. Nobody can doubt that some amicable adjustment must be made speedily, or else the hope of it be abandoned.

The question of the Northwestern boundary attracts less attention, only because the practical inconveniences growing out of it have hitherto been less, and because it has taken a less prominent place in the negotiations. But it is one which cannot be left out of sight; nor, while England, day by day, pushes her trade further within our limits, multiplies and strengthens her trading posts, and extends her relations with the Indians, can its settlement with any prudence be delayed. Our readers need not to be reminded, that the claim of the United States to the territory of Oregon is threefold;* be-

* For discussions of this subject, see the *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. 109. Vol. L. 75 *et seq.*

ing founded, 1. On the discovery and exploration of the Columbia River, in 1792, by the Boston ship *Columbia*, Captain Gray, — an event which, by the Law of Nations, invested this nation with the claim of priority over other civilized states, to the country watered by that river and its tributaries, that is, to the 51st degree of north latitude; 2. On the exploration of that country by the over-land party of Lewis and Clark, in 1805–6; 3. On the purchase of Louisiana, viz. to the 49th degree, and the Florida treaty of 1819, by which we became successors to all the territorial rights of Spain, viz. from the 42d degree of north latitude, the northern boundary of Mexico, to the 60th degree, the southern boundary of the Arctic possessions of Russia.* From this extreme northern limit, however, the American government, for the sake of a peaceable settlement of the question, have been willing to recede, and have repeatedly offered to that of Great Britain, to keep to the Louisiana boundary line, (which, east of the Rocky Mountains, runs along the 49th parallel of North latitude,) and continue it westerly to the Pacific Ocean; an arrangement which would give Nootka to England, to which post it pretends a right, having obtained a cession of it from Spain in the Convention of 1790, in a manner, however, which we will not now stop to argue upon, but which this country maintains cannot justly be construed in prejudice of its title.

At the peace of Ghent in 1814, among various matters left for subsequent adjustment, one was the settlement of this boundary in the northwest. By the convention of 1818, it was agreed, that, without "prejudice of any claim of either of the two high contracting parties," the country in dispute, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be "free and open, for the term of ten years, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers." Negotiations were resumed in 1826 and 1827, but came to no result; and, by the convention of September 6th, of the latter year, the same provisional arrangement was renewed, to be "further indefinitely extended and continued in force" till either of the contracting parties should give "due notice, of twelve months, to the other contracting

* To these may be added, as a fourth ground of right, that of prior settlement, the American establishments at the mouth of the Columbia having preceded any British establishments on the coast, or in the interior, south of latitude 50°.

party, to annul and abrogate" the same. This convention is still in force, though a Senator from Missouri, at the late session, presented a resolution, requesting the President to give the requisite notice, and proceed, at the expiration of the year, to occupy the country. This measure, whenever it is adopted, must bring the question to some crisis, and it cannot be matter of surprise that the western people, reasonably apprehensive of foreign influence over the Indian tribes, their neighbours, should be impatient for its consummation. England, through the operations of her Hudson's Bay company, is vigorously profiting by the time of delay, to strengthen her position in the country, and give a better ultimate color to her pretension of ownership. She holds, at this moment, a fort of considerable strength, a hundred miles up the Columbia (Fort Vancouver), and another (Fort George, formerly *Astoria*) at its very mouth. When she has already drawn a maritime line around us on two sides, from Yucatan, through the Windward Islands, to Halifax, and a line of posts and Indian allies along a third from Quebec to Nootka Sound, it is uncomfortable to think that she is quietly creeping upon our back along the western ridge of the Rocky Mountains. The coils tighten too fast for easy breathing.

In these cursory remarks, we have confined ourselves to the questions, which imminently threaten the peaceful relations of the two countries. England owes it to her sense of justice, and to the comity, if we may not call it, the Law, of Nations, to allow us a free navigation of the St. Lawrence, to and from our ports along that river and the lakes; and whenever she shall be belligerent again, her extreme doctrines of blockade and impressment will need to be materially modified, or they may, as they did before, put it out of our power to be neutral. But these are matters, which, however they demand adjustment, do not so instantly press.

What is to come of it all? Who can tell? But it does seem as if matters could hardly stand as they are, and that something must come soon. It will be strange, undoubtedly, if, in this reasonable nineteenth century, two such nations as Great Britain and the United States shall not be able to see the right as to the questions between them, and be willing to render mutual justice, instead of going to work to harm themselves, while they distress each other, and break

the peace of the world. Apart from the paramount considerations enforced by religion, civilization, and humanity, peace is the true policy of both. For ourselves, all that the heart of man can reasonably covet is within our possession or within our reach, to be enjoyed without the slightest necessity of giving annoyance to any other people. We want nothing but to be let alone. Time will take care of the rest; and, in the developement of our resources, our own growth and prosperity, so far from involving any damage elsewhere, will be proportionate to the large contributions we are in a condition to make to the wealth and welfare of friendly nations. The only object which we can be tempted to go to war for, is security. England, on her part, has the wounds of past ages of blood to heal, and their frightful wastes to repair; and she has a large discontented population to care for, which can ill live with heavier taxes to pay, and less employment to earn with. It would be a pity for her to leave off paying her vast debt, and begin again to increase it; and we, above most other nations, are good customers in her markets, and make it worth her while to live with us on good terms.

Still, the feeling of might is very apt to lead to a forgetfulness of right; and the love of fighting, and the lust of conquest, have scarcely been manifested by any other nation in all time to the same degree as by England since the accession of the present reigning house. England, without doubt, has a great deal of might to feel. If she means to drive us to a war, it would be folly to take up her challenge under any impressions to the contrary. She has great resources in numbers, valor, conduct, and wealth. If we have to go into this conflict, it will be with a nation, which, after coming triumphantly out of a twenty-five years' battle, in part of which she had defied, single-handed, the civilized world, has now been refreshed by twenty-five years of peace, interrupted only now and then, sufficiently to keep her military faculties in practice. Undoubtedly she can bear upon us hard enough to call for the exercise of all our virtue.

Still, if she will have it so, that virtue must be summoned. It is not safe, any more than it is right, that we should acquiesce in encroachments and affronts from any quarter, however formidable. It is not safe, because to yield to them is at once to invite their repetition, and to abandon our vantage-ground, by impairing the strength and spirit which will be

ultimately needful to repel them. We must insist, at all hazards, on having our boundaries recognised and respected; and we must refuse to be subject to have our villages entered at night by a party of desperate men, engaged to follow any future Captain Drew "to the devil." Security is only to be found in a cool vigilance and determination; and in them it is to be found; we are not a people needing, or likely, to distrust their efficacy in any troublesome posture of affairs.

And, if this contest would be a serious thing for America, it is not to be supposed that it would prove mere play to her antagonist. "England," said her great captain of late, "will not make a little war." It is to be presumed he said it not more with pride, than with a sober and solicitous sense of the responsibleness incident to the possession of such power. "It is glorious to have a giant's strength, but it is pitiful to use it like a giant." At any rate, if England will not make a little war, no more, at this day, will America. As a nation, Heaven knows we have plenty of faults; but in the bull-dog virtues of the Anglo-Saxon breed, it is not said that we are anywise deficient. We managed to hold up our heads through the last war, with a population which has doubled, and an amount of wealth which has probably trebled, since that time. On the ocean, we even then knew how to conquer, from the first; and, after two years' hard buffeting, we learned how to do it upon the land; and what has been, may be again, and more. With an ordinary taxation of some twenty-five millions of dollars, we can better bear an increase of burdens upon our smaller means, than England with hers, of eight or ten times that sum. Though, when left to ourselves, we are careful to grow rich, or at least, what we call *well to do*, there is no people on earth, who can so well bear to be poor; it must go hard with us, indeed, when, from any unlucky chances of war, we shall not find enough to eat, drink, and wear. Our old Plymouth colony (and the blood is not exhausted) once carried on a war till it sunk every dollar of the personal property of its inhabitants, and then it conquered, and they recovered themselves, and went on presently as if nothing had happened. Our people, if they are forced into this contest, will go into it under an intense and unanimous sense of wrong, which will call forth all their energies and resources for its prosecution. They will undoubtedly go into it with a determination that this disturb-

ing question of boundary, if it cannot be settled in one way, shall be put at rest in another, effectually and for ever; that the "continuous strain of the martial airs of England, circling the earth," shall be abridged of that great arc that crosses North America, and her "morning drum" cease to be beat henceforward within a northwestern Indian's hearing. We do not say that that purpose will be executed; — such issues are in the womb of time; — we but say that it will be the purpose, and that it will be one hard to subdue. And let not England, above all, flatter herself that such scenes as some of those rehearsed, in the last war, along the Chesapeake and the frontier, are to be acted over again at as little cost. There is a way to her islands as well as from them, and it is not given to her for ever, while she does such things herself,

> "to sit at ease,
> An island queen, amid her subject seas,
> While the vext billows, in their distant roar,
> But soothe her slumbers, and but kiss her shore."

If the question be of sacking and burning towns, — it is a horrible one, but if she insists on again presenting it, — Baltimore, with its considerable wealth and insufficient defences, is not nearer to the salt water than Brighton, with its perhaps equal wealth, and no defences at all; and Liverpool, taking the chances of the weather, is only two-thirds as far from New York, as New York is from Liverpool. They are apt to remind us, that we have three thousand miles of unprotected seacoast; and how far, we would ask, from two-thirds of this extent of seacoast, have the two British islands; and how vast is the disproportion, on the other hand, of assailable and valuable substance scattered along that beach; and what are the coast fortifications of England good for, anywhere except at her naval depots? For the most part, her old works elsewhere, where they have been kept up, are out of date, and of small worth in the present state of the science of war, her reliance having been placed on her wooden walls; — substantially a good defence, no doubt, but not a sufficient one against a sudden descent. Ships have to pay respect to wind and weather, and cannot be at every moment at every place that may need their succour; and, with the favor of circumstances and a sufficient motive, Yankee contrivance has done more improbable things

before now, than would be "marching three miles on English land," and doing in a night what would be remembered through a century. We are not speaking of any permanent lodgment upon the soil; — that of course is out of the question, though no more on the one side, than on the other; — but of sudden raids, which, between running into a harbour and being out of it again beyond pursuit, would take no more time than did Paul Jones's visit to Selkirk Castle, or the conflagration of Havre de Grace or of Buffalo. And the improbability of such adventures being undertaken and being successful, is lessened with every improvement in the use of steam power in naval operations.

But why so much as allude to such undesirable possibilities? Why, except to show that it would be unreasonable for the great power of England to harden itself in wrong through an excessive confidence in its security? We hope, and we believe, that two nations by whose continued good fellowship humanity has profited so much, and may look for so much more, will find some other way of composing their unhappy differences besides that, which, while it has been so falsely called the "last resort of kings," ought to be the last, — the grievously reluctant, even where it seems to be the indispensable resort, — of free and righteous men. Certainly we think that England has gone far in committing herself to a course of insufferable injustice. But she has taken no irrevocable step, — none which cannot be retraced without dishonor. We hope much from her returning sense of justice. We hope much from that respect, which becomes her, great as she is, for the judgment of the world, and of history, which will not excuse her for pertinacity in oppressive pretensions. We hope something from the influence of her numerous good and wise men in private life, who will be tender of her fair fame, and distressed to see her great power put forth in sanguinary attempts to execute a wrong. We hope something from her sober regard to her own well-being. England is above being threatened; but she is also above being provoked to the commission of crime by a decent warning of its consequences. In her sober mind she knows, — however imperfectly her practice may correspond to the conviction, — that the end of a feast is much better than the beginning of a fray, fair as the prospects of the latter may be; and, when she thinks of her power to annoy us, she ought to know that we

are too true children of her own loins to be excited by adversity to any other feeling except a determination to resist and overcome.

The recent change of ministry we are inclined to regard as an event of happy augury for us. The Conservatives come into office so strong, that they can better afford to give to all their due. Not obliged to bespeak the most sweet voice of this declaiming radical on the one side, nor to *cotton* to that church-and-king borough-owner on the other, they are in a condition to look for the upright, in distinction, if need be, from the profitable and popular. We will not despair of their finding themselves able to say to the people of England; "You would not yourselves be pleased to have Louis Philippe come, looking for Louis Napoleon, into Dover harbour, lay about him with sword and musket upon its pier, shoot an Englishman, and cut out an English ship to be burned; then, like frank, honest people, as we are, and not afraid to own ourselves in the wrong, let us tell these Americans that we are sorry, that, in a flurry, we burned the *Caroline* and killed Amos Durfee. It is provoking, no doubt, to see our good intentions baffled by a machinery of fraud, converting a Spanish vessel, which we have a right to search and send home, into an American, which we must not touch; yet you would not yourselves easily consent to have your own fair traders molested, your own red-cross insulted, by hot-headed foreign subalterns on the high seas; and it is but doing as we would be done by, to charge our own cruisers to respect other sailors' rights. You would not yourselves like to hear, that a great piece of Canada was first roved over by herds of lawless Yankee trappers, and then claimed at the point of Yankee bayonets; let them have then their worthless tract along the Oregon, which they think so much of, and much good may it do them. The negotiations, it is true, have a little obscured a simple matter, yet, after all, it must be owned that water will not run up hill, and that whatever those lands are, which pour down rivers in different directions from their opposite sides, the same are 'highlands' in the common sense of men and in the contemplation of treaties; let us give up the point magnanimously, and wish the snuffling barbarians joy of each other's company about those precious frozen springs of the St. John's. We shall then have put ourselves in the right, and, having satisfied our own consciences, we shall not

care who else is satisfied. If they annoy us after that, we are Englishmen, and shall know how to teach them manners."

We verily believe that the people of England, when the right of these matters is explained to them, will wish to see it done, and that any thing but permanent unpopularity will be incurred by a ministry, which shall address itself to its explanation and execution. Sure we are, that to recede from once-meditated iniquity is far less shameful than to persist in it, and that the politicians, who, by that honesty, which is always the best policy, shall have healed the feuds between two nations that owe so much to one another, will have entitled themselves to the cordial and lasting gratitude of the human race.

ART. VI. — *Biographical Memorials of* JAMES OGLETHORPE, *Founder of the Colony of Georgia, in North America;* by THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D. D. Boston. 1841. 8vo. pp. 424.

GEORGIA was the last of the Old Thirteen Colonies, which were founded under the auspices of the British government in North America. The origin and early progress of this colony are mainly to be ascribed to the philanthropy, enterprise, and generous efforts of Oglethorpe. Hitherto the incidents of his long life have been found only in detached portions of the history of his time, in the almost forgotten tracts relating to the first settlement of Georgia, and in the biographical accounts of some of the eminent men with whom he associated. Dr. Harris, with a lively interest in his subject, and much patience of research, has gathered up these fragments, and in the volume before us has presented them in the form of a connected narrative. Considering the nature of his materials, the author's task was neither inviting nor easy; but it has been well executed, and he has rendered a just tribute to the memory of a distinguished benefactor of mankind, and a valuable service to the history of his country.

James Oglethorpe was the son of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, of Godalming, in the county of Surrey. There has been much uncertainty respecting the precise date of his birth. After a full investigation of this point, Dr. Harris

decides, upon what he believes to be good authority, that it happened on the 21st of December, 1688. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. We are not told how long he remained at the University, but probably till he had completed the usual academical course. In 1710 he entered the army with the commission of ensign, and he continued in the service till the war was closed by the treaty of Utrecht. Immediately after the peace, we find him in the suite of the Earl of Peterborough, ambassador to the court of Turin. Here he enjoyed the company of Berkeley, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, who was chaplain and secretary to the embassy.

Oglethorpe's personal and military accomplishments had attracted the notice and secured the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough, by whom he was introduced to the Duke of Argyle. He was promoted to the rank of Captain-Lieutenant of the Queen's guards. At this time all the world resounded with the fame of Prince Eugene, who had won so many laurels in the wars with the Turks and other powers of Europe, in the employment of the Emperor of Austria. He had recently made a visit to England, where he was received and caressed by the Queen and other great personages, with every mark of distinction, which was due to the first general of his age. His renown, and the urbanity of his manners, were peculiarly fitted to captivate a mind like Oglethorpe's. Through the influence of the Duke of Argyle he was recommended to Prince Eugene, by whom he was employed, first in the capacity of his secretary, and afterwards of his aid-de-camp, and whom he joined just in time to take part in the new war, which the Emperor was about to wage against the Sultan. He was present at the victorious battle of Peterwaradin and the successful siege of Temeswaer; and was in active command at the siege and battle of Belgrade, "where he acquired a high and deserved reputation."

These events were soon followed by a peace between the Emperor and the Sultan, and, there being no longer a prospect of active employment, Oglethorpe withdrew from the staff of his friend and patron Prince Eugene. He likewise declined an offer of preferment in the German service, and returned to England.

Having succeeded his elder brother in the inheritance of the family estate at Godalming, Oglethorpe obtained, in the

year 1722, a seat in Parliament for Haselmere. He was the representative of that borough, by successive elections, for thirty-two years. Dr. Harris gives a brief sketch of his parliamentary career during that time. Within the same period he was engaged abroad nearly ten years in carrying forward his great and benevolent scheme of founding a colony in America. Many of his speeches have been preserved in the Parliamentary History. In these he is proved to have been an active member of the House of Commons, and to have taken a conspicuous part in important measures, showing on all occasions an independent spirit, intelligence, and a steady consistency of character. A circumstance, which appealed strongly to his feelings of humanity, led him to turn his attention to the condition of the prisons. He brought the subject before Parliament, and was appointed chairman of a committee of the House of Commons to make an inquiry into the state of the jails in the metropolis. This duty he faithfully performed, and laid open in his report to the House such scenes of wretchedness and oppressive treatment, such instances of cruel abuse, mismanagement, and neglect, especially towards those confined for debt, that measures were immediately adopted not only for punishing some of the inhuman jailers, but for preventing a recurrence of needless severities. "Oglethorpe thus became," says Dr. Harris, "the precursor of Howard in the cause of humanity, as it regards the amelioration of prison discipline in general, especially the rigors of close confinement for debt or petty offences, and that among felons and convicts. The impression then made on his mind and heart led him afterwards to other and more extensive and efficacious measures for the relief of poor debtors from the extortions and oppressions to which they were subjected by jailers, and from the humiliation and distress in which they were often involved without any fault of their own, or by some conduct which deserved pity rather than punishment."

His sympathies were keenly touched by another class of sufferers. The subject of the impressment of seamen for the public service came before Parliament. He spoke against the practice as arbitrary, unjust, and unhuman. He moreover argued the point in a pamphlet, which he published, entitled "The Sailor's Advocate." Why should a seaman be compelled, against his will and against his interests,

to endure the hardships of military discipline, and hazard his life, for the benefit of others; and this, too, upon such terms as his oppressors shall prescribe? War is a calamity that concerns every individual of a nation, and its burden should be borne equally. If the sailor's services are valuable or necessary to his country, let them be rewarded in proportion to their value, and they will be voluntarily rendered. If his valor and skill are requisite to defend the lives and property of his fellow countrymen, a wise and just government will pay him such wages as will draw him from other employments. This small boon he has a right to claim, as much as an artificer, a soldier, or even the officers under whom he serves. Let this equitable course be adopted, and the odious and wicked system of impressment, which is only another name for kidnapping, would no longer disgrace the annals of maritime warfare.

When colonial questions were discussed in Parliament, we find Oglethorpe opposed to a narrow policy and unequal discriminations. He regarded the colonists as possessing all the rights of British subjects, and as being entitled to a legislation which should put them, as far as circumstances would permit, on an equal footing in their relation to each other and to the mother country. His principles were liberal and comprehensive, neither biased by prejudice nor cramped by local preferences. He exhibited the same expansive sentiments in matters of toleration. On two occasions he supported petitions in behalf of the Moravians and other foreign Protestants in the colonies, who asked for privileges and modifications of the laws adapted to their religious scruples. In both cases their application was successful.

For some time Oglethorpe was a director and deputy-governor of the Royal African Company. In this situation he was made acquainted with the circumstances of an African slave, who was then in Maryland, and whose story is fraught with a lively and romantic interest. Ayoub Ibn Soliman Ibrahim, (Job, the son of Solomon the son of Abraham,) for such was the slave's name, was a native of Bunda in central Africa. His father was governor of Bunda. While on a journey to the river Gambia, Job had been captured by a party of Mandingoes, and sold to the Captain of a British slave vessel. Thence he was transported to Annapolis, in Maryland, where it was his fortune to fall into the hands of a kind master.

Job was a Mahometan, and strict in observing the forms of his religion. Slips of paper were found in his possession, on which he had written strange characters. His master furnished him with paper, and indulged him in writing whatever he pleased. He took advantage of this favor, and wrote a letter to his father. It was forwarded to England, and was ascertained by the learned men at Oxford to be written in the Arabic character and language. A translation was procured, which came to the knowledge of Oglethorpe as a Director of the African Company. His compassion was so much awakened by the contents of the letter, that he immediately took measures to have Job redeemed and brought to England at his own charge. This was effected, and Job remained in England, known by the name of "the African Prince," till he had acquired a competent knowledge of the language, and then he returned to his native country. Letters were afterwards received from him by Oglethorpe and some of his other benefactors in England, filled with grateful acknowledgments for the kindnesses they had rendered, and containing some valuable information respecting the African trade. One of these letters was communicated by Sir Hans Sloane to the Royal Society. Many of the particulars of the story of Job are brought together by Dr. Harris, which, at the same time they illustrate the benevolent character of Oglethorpe, make a curious and entertaining digression in his narrative.

We come now to that portion of Oglethorpe's life, which has mainly contributed to give celebrity to his name. For several years a project had been suggested of founding a new colony on the frontier of South Carolina. The Spaniards had settlements in Florida, and a fortified town at St. Augustine. The political relations between England and Spain were such, as to excite frequent border troubles in these remote provinces, and as almost to throw them into a state of mutual hostility. The negroes were tempted away from Carolina, and protected in Florida, even against the claims of their owners, and the more formal remonstrances and demands of the government. The powerful tribes of Creek and Choctaw Indians, and their tributaries, under the influence of the Spaniards, made frequent incursions, committing outrages and murders. The boundaries were neither established nor defined, and the Spaniards pretended that even

Carolina was within their limits. Weary of these encroachments, the Carolinians themselves favored the scheme of a barrier colony, which should serve as a defence against their troublesome neighbours in Florida, and a check upon the savages.

Oglethorpe, if not the first mover of this enterprise, was one of the most ardent and resolute of its promoters. Twenty-one associates, gentlemen of rank, wealth, and influence, petitioned the throne for an act of incorporation. This was granted, and a charter for a new colony was obtained, dated June 9th, 1732, which, in compliment to the king, was called Georgia. Among the objects of the petitioners, recited in the preamble, are the following. "Many of his Majesty's poor subjects are, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray their charges of passage, and other expenses incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of his provinces in America; and by cultivating the lands, at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen the colonies, and increase the trade, navigation, and wealth of his Majesty's realms." The names of twenty-one trustees, among whom was Oglethorpe, were inserted in the Charter. At their own request, they and their successors were restrained from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit, either as managers of the general affairs of the colony, or for any services they might bestow. All the powers of government were entrusted to them, including legislation, judicial regulations, and military defence, for the period of twenty-one years, after which the government of the colony was to devolve upon the crown. There is no example of a colony having been founded on principles more honorable to its projectors.

It being the first design of the trustees to afford an asylum for indigent persons, who could not themselves pay the charges of emigration, or furnish the means of support on their arrival in the colony, a fund was raised for these purposes by subscription. Individuals in various parts of the kingdom contributed liberally. Parliament made a grant of ten thousand pounds. The money was deposited in the Bank of England. Public notice was then given by the trustees, that

they were ready to receive applications from such destitute persons as were disposed to emigrate to Georgia. Their passage was to be paid; they were to receive lands when they arrived, and provisions till they should have time to cultivate their lands; and they were to be provided with farming tools and other utensils suited to their wants in a new country. The prisons were searched for insolvent debtors, who could procure a relief from their creditors. In every instance the trustees took special care to ascertain the character and circumstances of the applicants, that none might be admitted except such as gave a fair promise of becoming sober, honest, and industrious citizens.

By the charter Georgia was included between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, and between two direct lines running from the heads of these rivers westwardly to the "south seas." At so late a date, when the geography of this part of the continent was well known, it is remarkable that such a boundary should have been assigned, especially as it carried the limits of Georgia beyond the recognized possessions of the French on the Mississippi and of the Spaniards still further west. The tenure by which the settlers held their lands was peculiar. Fifty acres only were granted to any one person, a certain portion of which was to be cultivated within a given time under the penalty of forfeiture. No person could sell or otherwise alienate his lands without a special licence from the trustees. Male issue only could inherit, and, in default of such, the lands reverted to the trust. As the colony was designed to be a military barrier, it was deemed requisite that every settler, who held lands, should be a soldier. This was the reason for the last provision. To encourage industry and thrift, it was thought equally necessary that each individual should be confined to a particular portion of land, and be compelled to cultivate it. Men of substance, who chose to emigrate to Georgia, might purchase lands, but in no larger quantity than five hundred acres for any individual; and this the purchaser was obliged to cultivate within a specified time. Some of these conditions were looked upon as hardships by the settlers, and they were afterwards modified.

At length thirty-five families embarked from England, with Oglethorpe at their head, to seek their fortunes in the new colony. "In pursuance of the benevolent designs of

the trustees, Oglethorpe engaged in this expedition entirely at his own expense, furnished his own cabin-fare on board, and was constantly attentive, during the whole voyage, to the situation and comfort of the passengers." He was appointed by the trustees to be the governor of the colony. They arrived in Charleston on the 13th of January, 1733, where they were received with every mark of respect and kindness by the civil authorities and the inhabitants. The ship was conducted into the harbour of Port Royal, where the emigrants disembarked. Oglethorpe proceeded forward, accompanied by Colonel Bull of South Carolina, and selected a spot for a town on a bluff near Yamacraw, which he called *Savannah*, from the Indian name of the river which flowed along its margin. He then returned for his people, and landed them all safely at their place of destination on the 1st of February. Here they pitched their tents. A town was marked out, and they immediately commenced the work of erecting houses, and making such preparations for protection and comfort as their circumstances required. They received prompt and valuable assistance from their neighbours. Colonel Bull brought with him four laborers. Others were sent from Carolina, skilled in felling trees, and preparing plantations. Provisions were likewise supplied; and all without charge.

In a letter dated at Charleston, seven weeks after the first landing of the settlers, the writer speaks as follows. "Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, and takes a great deal of pains. His fare is indifferent, having little else at present but salt provisions. He is extremely well beloved by all the people. The general title they give him is *Father*. If any of them are sick, he immediately visits them, and takes a great deal of care of them. If any difference arises, he is the person that decides it. Two happened while I was there, and in my presence; and all the parties went away, to outward appearance, satisfied and contented with his determination. He keeps a strict discipline. I never saw one of his people drunk, nor heard one of them swear, all the time I was there. He does not allow them rum; but in lieu gives them English beer. It is surprising to see how cheerful the men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it. There are no idlers here. Even the boys and girls do their part." Already land had been ploughed, and wheat

sown. Two or three gardens had also been planted with divers seeds of vegetables, shrubs, and trees, for the common benefit of the settlers. A palisade to enclose the town was begun.

Oglethorpe wisely regarded it as a matter of the first importance to be on good terms with the aborigines. A small tribe dwelt near Savannah, at the head of whom was Tomo Chichi, a venerable personage, past the age of fourscore. Years had added wisdom to a mind naturally strong, and experience had softened in his character the rough features of the savage warrior. He was disposed to be the friend of the white man, and he met Oglethorpe's advances in a temper of peace and amity. Following the example of Penn, the founder of Georgia sought to secure a title to his lands from those, who held it by the best of all titles, possession from time immemorial. By the aid of an interpreter he accordingly made a treaty with Tomo Chichi. But the old man had the sincerity to tell him, that his dominions were small, and that there were others, more powerful than himself, to whom the territory chiefly belonged. Tomo Chichi undertook to be a mediator between Oglethorpe and the chiefs of the Creek Nation, and sent messengers to invite them to a conference at Savannah. In a few weeks a deputation from the Lower Creeks appeared there, chiefs and warriors to the number of about fifty. They represented eight tribes into which the confederacy of the Lower Creeks was divided. After the usual forms, Oglethorpe explained to them the motives that had brought him to America, and expressed his desire to obtain a cession of a part of their territory, to live in peace with them, and to enter into a treaty of friendship and trade. Ouechachumpa, "a very tall old man," replied in the name of the deputies. He yielded to the white men the palm of superiority over the red, and "was persuaded that the Great Spirit, who dwelt above and all around, had sent the English thither for the good of the natives," and finally concluded with the generous offer of all the lands, which the Creeks did not want for themselves. Eight buck-skins, one for each tribe, laid at Oglethorpe's feet, served to confirm his words.

The other chiefs signified their assent in short speeches. Nor was Tomo Chichi an idle spectator. His speech on the occasion may be taken as a fair specimen of Indian elo-

quence. "When these white men came," said he, "I feared that they would drive us away, for we were weak; but they promised not to molest us. We wanted corn and other things, and they have given us supplies; and now, of our small means, we make them presents in return. Here is a buffalo skin, adorned with the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle signifies speed, and the buffalo strength. The English are swift as the eagle, and strong as the buffalo. Like the eagle they flew hither over great waters; and like the buffalo nothing can withstand them. But the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify kindness; and the skin of the buffalo is covering, and signifies protection. Let these, then, remind them to be kind, and to protect us."

The treaty ended by a most liberal grant of lands, on the north between Savannah and Ogechee rivers, and along the seacoast to the head of tide-water as far as the Altamaha; with all the islands except three, which the Indians reserved for hunting and fishing. They also retained a little tract near Yamacraw bluff, "as an encampment, when they should come to visit their beloved friends in that vicinity." Oglethorpe took care not to be outdone by his guests in the value and variety of his presents. The treaty was sent to England, and confirmed by the trustees.

Meantime the emigrants advanced prosperously in their labors at Savannah. They worked in common, drawing their supplies from the public stores, which had been furnished by the trustees. At the end of five months they had erected twenty-one houses, and made other improvements. The town was then divided into wards, and a house-lot was assigned to each freeholder. Municipal regulations were established, and the town assumed the aspect of a thriving and well-ordered community.

Oglethorpe's thoughts were turned to the protection, as well as to the internal prosperity of his colony. Forty miles from Savannah, on the banks of the Ogechee, he constructed a fort, which he put under the command of Captain McPherson, with a small detachment of rangers. This he called Fort *Argyle*, in compliment to his friend the Duke of that name. He made an excursion among the islands in a row-boat to the mouth of the Altamaha, and on his way back ascended the Ogechee as far as the fort; thus acquiring a knowledge of the geography and resources of the country

from personal observation. He visited Charleston, where he met with an honorable and flattering reception from the Assembly of South Carolina.

Nothing gave him greater pleasure than the arrival of a company of Saltzburgers, who designed to settle in his colony. These pilgrims had been banished from their native land in Bavaria, on account of their religious opinions. Oglethorpe had taken a lively interest in their cause before he left England, and had requested the trustees to extend to them the hand of friendship and protection, and offer them an asylum in Georgia. This advice had been followed; and the vessel, which brought the wanderers to America, under the auspices of the trustees, arrived at Charleston on the 7th of March, 1734, whilst Oglethorpe was then preparing to depart for Europe. He delayed his voyage, that he might assist them in selecting a suitable place for a settlement. In company with their leader, the Baron Von Reck, and their two clergymen, Bolzius and Gronau, he returned to Georgia. They chose for their residence a tract of land on the banks of a small stream between the Savannah and the Ogechee rivers. Here the Saltzburgers seated themselves, and called their town *Ebenezer*. Carpenters from Savannah, by the orders of Oglethorpe, aided them in building their houses.

The affairs of the colony now requiring his presence in England, he embarked in the *Aldborough* man-of-war, and arrived at the Isle of Wight on the 16th of June, after an absence of a year and seven months. He prevailed on Tomo Chichi, his wife, nephew, and six other Indians, mostly chiefs, to cross the ocean with him, thinking it might be useful to the future interests of the colony for these people to be impressed, from personal observation, with the power and resources of England. Tomo Chichi had views of his own in making the voyage. He seemed to possess an enlargement of mind, which few Indians, in their wild state, have ever shown. When he was introduced to the King, he said, "I am come in my old days, so I cannot expect to obtain any advantage for myself; but I am come for the good of the Creeks, that they may be informed about the English, and be instructed in your language and religion." The Indians were much caressed. They stayed four months in England, and then embarked for Georgia, apparently delighted with their visit, and leaving a favorable impression behind

them. The Muses were excited by their presence. Tomo Chichi was honored with an Ode.

Oglethorpe applied himself assiduously to his great work, and procured many salutary regulations to be adopted by the trustees, for the good government and prosperity of his colony. Parliament made a new grant in aid of the funds. The importation of rum, and of every other kind of ardent spirits, was prohibited. The same prohibition was extended to negro slaves. Since slavery was admitted in all the other colonies, and since, at this time, there were by estimation in South Carolina alone forty thousand blacks, and only five thousand white inhabitants, this latter prohibition may seem remarkable. It was not without due reflection and good reasons, however, that the trustees came to this resolution. It was their object in founding the colony, to provide an asylum for the poor, to whom lands were given, the charges of whose emigration were paid, and whom it was important, for their own success and happiness, to train to habits of industry. This end would be defeated, if the labor of slaves were allowed. Moreover, the cost of slaves would be more than the funds of the trustees could bear. Again, in a situation so near the Spanish frontiers, the slaves would be enticed away as they had been from South Carolina ; and in no case could they be relied on for military defence. The danger of insurrection had already been felt in Carolina. It is fair to presume, likewise, that motives of humanity may have operated to some extent upon the trustees, although the reasons assigned were those of policy. Other reasons, publicly urged, might have raised up an opposition to their scheme, since the slave-trade was largely carried on in England, and the merchants engaged in that trade had always possessed a sufficient weight of influence to defeat every attempt to curtail their traffic. Laws were passed in the colonies, on more occasions than one, prohibiting the introduction of slaves, which laws were annulled by the British government, because they encroached upon the privileges of the African merchants.

Whilst Oglethorpe was in England, a valuable accession was made to his colony. One hundred and thirty Highlanders, from the neighbourhood of Inverness, in Scotland, with fifty women and children, emigrated to Georgia. The larger portion of these emigrants were aided by the trustees, but

several among them went out on their own account, and took with them laborers and servants. These hardy Highlanders were destined to settle on the frontier of the colony, and to form a barrier of defence. After touching at Savannah, they proceeded to the Altamaha River, ascended it about sixteen miles, and established themselves at a place which they called *Darien*. Here they began to build a town, named by them *New Inverness*. Twenty families of Jews had also arrived in Georgia, who formed a settlement in the neighbourhood of Savannah.

Meantime the Baron Von Reck, who accompanied the Saltzburgers to Georgia, had returned to Germany, and persuaded another party of his persecuted countrymen to follow the fortunes of their brethren in the new world. The charge of transporting them from their homes to London was paid by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. They were then taken under the protection of the trustees. At length a new body of emigrants was collected, sufficient in number, including the Saltzburgers, to require two ships. In one of these ships Oglethorpe embarked. They arrived in Georgia on the 5th of February, 1736. Religious instruction for the new settlers, and the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, were among the primary objects of the benevolent persons in England, who were the patrons of this enterprise. Pains had been taken, therefore, to enlist the services of able and zealous clergymen. The celebrated John Wesley, and his brother, Charles Wesley, who had then begun to be shining lights in the church, with the Reverend Mr. Ingham, undertook this charge, and came over with the emigrants. Their arrival, and the condition of the colony, are well described by Dr. Harris.

"They had experienced a tempestuous voyage, and had a very rough passage, but now the weather was fine; the land breezes refreshed them as the ships lay quietly moored, and they hailed with delight the land of promise, the borders of which stretched before them; where, says Wesley, 'the groves of pines along the shores made an agreeable prospect, showing, as it were, the verdure and bloom of spring in the depth of winter. A night of peaceful slumber passed; and, about eight o'clock on Friday morning, they went ashore on a small uninhabited island, where Oglethorpe led them to a rising ground, and they all knelt and returned thanks to God for

their safe arrival. Leaving the people, as there was a fine spring, and a pond of pure water, to wash their clothes and refresh themselves, he went himself, attended by his suite, in a boat to Savannah, where he was received, under the discharge of all their cannon, by the freeholders in arms, with the constables and tithing men at their head. He introduced to them the clergymen and gentlemen by whom he was accompanied, and congratulated the colonists on the religious advantages which they were about to derive from these pious missionaries ; and here they passed the Sunday. Just three years had elapsed since the settlement commenced, and the celebration of the anniversary on the opening week was rendered more observable and gladdening by the return of the founder to share and grace the festivities of the occasion. But, amidst all the greetings and inquiries of the throng around him, he was not unmindful of the new comers. He made it his earliest care, as soon as the articles could be got ready, to send a boat with provisions and refreshments for the people on board the ships and at the island ; and soon after made them a visit himself, and carried with him a still further supply of beef, pork, venison, and wild turkeys, together with soft bread, beer, turnips, and garden greens. This was not only peculiarly relishing, after the salted sea-fare rations, but gratifying and encouraging, from the evidence it gave that a settlement, begun only three years ago, by a people in circumstances like theirs, could produce such plenty. And, while these attentions evinced the thoughtful regard of their conductor to their comfort and welfare, they increased their sense of obligation, awakened their gratitude, and strengthened their reliance.

"As Oglethorpe went round, and visited the families in their dwellings, he was gratified with perceiving what improvements had been made in the town and its vicinity ; that about two hundred houses had been built, trees set out on the sides of the streets and public squares, and a large garden laid out, and now under cultivation. This had engaged his early attention, and was a favorite project, as of general interest and utility. It was situated at the east of the town, on the sloping bank, and included the alluvial champaign below. It was laid out with regularity and taste ; and intended, primarily, to supply the settlers with legumes, culinary roots, radishes, and salads, till they could prepare homestead-plats for raising them. The principal purpose, however, was for a nursery of white-mulberry trees for the raising of silkworms ; and from which the people could be supplied with young trees, that all the families might be more or less engaged in this ref-

erence to the filature. There was, also, a nursery coming on, of apple, pear, peach, and plum trees, for transplantation. On the borders of the walks were orange, olive, and fig-trees, pomegranates, and vines. In the more sunny part there was a collection of tropical plants, by way of experiment, such as coffee, cacoa, cotton, &c., together with some medicinal plants, procured by Dr. William Houston in the West Indies, whither he had been sent by Sir Hans Sloane to collect them for Georgia. The expenses of this mission had been provided by a subscription headed by Sir Hans, to which his Grace, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Peters, and the Apothecaries' Company, liberally contributed. The Doctor having died at Jamaica, the celebrated botanist Philip Miller was now his successor.

"All hands were now set to work; some to prepare houses, barracks, and lodgments for the new comers ; some to unlade the vessels, and store the cargo, and some to extend the wharf. The General, also, made a contract with persons for laying out and clearing the roads, and for making fortifications at the south." — pp. 125–129.

After this time Oglethorpe is frequently called *the General,* from which it would appear that this military title had recently been conferred upon him. It was his first care to provide a place of settlement for the Saltzburgers. They finally joined their brethren at Ebenezer. A deputation from that settlement waited on Oglethorpe, and requested that they might remove to another place. They complained that their lands were not good. He visited their town, and found that they had constructed a bridge across the river, erected several houses, and made considerable progress in cultivating the lands, and he recommended to them not to abandon a place, which already exhibited such fruits of their industry and toil. Not being able to change their minds, however, he consented to their removal, and they commenced another town ten miles further east, at the Red Bluff on the bank of the Savannah River. The town of Augusta had already been laid out, and a garrison was stationed there by order of the trustees. It became the principal place of rendezvous for the Indian traders.

The English emigrants required his next attention. The destination of a large portion of these was the southern border of the colony, where it was proposed to build another town. A sloop was despatched with pioneers, and the Gen-

eral went forward himself in a small boat for the purpose of selecting a suitable spot and making preparations. He passed along the coast among the islands, chose a situation for a town on St. Simon's Island, and then went up the Altamaha River to visit the Highlanders at Darien. They complimented him with a military reception. "He found them under arms, in their uniform of plaid, equipped with broadswords, targets, and muskets." They received him with every demonstration of respect and joy. When he returned to St. Simon's, he was met there by the old chief Tomo Chichi, his nephew Toonahowi, and about forty other Indian warriors and hunters. They came to make a formal cession of the islands, which they had given up to him in the treaty. Two boats were fitted out for an excursion among the islands, accompanied by another containing an escort of armed Highlanders. They were in the vicinity of the Spaniards, who it was known looked with a jealous eye upon all their movements. The first island at which they touched was by the Indians called *Wissoe*. The Spaniards called it *San Pedro*. But it was now to have a new name. "Toonahowi, pulling out a watch that had been given him by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, desired that it should bear his name, saying, He gave me this watch, that we might know how time went; and we will remember him while time goes; and this place must have his name, that others may be reminded of him." A fort was built there, and called *St. Andrew's*, at the request of the Highlanders. Here they came to the island Santa Maria, which Spanish name was changed to *Amelia*, in honor of her Royal Highness. After thus visiting and naming the islands, the party returned to St. Simon's, where they found the works well advanced, a fort completed, and thirty-seven palmetto houses erected. A town was laid out, called *Frederica*, with broad streets, which were afterwards fringed with orange trees. The settlers came from Savannah, lots were assigned to them, and the elements of a new community began to assume a proper consistency and order. A strong battery was built at the south end of the island. And thus, within the space of three years, about six hundred emigrants arrived in Georgia; of whom nearly two hundred and fifty were from Germany.

The labors of Oglethorpe were unceasing. In all cases

he submitted to the privations and hard fare of those around him, encouraging them by his example as well as guiding them by his counsels. He watched over the interests of every part of the colony, attending equally to the wants of destitute individuals, and the public welfare of the whole. Discontents had arisen in South Carolina respecting the Indian trade. The Carolinians conceived that their traders met with an undue interference from the mode of granting licenses prescribed by the trustees of Georgia. A committee of the Assembly of South Carolina held a conference with Oglethorpe on the subject at Savannah, in which the business was amicably discussed and adjusted.

But his greatest anxiety arose from the aspect of affairs in Florida. The political relations between England and Spain portended an approaching rupture. The symptoms of feeling, which had been shown by the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine, indicated any thing but good will or a neighbourly disposition. In the weak and exposed condition of his colony, Oglethorpe was fully aware of the necessity of cautious and conciliatory steps on his part. Communications had passed between him and the governor of St. Augustine, but without any satisfactory results. A treaty was concluded, which afforded a glimmering of hope, but this was speedily dissipated by a message from the governor, who stated that a commissioner had arrived from Cuba, who desired a personal interview with him. This commissioner denied the validity of the treaty, and demanded a relinquishment of a part of the territory claimed as within the limits of Georgia. His demand not being complied with, he assumed a tone of menace, and went off without the usual forms of ceremony. Foreseeing the probable consequences, Oglethorpe sailed for England with the view of laying the case before the ministry.

At this point of his narrative, Dr. Harris takes occasion to speak of the labors of the Wesleys in Georgia, and of Whitefield their successor. Our space will not permit us to follow him through this digression, but we recommend it to our readers as an entertaining and instructive chapter. Whitefield's charitable scheme of an Orphan-House in Georgia is well known. Few men have labored so much for the good of others. If his zeal sometimes misled his judgment, his aims were always high and pure. Franklin, who knew him

intimately, said of him, while he was preaching in America, "He is a good man, and I love him." His enemies charged him with an improper use of the money, which he collected for his Orphan House. Long after his death, Franklin vindicated him from this charge with a warmth of kind recollection and a force of remark, which attest alike the sincerity of his conviction and the grounds of his judgment.

On hearing the representations of Oglethorpe, the trustees petitioned the King for a military force to protect the colony. This request was the more readily granted, as there were evidences that the Spanish government was preparing to send troops to Florida. A regiment consisting of six hundred men and also a company of grenadiers were authorized to be raised, and Oglethorpe was appointed Commander-in-chief of the King's forces in Carolina and Georgia. He took care to select officers of known character and worth, granting them commissions without pay, and affording them other privileges, which would stimulate their ardor and their attachment to the service. He engaged "forty supernumeraries at his own expense." The regiment was raised in a short time, and a part of them embarked for Georgia. Oglethorpe followed with the remainder, and an additional number of emigrants, men, women, and children, in the *Hector* and *Blandford* men-of-war, attended by five transports. They came to anchor at St. Simon's, on the 9th of September, 1738. They were received with the greatest joy by the inhabitants, who had been alarmed by rumors of reinforcements having been sent to St. Augustine, and of formidable preparations at Havana for an invasion.

The commander-in-chief lost no time. He inspected in person all the outposts and military stations, giving orders and attending to their execution. While he was thus employed, a treacherous plot was detected in the camp. Three soldiers had enlisted under Spanish influence as spies. They endeavoured to excite a mutiny and persuade others to desert. Their treachery was discovered in time to prevent its mischiefs. This incident was followed by another, which placed the life of the commander in imminent danger.

"Some of the soldiers, who came from Gibraltar," says Dr. Harris, "had been granted six months' provisions from the King's stores, in addition to their pay. When these rations were expended, about the middle of November, one of the

murmurers had the presumption to go up to the General, who was standing at the door with Captain Mackay, and demanded of him a continuance of the supply. To this unceremonious and disrespectful requisition the General replied, that the terms of their enlistment had been complied with; that their pay was going on; that they had no special favor to expect, and certainly were not in the way to obtain any by such a rude manner of application. As the fellow became outrageously insolent, the Captain drew his sword, which the desperado snatched out of his hand, broke in two pieces, threw the hilt at him, and made off for the barrack, where, taking his gun, which was loaded, and crying out 'One and all!' five others, with their guns, rushed out, and, at the distance of about ten yards, the ringleader shot at the General. The ball whizzed above his shoulder, and the powder burnt his face and scorched his clothes. Another flashed his piece twice, but the gun did not go off. The General and Captain were immediately surrounded by protectors; and the culprits were apprehended, tried at a court-martial, and, on the first week in October, received sentence of death. The letter which gives a circumstantial account of this affair, written from Frederica, and dated December 26th, adds, 'Some of the officers are not very easy, and perhaps will not be till the mutineers are punished, *in terrorem;* which has been delayed by the General's forbearance.' I quote, with pleasure, this testimony to his lenity, given by one who must have intimately known all the aggravating circumstances, because some accounts state that he took summary vengeance."—pp. 194 – 196.

Oglethorpe now hastened to Savannah, having heard unfavorable rumors of the condition of affairs in that place. The number of inhabitants within the limits of the colony was at this time more than eleven hundred. The trustees had counted much upon the culture of mulberry trees and grapes. They looked for large and profitable returns in silk and wine. It was calculated that great savings would be gained to the nation by lessening the importation of raw silk from Italy. By the conditions of settlement, every one who took up a lot of land was enjoined to plant annually a certain number of mulberry trees. A nursery was provided for the purpose in the trustees' garden. A Piedmontese and his family, skilled in reeling silk, had been sent over to assist and instruct the settlers. But hitherto both these kinds of culture had signally failed. Samples of silk were sent to England, it is true, in sufficient quantity to make a dress for the Queen, which she condescended to wear on her birthday;

but the enemies of the colony affirmed, that a part of these samples was procured in South Carolina; and indeed the scheme of growing silk proved entirely unsuccessful. It was sagely argued, however, that "if twenty pounds of it can be raised there, any greater quantity may likewise with a proper number of people;" and reasons were assigned why the climate of Georgia ought to produce better silk than that brought from Italy. Experience may yet prove these reasons to be sound, although it has made little progress towards such proof in a hundred years. Grape vines were found to flourish in the greatest luxuriance. A Portuguese Jew caused a shoot to grow as big as a walking-stick, and to the length of fourteen feet, in one season. Moreover, these vines produced grapes, and one planter contrived to manufacture a kind of wine, which Oglethorpe tasted, and pronounced it to be "something in the nature of a small French white wine, with an agreeable flavor." This was thought a good beginning, and a fair promise, for it was said that "all young vines produce small wines at first, and the strength and goodness of it increase as the vines grow older." Unluckily we hear nothing of the product of the vines in their more advanced age; and the prediction of the poet was never fulfilled;

> "Ev'n jarring factions shall their feuds resign,
> And loyal healths go round in Georgian wine."

These failures, and discouragements from other sources, had kindled a spirit of discontent at Savannah, which was nurtured and inflamed by a few factious individuals, men of some importance in the colony, whose ambition or sanguine temper had inspired them with hopes, which ended in disappointment. They drew up a list of their grievances, in the form of a petition to the trustees, and, by their artful representations, they brought over many of the well affected to add their signatures. They complained that they were not allowed to hold their lands in fee simple. This was a reasonable complaint. The tenure prescribed by the trustees was undoubtedly a grave error in their original plan. They sighed for negroes, and deemed it a hardship that they should be deprived of the labor of slaves, which they said was absolutely necessary to a profitable cultivation of their lands. They clamored for rum, although they did not introduce this grievance into their petition. Three of their leaders, who published a pamphlet in which they could give a more audible utterance to their com-

plaints, declared the importation of rum essential to the prosperity of the colony, as affording a lucrative return for the export of timber to the West Indies. The fountains of this trade were dried up ; rum would open them, and draw forth their fertilizing treasures. They had compassion also for the hard fate of the settlers, who were doomed to drink water or beer, this latter beverage being permitted and even supplied in liberal quantities by the trustees. They say, " the experience of all the inhabitants of America will prove the necessity of qualifying water with some spirit." Rum was the sovereign antidote to the seeds of disease treacherously lurking in the waters of Georgia. They did not stop here ; their moral sympathies were aroused ; they would fain put a stop to the crying sin of smuggling this potent panacea, which by their account had already run to a fearful height; and the worst of all was, that the smugglers would take nothing but " ready money," whereas, if the trade were laid open, the rum might be paid for in pine plank and timber.

The colonists at Darien and Ebenezer protested against this petition. They particularly disapproved the introduction of slaves. In a communication to Oglethorpe, the Highlanders represented, that, being on the frontier, the slaves would run away to the Spaniards, who would offer them freedom and protection ; that the labor of white men was much more valuable ; that they should be ruined by the slave dealers ; and be obliged to guard themselves against the negroes as well as against an invasion of the enemy. They added, " It is shocking to human nature, that any race of mankind and their posterity should be sentenced to perpetual slavery ; nor in justice can we think otherwise of it, than that they are thrown among us to be a scourge one day or other for our sins ; and, as freedom to them must be as dear as to us, what a scene of horror must it bring about ! " The Saltzburgers objected to the petition on similar grounds. They denied that the labor of blacks was necessary. Heaven had been bountiful, and their crops were abundant by the labor of their own hands. They had been told, that the soil could not be cultivated by white men ; but, say they, " we laugh at such talking." And further, " we humbly beseech the honorable trustees not to allow that any negroes may be brought to our place, or into our neighbourhood, knowing by experience that our fields and gardens will be always robbed

by them, and white persons be put in danger of life because of them, besides other great inconveniences." The petition and the protests or counter petitions were laid before the trustees. They refused peremptorily to listen to the requests of the petitioners, or to change in any respect the regulations they had adopted. Several persons among the malecontents left the province, and retired to South Carolina.

Leaving the matter of slavery out of the question, it cannot be denied that the colonists had cause for dissatisfaction. The lands assigned to them by lot were in many cases pine barrens or swamps unfit for cultivation. The idea of planting mulberry trees on such a soil was absurd, and the requisition to clear up and subdue a certain portion of it annually was oppressive. Again, the possession of a full title to the lands, in which the owner had incorporated his labor, and the privilege of selling and transferring his estate as he should think proper, were what a British subject, enjoying British freedom, and protected by British laws, had a right to expect and demand. That the land was the gift of charity in the first instance, afforded no just reason for imposing burdensome restrictions. It was worth nothing till it was cultivated, and all the value it acquired was the fruit of the laborer's toil. By the laws of nature such a property was his own. Why deny him the power of using it according to his pleasure, or as his wants might dictate? Especially as he had only to look across the Savannah river and see his neighbours in South Carolina, placed in precisely the same circumstances, reaping all the advantages allowed by the laws of England. It would be wrong to censure the motives of the trustees; they had no pecuniary interests to be consulted either in their private or corporate capacity; they could not have any by the charter; they held the land in trust for the benefit of others; yet the elements of their plan, and their practice under it, show clearly how little they understood the difficulty of settling a wild country, and how superficially they reflected upon the condition, and the rights and claims, of men associated to build up a new community in the heart of a wilderness.

These discontents, and the irregularities that grew out of them, could not but fill the mind of Oglethorpe with anxiety. They were now added to the cares of preparing for an expected invasion. His disinterestedness and self-sacrifice, his prudent counsels, moderation, and steadiness of pur-

pose, contributed to soften asperities and restrain thoughtless excess, which, under a guidance less firm and less persuasive, might have led to fatal consequences. It was his painful duty also to correct abuses, which had crept into the administration of affairs at Savannah, and to censure the conduct of some of the public officers.

Having restored order and harmony, as far as it could be done, he repaired to Charleston for the purpose of making known formally his commission as Commander-in-chief of the military forces of South Carolina and Georgia. He again visited the southern frontiers, and then began a long journey of more than three hundred miles through the wilderness to the interior. His object was to hold a council with the chiefs of the Creek Indians at Coweta, one of their principal towns. The meeting was amicable, the calumet was smoked, the league of friendship was renewed, and additional territory was granted on the seacoast extending south to the river St. John's. Returning by the way of Fort Augusta, he there met some of the chiefs of the Chickasaws and Cherokees. While at this place he heard the intelligence, that orders had been issued by the British government for fitting out privateers against the Spaniards, and he hastened back to Savannah.

It was now evident that the colony must soon become the scene of war. He took his measures accordingly ; he raised a company of rangers, summoned his Indian allies to his aid, examined into the condition of the militia and of the magazines, and called on the governor of South Carolina to contribute his proportion of troops and supplies. These preparations being made, he joined his little army on the southern frontier, and established his head-quarters at Frederica. A party of Spaniards landed on Amelia Island, and killed two Highlanders. Oglethorpe followed the invaders in person, made a descent on the Florida side of the St. John's river, and drove in the Spanish guards. At the same time he sent a reconnoitring party eighty miles up the St. John's to a fort at Picolata. On their return he ascended the river in boats with a detachment of troops and artillery, and captured the fort at Picolata and another called St. Francis, making prisoners of all the soldiers in the garrisons.

From reports, which he considered worthy of credit, he learned that St. Augustine was in a comparatively defence-

less state, and contained but a small stock of provisions. He formed the design of taking the place by surprise. He despatched an express to the governor of South Carolina for assistance; and soon afterwards went himself to Charleston in order to explain his intentions and arrange a plan of co-operation. The Carolinians came tardily into the enterprise, but at length an act of the Assembly was passed for raising four hundred men and a company of rangers, with a supply of provisions for three months. In a manifesto relating to the expedition, which he published at Charleston, he said, that whatever prizes or other booty might be captured from the enemy should be divided between the officers and soldiers according to the usage in his Majesty's service, but added at the same time, that his own share should be applied for the relief of wounded soldiers, or to assist the widows and children of such as should be killed, or as a reward for brave actions. Commodore Price, who commanded a small naval armament on the coast, consisting of four ships carrying twenty guns each, and two sloops, agreed to unite with him in the expedition.

These arrangements being completed, the commander-in-chief employed the next three months in collecting Indian auxiliaries, and in the necessary preparations. The place of rendezvous was at the mouth of the St. John's, where a part of the Carolina troops arrived on the 10th of May. Oglethorpe had passed over into Florida the day before, at the head of four hundred men chosen from his own regiment, with whom he invested Fort Diego and another small fort within seventeen miles of St. Augustine, both of which surrendered without opposition. The remainder of the Carolina militia, and a company of Highlanders under Captain McIntosh, joined him on his return to the mouth of the St. John's.

His whole force, regulars, provincials, and Indians, now amounted to about two thousand men. It was ascertained that reinforcements, with supplies of provisions and ammunition, had recently entered the harbour of St. Augustine, so that the number of effective men within the town was nearly equal to Oglethorpe's army. In naval strength, however, he was superior to the enemy, and a plan was concerted between him and the commander of the vessels for a combined attack on the town, and an attempt to carry it by storm.

They agreed upon the proper signals, and Oglethorpe marched again into Florida. Within three miles of St. Augustine he took possession of Fort Moosa, which had been abandoned by the garrison, and no obstacles were encountered till he found himself under the walls of the town. The signals were given for the fleet, but they were not answered. Shoal water had prevented the large ships from approaching, and the armed boats were kept at bay by the Spanish galleys. The scheme of an assault was thus defeated, and it only remained to prosecute the undertaking in the best manner that circumstances would admit. It was hoped that the town might be reduced to the necessity of surrendering by a blockade and siege. This attempt was unsuccessful. It was pursued for several days with spirit, by bombarding the castle, and skirmishes between the boats and galleys, but a reinforcement of seven hundred men from Havana, with military stores and provisions, contrived to enter the harbour undiscovered, and so far increased the strength and resources of the garrison as to discourage any further operations. The siege was raised, the vessels retired, and Oglethorpe marched his army back to Georgia. The most unfortunate incident of this expedition occurred at Fort Moosa. During the siege, Colonel Palmer was stationed there with a body of one hundred and fifty volunteers, brave men from the Scotch settlement at Darien. These were surprised by three hundred Spaniards, and nearly all cut to pieces.

Want of success is usually a ground for censuring the conduct of a commander. Oglethorpe could not hope to escape the penalty common to so many able generals that had gone before him. The Carolinians and Georgians had looked for victory and glory, instead of disaster and defeat; the downfall, and not the triumph, of their enemies. Expressions of bitter disappointment and murmurs of dissatisfaction were loudly uttered. They must lay the blame somewhere, and it was easy to place it on the head of their military chief. On his part he complained, that the Carolinians feebly supported him in the first instance, that they did not fulfil their engagements to the extent he had expected, that their militia were disobedient to orders, and deserted him and went home in the time of greatest need; and also, that the fleet did not render the service that had been confidently anticipated. Moreover, difficulties had intervened, which no sagacity could have foreseen,

and which no wisdom or skill could remove. When public opinion settled down into a more quiescent state, the voice of censure gradually died away, and the conviction prevailed, that the causes of the failure ought not all to be thrown upon the General. His main error seems to have been, that he did not obtain a more accurate knowledge of the shoals and depth of water in the harbour of St. Augustine, and of the actual strength and condition of the garrison; yet this may have been impracticable. The question still remains, whether it was prudent to undertake the expedition while this uncertainty existed.

These events took place in the year 1740. During the year following there was comparative tranquillity, and Oglethorpe was principally occupied with the civil government of the colony, and in guarding the frontiers and coasts against any hostile approaches of the enemy. On one occasion, with an armed sloop and schooner, he went in chase of a large Spanish ship, which had anchored near the mouth of the Savannah river. Losing sight of this ship in a storm, he sailed for the harbour of St. Augustine, passed over the bar, and engaged two armed vessels for an hour and a quarter, with the intention to board them; but they pushed towards the town and were rescued by six galleys, which came out and joined in the action.

It was at length ascertained, that the Spaniards were preparing a formidable armament at Havana for an invasion of Georgia and South Carolina. In May, 1743, a squadron sailed from that port for St. Augustine, with a large body of troops under the command of the Spanish general Rodondo. The expedition was to be commanded by Monteano, the governor of East Florida. The approach of the Havana fleet was discovered by the captain of an English cruiser, and the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Oglethorpe. Without a moment's delay he despatched a messenger to the governor of South Carolina, requesting the aid of that province. This application was coldly received, and the inhabitants of Charleston, by a strange want of foresight, mistaken policy, or distrust of the military abilities of Oglethorpe after his recent failure in Florida, resolved to prepare for their own defence and leave Georgia to its fate. A small naval force was finally fitted out, but it did not reach the scene of action in time to render any service towards repelling the invaders.

Oglethorpe repaired to Frederica, and engaged in the most active preparations for meeting the enemy. He collected his forces at that place, consisting of his own regiment, Highlanders, provincial rangers, and Creek and Cherokee warriors, who had cheerfully obeyed his summons. His whole number of men, however, amounted to but little more than seven hundred. On the 28th of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail, large and small, appeared off the bar at the mouth of the Altamaha river. After remaining a week to take soundings they sailed up the river, exchanging shots as they passed along with Fort St. Simon's and the batteries. They landed on the island, within a short distance of Frederica, and erected a battery, upon which they mounted twenty cannon. Finding his works at the south end of the island no longer available, Oglethorpe spiked the cannon and retired with the troops to Frederica. It was now the principal effort of the Spaniards to force a passage through the woods to that town. Oglethorpe employed the main body of his troops in strengthening the fortifications, and sent out scouting parties to watch the motions of the enemy and obstruct their advance. Dense forests and deep morasses were to be passed by the Spaniards, and these offered the Highlanders and Indians good opportunities for ambuscades and for harassing and annoying them at every step. The invaders were repulsed in two skirmishes, in which Oglethorpe's men fought with signal bravery, spurred on by the ardor and courage of their commander. Many of the enemy were killed, and more than a hundred were taken prisoners. These successes were followed by others, till at length the Spaniards retreated to the place of their first encampment, and began to entrench themselves more strongly under the protection of the guns in their ships.

In this state of things, Oglethorpe was informed by two English prisoners, who had effected their escape, that there were great dissensions in the Spanish camp, on account of a want of provisions, sickness, and their recent discomfitures, insomuch that the troops from Havana had withdrawn from those of St. Augustine, and encamped by themselves at a distance. Oglethorpe instantly resolved to take advantage of this posture of affairs, and to attack one of these camps by surprise. He marched in the night with a select body of men, till he came within a mile and a half of the enemy's

camp. He then halted his troops, and went forward in person with a small party to reconnoitre. While he was near the Spanish lines, one of his attendants, a Frenchman, fired his musket to alarm the Spaniards, ran off, and escaped to the enemy. It was now necessary to make a hasty retreat to Frederica. Chagrined at this disappointment, Oglethorpe hit upon a stratagem, which accomplished his purpose more effectually than he could have hoped to do it by a battle. This transaction has been variously related by historians, but Dr. Harris has published an account of it for the first time, in Oglethorpe's own words, written a few days after it happened, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, as follows:

"A Frenchman who, without my knowledge, was come down among the volunteers, fired his gun and deserted. Our Indians in vain pursued, but could not take him. Upon this, concluding that we should be discovered, I divided the drums into different parts, and they beat the Grenadier's march for about half an hour; then ceased, and we marched back in silence. The next day I prevailed with a prisoner, and gave him a sum of money, to carry a letter privately and deliver it to that Frenchman who had deserted. This letter was written in French, as if from a friend of his, telling him he had received the money; that he should try to make the Spaniards believe the English were weak; that he should undertake to pilot up their boats and galleys, and then bring them under the woods, where he knew the hidden batteries were; that if he could bring that about he should have double the reward he had already received; and that the French deserters should have all that had been promised to them. The Spanish prisoner got into their camp, and was immediately carried before the General, Don Manuel de Monteano. He was asked how he escaped, and whether he had any letters; but denying he had any, was strictly searched, and the letter found, and he, upon being pardoned, confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the Frenchman, (for the letter was not directed.) The Frenchman denied his knowing any thing of the contents of the letter, or having received any money or correspondence with me. Notwithstanding which, a council of war was held, and they decreed the Frenchman to be a double spy; but General Monteano would not suffer him to be executed, having been employed by him. However, they embarked all their troops with such precipitation, that they left behind their cannon, &c., and those dead of their wounds, unburied." — pp. 264, 265.

Thus ended this formidable Spanish invasion, which in the outset seemed so threatening, that it filled all the southern colonies with alarm. After burning and destroying the works and houses on the south end of St. Simon's island, the Spaniards sailed out of the river with their whole fleet, a part of which, containing the Havana troops, put to sea, and the remainder returned to St. Augustine. An army consisting of more than three thousand disciplined soldiers (some say nearly five thousand), supported by a strong naval armament, had been repulsed and driven off, in less than two weeks' time, by a handful of brave men scarcely equal to one fifth of their number, and without any maritime succours. Neither the armed ships from Charleston, nor any of the British men-of-war stationed on the coast, arrived in the river till after the Spaniards had embarked. No one pretended to question the wisdom or military skill of the commander in this defence. The clamors of his enemies ceased, and they were compelled to join the general voice in assigning to him the chief merit of saving the southern provinces from the ravages of war, if not from defeat and conquest.

In the early part of the next year another invasion was threatened. Oglethorpe determined to anticipate the movements of the enemy, and, with a party of grenadiers, rangers, and Highlanders, he crossed the St. John's and marched into Florida. A sharp action ensued at Fort Diego, in which forty Spaniards were killed, and the rest of the garrison fled to St. Augustine. He pursued them almost to the walls of the town, hoping to draw the enemy out, having prepared an ambuscade at a place where he intended to bring on a battle. The stratagem was discovered by the Spaniards, who did not choose to hazard a conflict. He then retreated slowly to the St. John's, whence he returned to Frederica. The designs of the enemy for the present season were abandoned.

The province being now in a state of tranquillity, and there being no immediate danger of further hostilities, Oglethorpe set sail for England, where his affairs required his attention. He arrived in London on the 25th of September, 1743. Here he found that Colonel Cook, who had been an officer of engineers in the Georgia service, had lodged a series of charges against him in the war office, tending to impeach his character, and to reflect on his honor and fidelity in regard to his conduct as governor of the colony. Oglethorpe insisted, that the charges should be ex-

amined by a court-martial. Under pretence that some of the most important witnesses were in America, whose testimony must be procured, Cook contrived to delay the investigation for nearly a year. After a strict scrunity of all the charges, which were nineteen in number, the board of officers decided, that "the whole, and every article thereof, was groundless, false, and malicious." This report was approved by the king, and Cook was dismissed from the army.

Oglethorpe returned no more to Georgia. Early in the year 1745 he was promoted to the rank of Major General. He commanded four companies of cavalry, which, as a compliment to their leader, were called the "Georgia Rangers." He served in the northern campaign against the rebels under Marshal Wade. From this time he continued for several years to sit in Parliament, but he chiefly sought his employments and his pleasures in private life, spending the summers on his estate at Godalming, and the winters in London. Possessing a lively imagination, a refined taste, and a fondness for letters, he was the companion of Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Reynolds, and the rest of that illustrious circle, whose genius adorned the British metropolis, and whose writings are the boast of the age in which they lived. We have a pleasing reminiscence of him in Hannah More's letters. Speaking of an interview with him when he had passed the age of ninety, she says, "He perfectly realizes all my ideas of Nestor; his literature is great; his knowledge of the world extensive; and his faculties as bright as ever." On another occasion she says; "Burke talked a great deal of politics with General Oglethorpe; he told him, with great truth, that he looked upon him as a more extraordinary person than any he had ever read of, for he had founded the province of Georgia, had absolutely called it into existence, and had lived to see it severed from the empire which created it, and become an independent State." His heart and his hands were always open to the calls of suffering humanity; his days were filled up with benevolent actions; and if it may be said of any man, that his life was a benefit to his race, it may be justly said of Oglethorpe. He died on the 30th of June, 1785, at the advanced age of ninety-six, retaining the vigor and elasticity of his mind to the last.

We are unwilling to close our remarks without one word more in commendation of Dr. Harris's work. In going carefully through it, we have been struck with the extent of his

research, the fidelity with which he has selected his facts, and the judgment with which he has combined them. His references also are valuable, not only as verifying his statements, but as guiding others who may desire to pursue the subject further, and consult original sources. The illustrative matter in the Appendix is not the least interesting part of the volume. Among these is a well-digested and instructive tract on the history of the silk culture in Georgia, by Dr. Stevens, a gentleman well known for his zeal in prosecuting researches relating to the early history of the country. Georgia still wants an historian. McCall's History has its merits, but the author labored under disadvantages, and his materials were scanty. The legislature of the State has set a noble example by being the first to procure from the public offices in England a copy of all its colonial papers. As materials of history they are invaluable. New York has recently followed this example, and we trust the other States will not be long in rendering such a token of gratitude to their founders, and to those worthy progenitors, who struggled to guard their infancy and watch over their growing years. Congress could hardly bestow a greater benefit upon the country, than by procuring a copy of all these papers and depositing it in Washington. Our colonial history can never be fully, fairly, and accurately written without them. The principal governments of Europe have been for many years employed, at much expense, in gathering up and publishing their early records. Shall we, who love to laud the deeds of our ancestors, and who live by the results of their toil, be contented with less intelligence or less patriotism? A nation exists in its history. Take away the memory of the past, and what remains? A name, and only a name. Take away the examples and the recorded wisdom of the past, and what ray of light would be left for our guidance? What could we do, but grope in the darkness of inexperience, and wander in the mazes of perpetual childhood? If we are bound to respect the claims of posterity, we likewise owe a debt to our ancestors. Let us pay it as an act of justice to them, and of wholesome instruction to ourselves. Let us read their history, study their example, imitate their virtues, and cherish with a religious reverence and patriotic zeal the institutions they have founded.

ART. VII. —*Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.* By JOHN L. STEPHENS, Author of "Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land," &c. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 424 and 474.

WHEN the Spanish adventurers under Cortez overturned the old Mexican or Aztec empire, early in the sixteenth century, the account which the invaders received from that people was, that they had themselves been settled in the country only three or four hundred years. Their annals represented them to have come from the north, and to have taken possession of a region formerly occupied for five or six centuries by a race, also of northern origin, to which they gave the name of *Toltecs*. They described the Toltecs as a people of gentle and refined character, of industrious and pacific habits, and much further advanced in arts, science, and civilization than themselves. Disease, drought, and famine had thinned their numbers, and, about a century before the descent of the Aztecs, the mass of the nation had migrated southward. They had been immediately succeeded by another race, the Chichimecs, who in their turn were displaced by the invasion of the Aztecs. This people fixed its seats upon the highlands, but a considerable remnant of the Toltecs still occupied the valleys, and from them their new masters derived much of the civilization of which the Spaniards found them possessed.

What had become of the cultivated people which thus, about the period of the Norman conquest, had forsaken their old dwelling in the southwestern corner of North America? Was any thing ever to be known, — except at this unsatisfactory second hand, provoking curiosity, much more than gratifying it, — of such an extraordinary aspect of civilization, not traceable to the Eastern sources of human improvement, born and matured in another continent? Had the strange people yielded to its misfortunes and perished, erecting no other memorials of its greatness than what time and Mexican ferocity had almost effaced? Or, in the regions to which they were represented to have retired, might there still remain tokens of their existence, confirmations of the report preserved in the writings and traditions of the successors to

their home, or even materials for some elucidation of the riddle of their history ?

The recent discoveries in Central America have attracted a new attention to these questions. The time for constructing a theory is not yet. The materials are still too scanty. But they are accumulating in great richness ; and to no part of the world does the historical inquirer look with a more intense interest, than to that country, lately as little thought of as if it did not exist, now known to be so fruitful in marvels.

Our readers understand the ruinous monuments of an ancient civilization, of which we speak, to be found in and near the country of Honduras and Yucatan ; Uxmal, the most northerly of the places where they occur, being situated between the twentieth and twenty-first parallels of north latitude, and Copan between the fourteenth and fifteenth. In or about the year 1750, a party of Spaniards are said to have made the first discovery of the kind near the village of Palenque, in Guatemala, in latitude 17 ° 20′ and longitude 92 °. They spread the report of the existence of vast ruins of an ancient city of several miles in extent, but no measures appear to have been taken to verify it, for more than thirty years. In May, 1787, Captain Antonio del Rio visited Palenque, under a commission from the governor of Guatemala, in pursuance of an order from the king of Spain. He had the aid of some eighty Indians, supplied with fifty axes, to clear the woods about the buildings. In his Report to the Governor, dated on the 24th of June, he says, that he had finished the preparatory operation of felling trees on the 2d of that month. This Report, with an excessively stupid dissertation occasioned by it, on the history of the ancient Americans, from the pen of one Doctor Paul Felix Cabrera, appears to have lain forgotten in the archives of the city of New Guatemala till 1822, when a translation of them was obtained, and published in London. The Report, under the title of "Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America," occupies only twenty pages of the volume, which is in quarto. Seventeen plates of linear drawings are subjoined, with which no other fault is to be found, except that they and the Report, which all along refers to drawings, do not correspond to one another. The anonymous author of the Preface, with that coolness to which

nobody, so much as a catchpenny editor, is equal, remarks; "References will be found to drawings mentioned by Captain Del Rio, *which did not fall into the hands of the fortunate possessor of these details*, while other designs are described, which do not *appear to coincide precisely* with any of the accompanying plates." The truth is, as any one may satisfy himself, who has opportunity to make a comparison with the later magnificent work of Dupaix, these prints are made from copies of the sketches of Castañeda, who accompanied Dupaix as draughtsman. In fourteen of the prints the resemblance is perfect, allowing for the ruder style of execution. One, the first, appears to be an imperfect sketch of the ground-plan of the building called the *palace*, portrayed in the work of Dupaix with much greater detail. One, the sixth, represents a group which we do not find to be given in that work, though of the same character with several others which are; it was probably from one of Castañeda's drawings, which for some reason was not embraced in the edition of Dupaix, though possibly it may have been an invention to give an appearance of originality to the collection of Del Rio's editor. Of one only, the last, representing two circles, enclosing, the one a serpent twined round the trunk of a tree, the other, a human figure kneeling between the heads of two monsters, we have observed no trace elsewhere. Farcy, the editor of Dupaix, says, that "Latour-Allard, being in possession of a certain number of drawings from those of Castañeda, after having communicated them to M. de Humboldt, who could not use them, gave them up to a certain English antiquary, who caused them to be engraved at London in 1823." Probably 1823 is a mistake for 1822, and the "English antiquary" of whom Farcy speaks was no other than the publisher of Del Rio's Report. Perhaps this publisher had obtained them through Humboldt. At all events, the identity of most of the drawings may be taken for a thing certain; and, notwithstanding the editor's vague avowal which we have quoted, it seems hard to acquit him of a dishonest purpose to pass off on the careless reader sketches derived from another source, as being those of the writer whose work he was giving to the public.

Del Rio said that he found the *stone houses* ("Casas de Piedras," so the neighbours called them) to be fourteen in number. Dupaix, twenty years after, saw only twelve.

Each described but three buildings besides the *palace*, Del Roi speaking of the rest as being "nearly destroyed." Mr. Stephens particularizes one more, and adds, "There are remains of others in the same vicinity, but so utterly dilapidated, that we have not thought it worth while to give any description of them." It was under the auspices of Charles the Fourth of Spain, that Dupaix, a captain in his service, made, in 1805 and the two following years, three expeditions of antiquarian discovery. Besides the escort of a detachment of Mexican cavalry, he was attended by a skilful artist, Castañeda, in the capacity in which Mr. Catherwood has lately accompanied our countryman Mr. Stephens. In the last of these expeditions he visited Palenque, and wrote a full account of his observations. His manuscripts, with the designs of Castañeda, were about to be sent to Madrid, when the Mexican revolution broke out. During the unsettled times which followed, they remained in the hands of Castañeda, who subsequently deposited them in the Cabinet of Natural History at Mexico. Here they were found by Baradère in 1828. It had been agreed between Baradère and the Mexican government, that he should make collections of curious antiquities in the interior, and have one half of what he should obtain for his own. In a final settlement of this bargain, he obtained a copy of the journal of Dupaix, and the one hundred and forty-five original drawings of Castañeda; — at least so says Farcy, in his preface to the splendid work in which they appear; but Farcy loves a flourish of trumpets, and according to other accounts the originals are still in Mexico. At all events, in 1834 were published, at Paris, with all the luxury of French art, two volumes of letter-press, and one of prints, to which Dupaix and Castañeda have contributed the only part which is of considerable value.

Palenque has now been visited once more by Mr. Stephens, whose observations both corroborate the descriptions of his predecessors, and make important additions to what had been reported by them of the wonders of that remarkable spot. Mr. Stephens and his companion remained there about three weeks, making their home in the principal building, called *the palace*. We must not indulge ourselves with many extracts, but a few paragraphs from the description of that building cannot be spared.

"It stands on an artificial elevation of an oblong form, forty feet high, three hundred and ten feet in front and rear, and two hundred and sixty feet on each side. This elevation was formerly faced with stone, which has been thrown down by the growth of trees, and its form is hardly distinguishable.

"The building stands with its face to the east, and measures two hundred and twenty-eight front by one hundred and eighty feet deep. Its height is not more than twenty-five feet, and all around it had a broad projecting cornice of stone. The front contained fourteen doorways, about nine feet wide each, and the intervening piers are between six and seven feet wide. On the left (in approaching the palace) eight of the piers have fallen down, as has also the corner on the right, and the terrace underneath is cumbered with the ruins. But six piers remain entire, and the rest of the front is open.

"The building was constructed of stone, with a mortar of lime and sand, and the whole front was covered with stucco and painted. The piers were ornamented with spirited figures in bas-relief. On the top are three hieroglyphics sunk in the stucco. It is enclosed by a richly ornamented border, about ten feet high and six wide, of which only a part now remains. The principal personage stands in an upright position and in profile, exhibiting an extraordinary facial angle of about forty-five degrees. The upper part of the head seems to have been compressed and lengthened, perhaps by the same process employed upon the heads of the Choctaw and Flathead Indians of our own country. The head represents a different species from any now existing in that region of country; and supposing the statues to be images of living personages, or the creations of artists according to their ideas of perfect figures, they indicate a race of people now lost and unknown. The head-dress is evidently a plume of feathers. Over the shoulders is a short covering decorated with studs, and a breastplate; part of the ornament of the girdle is broken; the tunic is probably a leopard's skin; and the whole dress no doubt exhibits the costume of this unknown people. He holds in his hand a staff or sceptre, and opposite his hands are the marks of three hieroglyphics, which have decayed or been broken off. At his feet are too naked figures seated cross-legged, and apparently suppliants. A fertile imagination might find many explanations for these strange figures, but no satisfactory interpretation presents itself to my mind. The hieroglyphics doubtless tell its history. The stucco is of admirable consistency, and hard as stone. It was painted, and in different places about it we discovered the remains of red, blue, yellow, black, and white." — Vol. II. pp. 310, 311.

. . . .

"The building has two parallel corridors running lengthwise on all four of its sides. In front these corridors are about nine feet wide, and extend the whole length of the building upward of two hundred feet. In the long wall that divides them there is but one door, which is opposite the principal door of entrance, and has a corresponding one on the other side, leading to a courtyard in the rear. The floors are of cement, as hard as the best seen in the remains of Roman baths and cisterns. The walls are about ten feet high, plastered, and on each side of the principal entrance ornamented with medallions, of which the borders only remain; these, perhaps, contained the busts of the royal family. The separating-wall had apertures of about a foot, probably intended for purposes of ventilation." —*Ibid.* p. 113.

. . . . .

"From the centre door of this corridor a range of stone steps thirty feet long leads to a rectangular courtyard, eighty feet long by seventy broad. On each side of the steps are grim and gigantic figures, carved on stone in basso-relievo, nine or ten feet high, and in a position slightly inclined backward from the end of the steps to the floor of the corridor. . . . . They are adorned with rich head-dresses and necklaces, but their attitude is that of pain and trouble. The design and anatomical proportions of the figures are faulty, but there is a force of expression about them which shows the skill and conceptive power of the artist." — *Ibid.* p. 314.

This description, which Mr. Stephens judiciously pursues with much detail, we leave altogether incomplete, both for want of room, and because, without the aid of drawings, nothing more than a general idea can be formed of the extent and arrangement of the edifice, and the character of its embellishments. The reader of the volume is assisted by a good exterior view of the structure, a minute ground-plan, and ten drawings, representing, on a large scale, sections of the building, and bas-reliefs of human figures and groups, in stone and stucco.

Mr. Stephens gives descriptions and sketches of four smaller buildings, with their decorations. They are of considerable size, that called *Casa No.* 1, being seventy-six feet in front with five doors and six piers, and twenty-five feet deep. "The whole front was richly ornamented in stucco, and the corner piers are covered with hieroglyphics, each of which contains ninety-six squares." "The height of the structure on which it stands, is one hundred and ten

feet on the slope." This is "a ruined pyramid, which appears once to have had steps on all its sides."

"The interior of the building is divided into two corridors, running lengthwise, with a ceiling rising nearly to a point, as in the palace, and paved with large square stones. The front corridor is seven feet wide. The separating wall is very massive, and has three doors, a large one in the centre, and a smaller one on each side. In this corridor, on each side of the principal door, is a large tablet of hieroglyphics, each thirteen feet long and eight feet high, and each divided into two hundred and forty squares of characters or symbols. Both are set in the wall so as to project three or four inches. In one place a hole had been made in the wall close to the side of one of them, apparently for the purpose of attempting its removal, by which we discovered that the stone is about a foot thick. The sculpture is in bas-relief." — *Ibid.* pp. 341, 342.

. . . . .

"The corridor in the rear is dark and gloomy, and divided into three apartments. Each of the side apartments has two narrow openings about three inches wide and a foot high. They have no remains of sculpture or painting, or stuccoed ornaments. In the centre apartment, set in the back wall, and fronting the principal door of entrance, is another tablet of hieroglyphics, four feet six inches wide and three feet six inches high. The roof above it is tight ; consequently it has not suffered from exposure, and the hieroglyphics are perfect, though the stone is cracked lengthwise through the middle." — *Ibid.* pp. 342, 343.

. . . . .

"There is no staircase or other visible communication between the lower and upper parts of this building, and the only way of reaching the latter was by climbing a tree which grows close against the wall, and the branches of which spread over the roof. The roof is inclined, and the sides are covered with stucco ornaments, which, from exposure to the elements and the assaults of trees and bushes, are faded and ruined, so that it was impossible to draw them ; but enough remained to give the impression that, when perfect and painted, they must have been rich and imposing. Along the top was a range of pillars eighteen inches high and twelve apart, made of small pieces of stone laid in mortar, and covered with stucco, crowning which is a layer of flat projecting stones, having somewhat the appearance of a low open balustrade." — *Ibid.* pp. 343, 344.

The other *Casas*, which are smaller, also stand upon pyra-

mids, and have similar decorations, which with their elevations and outline, are illustrated by nineteen engravings. A remarkable apartment in *Casa No.* 3, is thus described ;

"The back corridor is divided into three apartments. In the centre, facing the principal door of entrance, is an enclosed chamber similar to that which in the last building we have called an oratory or altar. . . . . The top of the doorway was gorgeous with stuccoed ornaments, and on the piers at each side were stone tablets in bas-relief. Within, the chamber was four feet seven inches deep and nine feet wide. There were no stuccoed ornaments or paintings, but set in the back wall was a stone tablet covering the whole width of the chamber, nine feet wide and eight feet high, ... and I beg to call to it the particular attention of the reader, as the most perfect and most interesting monument in Palenque. Neither Del Rio nor Dupaix has given any drawing of it, and it is now for the first time presented to the public. It is composed of three separate stones. . . . . The sculpture is perfect, and the characters and figures stand clear and distinct on the stone. On each side are rows of hieroglyphics. The principal personages . . . . . both seem to be making offerings. Both personages stand on the backs of human beings, one of whom supports himself by his hands and knees, and the other seems crushed to the ground by the weight. Between them at the foot of the tablet, are two figures, sitting cross-legged, one bracing himself with his right hand on the ground, and with the left supporting a square table ; the attitude and action of the other are the same, except that they are in reverse order. The table also rests upon their bended necks, and their distorted countenances may perhaps be considered expressions of pain and suffering. They are both clothed in leopard-skins. Upon this table rest two batons crossed, their upper extremities richly ornamented, and supporting what seems a hideous mask, the eyes widely expanded, and the tongue hanging out. This seems to be the object to which the principal personages are making offerings." — *Ibid.* pp. 351, 352.

In reviewing his investigations and those of his coadjutor at Palenque, Mr. Stephens says ;

"Mr. Catherwood's drawings include all the objects represented in the work of Dupaix, and others besides which do not appear in that work at all, and have never before been presented to the public ; among which are the frontispiece of this volume and the large tablets of hieroglyphics, the most curious and interesting pieces of sculpture at Palenque. I add, with the

full knowledge that I will be contradicted by future travellers if I am wrong, that the whole of Mr. C.'s are more correct in proportions, outline, and filling up than his, and furnish more true material for speculation and study." — *Ibid.* pp. 299, 300.

This assertion, substantially correct, is so important as to inspiring confidence in the reader, that it ought to be cleared from any liability to contradiction. There are several drawings of Castañeda, to which none of Mr. Catherwood's correspond, but they are mostly representations of details treated in the work of Stephens in a more general way, as the sketches of Castañeda numbered from 13 to 18 inclusive, which represent isolated parts of the *palace*; and on the other hand, besides the important additions specified in the last extract, there is a plan of the site of the buildings, a drawing of the only statue there discovered, a representation of one more bas-relief (that opposite to p. 319), and views of *Casa No.* 4, and of the front corridors of *Casa No.* 3 and *the palace*.

There is satisfactory appearance, also, of that greater exactness of delineation, of which Mr. Stephens claims the credit for his friend. In their completeness and spirit, the draughts of Castañeda certainly suggest some suspicion of a pencil allowing itself to idealize at the expense of truth. But on the whole, a comparison of the two sets of sketches, the earlier of which had not been seen by the author of the later, is such as to prompt the reader, instead of praising the one at the other's cost, to congratulate himself that the two afford such emphatic mutual confirmation. The stucco figures which Castañeda represented as complete, while Catherwood depicts them in a decayed condition, may probably have suffered sufficient injury to account for the difference, in the interval between the visits of the two travellers. In the drawing of the elevation of the palace by Castañeda, when the eighty Indians had just been at work with their axes, there is none of the shrubbery upon the roof and substruction, which at the end of thirty-five years the sketch of Catherwood represents. The difference speaks for the fidelity of both.*

* Of the prints from Castañeda's drawings attached to the work of Dupaix, the following have no parallel in that of Stephens; viz., plates from 13 to 18 inclusive, representing elevations, sections, and details of the pile of buildings called *the palace;* plate 21, a stucco bas-relief, representing two figures, one piercing the other with a sword; 25, stucco ornaments over

The monuments of this description, which attracted notice next after those of Palenque, were found at Uxmal, in the Province of Yucatan. Mr. Frederick de Waldeck gave a description of part of them in his splendid work, in one folio volume, published at Paris in 1838, under the title of "*Voyage Pittoresque et Archéologique dans la Province d'Yucatan pendant les Années* 1834 *et* 1835." He says he obtained the hint, which led him to go upon the adventure, from a brief mention of the existence of such ruins, in the "Atlas" of Buchon. Waldeck devotes to the monuments of Uxmal, ten superbly designed and colored prints, accompanied with minute explanations. According to him, they present no stucco ornaments whatever, and his copies of the sculptures in stone exhibit a boldness and grace in the conception, and a richness and perfection in the finish, which might well throw extreme suspicion upon their authenticity, as long as it remained without confirmation from some other source. It is in this view that we attach especial importance to the few hasty observations of Mr. Stephens, who, on account of the illness of his companion, was compelled to limit himself to three visits to the spot, and was able to obtain

doors, a remarkable composition; 27, Arabesque ornaments around a window; and from 39 to 42 inclusive, exhibiting various minute objects partly hieroglyphics. The elevation in Castañeda's print No. 34, we understand from the accompanying ground-plan to be of the same edifice which Stephens calls *Casa No.* 3; but, if so, one or the other representation (Castañeda's, we doubt not) is exceedingly incorrect, being probably only a fancy-sketch from recollection. The same want of resemblance is observable between what Dupaix calls the *temple of the cross*, depicted in plate No. 35, and Stephens's *Casa No.* 2, which must however be intended for the same, as in it the remarkable sculpture representing a cross was found. The facility of comparison is less as to these last two buildings, by reason of their being represented by Mr. Catherwood (unfortunately, we think) as *restored.*

Waldeck ("Voyage Pittoresque," p. 69) calls Castañeda's "bad drawings," and says again, that Baradère "had incomplete copies." But this will not do, after the confirmation given (with the exceptions we have noted) by the testimony of Stephens and Catherwood to the correctness of the previous work. He adds, that sketches in which the collection of Baradère was deficient, particularly that of the tablet including the cross, "were copied from the incorrect work of Del Rio," of which he says further, without explaining whence he obtained his originals, that he (Waldeck) had himself engraved the plates at London in 1822. He has more in disparagement of Del Rio and Dupaix; and he congratulates himself (with what reason, our countryman's work may satisfy us) that he did not yield them sufficient credit to make a tour to Palenque, as he had at one time thought of doing. The truth is, the reputation of the nearly contemporaneous publication of Dupaix, interfered, or was thought by him to do so, with that of his own; and he was probably not unwilling to retort on Farcy, who had spoken slightingly of his labors, and of the former work produced under the auspices of his patron, Lord Kingsborough.

only three drawings for the illustration of this part of his work. These, while in point of execution they of course sustain no comparison with those of Waldeck, serve the more material purpose of corroborating his testimony, to which before it was so hard to give credit. It would be all but incredible, if it were not now shown to be certainly true, that in the wilds of Central America are found vast architectural piles, with complicated decorations chiselled in hard stone, which, different as is their style, might without extravagance be called worthy of the best eras of European art. The "vast buildings or terraces, and pyramidal structures, grand, and in good preservation, richly ornamented," struck Mr. Stephens on his first approach, as "in picturesque effect almost equal to the ruins of Thebes." He saw them under favorable circumstances, the woods around, which had embarrassed the earlier investigations of Waldeck, having recently been cut down and burned. We must content ourselves with very scanty extracts from his descriptions of these ruins, if *ruins* indeed we are to call them, for of that named the *Casa del Gobernador*, it is said, "the roof was tight, the apartments were dry, and, to speak understandingly, *a few thousand dollars* expended in repairs, would have restored it, and made it fit for the reoccupation of its royal owners." This splendid building stands on a substruction ascended by three ranges of terraces.

"The first terrace is six hundred feet long and five feet high. It is walled with cut stone, and on the top is a platform twenty feet broad, from which rises another terrace fifteen feet high. At the corners, this terrace is supported by cut stones, having the faces rounded so as to give a better finish than with sharp angles. The great platform above is flat and clear of trees, but abounding in green stumps of the forest but lately cleared away, and now planted, or rather, from its irregularity, sown with corn, which yet rose barely a foot from the ground. At the southeast corner of this platform is a row of round pillars eighteen inches in diameter and three or four feet high, extending about one hundred feet along the platform; and these were the nearest approach to pillars or columns that we saw in all our exploration of the ruins of that country. In the middle of the terrace, along an avenue leading to a range of steps, was a broken, round pillar, inclined and falling, with trees growing around it. It was part of our purpose to make an excavation in this platform, from the impression that underneath

would be found a vault, forming part of the immense reservoirs for supplying the city with water.

"In the centre of the platform, at a distance of two hundred and five feet from the border in front, is a range of stone steps more than a hundred feet broad, and thirty-five in number, ascending to a third terrace, fifteen feet above the last, and thirty-five feet from the ground, about equal to the height of the city hall, which, being elevated on a naked plain, formed a most commanding position. The erection of these terraces alone was an immense work. On this third terrace, with its principal doorway facing the range of steps, stands the noble structure of the Casa del Gobernador. The façade measures three hundred and twenty feet. Away from the region of dreadful rains, and the rank growth of forest which smothers the ruins of Palenque, it stands with all its walls erect, and almost as perfect as when deserted by its inhabitants. The whole building is of stone, plain up to the moulding that runs along the tops of the doorway, and above filled with the same rich, strange, and elaborate sculpture, among which is particularly conspicuous the ornament before referred to as *la grecque*. There is no rudeness or barbarity in the design or proportions; on the contrary, the whole wears an air of architectural symmetry and grandeur; and as the stranger ascends the steps and casts a bewildered eye along its open and desolate doors, it is hard to believe that he sees before him the work of a race in whose epitaph, as written by historians, they are called ignorant of art, and said to have perished in the rudeness of savage life. If it stood at this day on its grand artificial terrace in Hyde Park or the Garden of the Tuileries, it would form a new order, I do not say equalling, but not unworthy to stand side by side with the remains of Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman art."—*Ibid.* pp. 428–430.

The prevailing style of the embellishments of these buildings is more particularly described elsewhere;

"The whole building is of stone; inside, the walls are of polished smoothness; outside, up to the height of the door, the stones are plain and square; above this line there is a rich cornice or moulding, and from this to the top of the building all the sides are covered with rich and elaborate sculptured ornaments, forming a sort of arabesque. The style and character of these ornaments were entirely different from those of any we had ever seen before, either in that country or any other; they bore no resemblance whatever to those of Copan or Palenque, and were quite as unique and peculiar. The designs were strange and incomprehensible, very elaborate, sometimes

grotesque, but often simple, tasteful, and beautiful. Among the intelligible subjects are squares and diamonds with busts of human beings, heads of leopards, and compositions of leaves and flowers, and the ornaments known everywhere as *grecques*. The ornaments, which succeed each other, are all different; the whole form an extraordinary mass of richness and complexity and the effect is both grand and curious. And the construction of these ornaments is not less peculiar and striking than the general effect. There were no tablets or single stones, each representing separately and by itself an entire subject; but every ornament or combination is made up of separate stones on each of which part of the subject was carved, and which was then set in its place in the wall. Each stone, by itself, was an unmeaning fractional part; but, placed by the side of others, helped to make a whole, which without it would be incomplete. Perhaps it may, with propriety, be called a species of sculptured mosaic." —*Ibid.* pp. 421, 422.

"The exterior of every building in Uxmal is ornamented in the same elaborate manner;" and the magnificence of the whole may be partly imagined, when it is added that one building alone presents an exterior surface of no less than two thousand feet in length.

It is said, that, since the short visit of Mr. Stephens, the monuments of Uxmal have been explored by the Austrian Chevalier Fredericksthal, and that he obtained a series of sketches with the *daguerreotype*, the use of which apparatus is facilitated at Uxmal by the position of the ruins in an open country. We look impatiently for the publication which he is understood to have projected. It is probable that Uxmal will prove to be the richest of all the fields of discovery, of this description.

In the same year with Waldeck's visit to Uxmal, an expedition to Copan, with a similar object, was undertaken by Colonel Galindo, governor of the Province of Peten. It was of this enterprise, if we understand them, that our learned brethren of the "Foreign Quarterly," who, some of our readers are aware, have a propensity to commit themselves upon American subjects, took occasion to speak in the following judicious terms;

"We have said that this is an inquiry almost new to the public; we can adduce an extraordinary instance of the ignorance prevailing among literary and scientific men in general, of the immense sources of information from which they have

been excluded by the voluminous pedantry employed upon the subject. It was after the publication of Lord Kingsborough's work, that is to say in 1831, that a correspondent of the 'Literary Gazette' announced a great discovery by a certain Colonel Galindo in New Spain. This gentleman, going out one fine morning in the neighbourhood of Palenque, stumbled on the ruins of an ancient city, nearly as wonderful in the architectural details as those of Egyptian Thebes. The discovery was announced with great pomp, and the correspondent of the Review in question, which is one of great circulation, promised, on behalf of the Colonel, to supply a series of illustrations and descriptions of this astounding discovery. Unfortunately, the result of the Colonel's morning adventure turned out to be a complete mare's nest. The fact is, that Lord Kingsborough's work, published a year before this event, gave the most ample and minute details, in a series of illustrations by Aglio, the artist, of the identical ruins stumbled upon by the astonished literatus. The Spanish commissions, headed by Dupaix, had also given equally ample details of this ruined city. Humboldt exhibited some of the sculptures; and, finally, the whole of the ruins had been examined, described, and drawn with great fidelity [save the mark!] by Del Rio, in the publication to which we have already adverted. This circumstance is alone sufficient to show that the subject is, unlike Egyptian antiquities, comparatively new to the reading British public."—Vol. xviii. p. 35.

The ancient city, on whose ruins Colonel Galindo stumbled, "going out one fine morning in the neighbourhood of Palenque," we take to be no other than Copan, of which neither Del Rio, Lord Kingsborough's editor, nor Dupaix, says one word, and which, being some two or three hundred miles distant from Palenque, Galindo could scarcely have reached in his walk from the latter city, on the fine morning in question, without the advantage of Jack the Giant-Queller's seven-league boots. Galindo made brief communications of his observations to the "Royal Society" of London, and to the "American Antiquarian Society," who published his letter to them in the second volume of their "Transactions." It is brief and general, consisting of only five octavo pages, without pictorial illustrations. So that, as to Copan, Mr. Stephens and his companion were almost in the condition of original explorers.

Accordingly, he very properly gives, in his first volume, a minute account of their observations in that place, the first to

which their attention was directed. On approaching the river Copan, the first object which they saw was, on the opposite bank, "a stone wall, perhaps a hundred feet high, with furze growing out of the top, running north and south along the river, in some places fallen, but in others entire."

"The wall was of cut stone, well laid, and in a good state of preservation. We ascended by large stone steps, in some places perfect, and in others thrown down by trees which had grown up between the crevices, and reached a terrace, the form of which it was impossible to make out, from the density of the forest in which it was enveloped. Our guide cleared a way with his machete, and we passed, as it lay half buried in the earth, a large fragment of stone elaborately sculptured, and came to the angle of a structure with steps on the sides, in form and appearance, so far as the trees would enable us to make it out, like the sides of a pyramid. Diverging from the base, and working our way through the thick woods, we came upon a square stone column, about fourteen feet high, and three feet on each side, sculptured in very bold relief, and on all four of the sides, from the base to the top. The front was the figure of a man curiously and richly dressed, and the face, evidently a portrait, solemn, stern, and well fitted to excite terror. The back was of a different design, unlike any thing we had ever seen before, and the sides were covered with hieroglyphics. This our guide called an "Idol"; and before it, at a distance of three feet, was a large block of stone, also sculptured with figures and emblematical devices, which he called an altar. The sight of this unexpected monument put at rest, at once and for ever, in our minds, all uncertainty in regard to the character of American antiquities, and gave us the assurance that the objects we were in search of were interesting, not only as the remains of an unknown people, but as works of art, proving, like newly-discovered historical records, that the people who once occupied the Continent of America were not savages. With an interest perhaps stronger than we had ever felt in wandering among the ruins of Egypt, we followed our guide, who, sometimes missing his way, with a constant and vigorous use of his machete, conducted us through the thick forest, among half-buried fragments, to fourteen monuments of the same character and appearance, some with more elegant designs, and some in workmanship, equal to the finest monuments of the Egyptians; one displaced from its pedestal by enormous roots; another locked in the close embrace of branches of trees, and almost lifted out of the earth; another hurled to the ground, and bound down by

huge vines and creepers ; and one standing, with its altar before it, in a grove of trees which grew around it, seemingly to shade and shroud it as a sacred thing ; in the solemn stillness of the woods, it seemed a divinity mourning over a fallen people."

. . . . .

"We returned to the base of the pyramidal structure, and ascended by regular stone steps, in some places forced apart by bushes and saplings, and in others thrown down by the growth of large trees, while some remained entire. In parts they were ornamented with sculptured figures and rows of death's-heads. Climbing over the ruined top, we reached a terrace overgrown with trees, and, crossing it, descended by stone steps into an area so covered with trees that at first we could not make out its form, but which, on clearing the way with the machete, we ascertained to be a square, and with steps on all the sides almost as perfect as those of the Roman amphitheatre. The steps were ornamented with sculpture, and on the south side, about half way up, forced out of its place by roots, was a colossal head, evidently a portrait. We ascended these steps, and reached a broad terrace a hundred feet high, overlooking the river, and supported by the wall which we had seen from the opposite bank. The whole terrace was covered with trees, and even at this height from the ground were two gigantic Ceibas, or wild cotton-trees of India, above twenty feet in circumference, extending their half naked roots fifty or a hundred feet around, binding down the ruins, and shading them with their wide-spreading branches." — Vol. I. pp. 101 – 104.

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"The extent of the city along the river, as ascertained by monuments still found, is more than two miles. There are no remains of palaces or private buildings, and the principal part is that which stands on the bank of the river, and may, perhaps, with propriety, be called the Temple.

"This temple is an oblong enclosure. The front or river wall extends on a right line north and south six hundred and twenty-four feet, and it is from sixty to ninety feet in height. It is made of cut stones, from three to six feet in length, and a foot and a half in breadth. In many places the stones have been thrown down by bushes growing out of the crevices, and in one place there is a small opening, from which the ruins are sometimes called by the Indians Las Ventanas, or the windows. The other three sides consist of ranges of steps and pyramidal structures, rising from thirty to one hundred and forty feet in height on the slope. The whole line of survey is

two thousand, eight hundred and sixty-six feet, which, though gigantic and extraordinary for a ruined structure of the aborigines, that the reader's imagination may not mislead him, I consider it necessary to say, is not so large as the base of the great Pyramid of Ghizeh." — *Ibid.* p. 133.

Of the fourteen "idols," we copy only the general description of one. Their character can only be understood from drawings.

"It is thirteen feet in height, four feet in front, and three deep, sculptured on all four of its sides, from the base to the top, and one of the richest and most elaborate specimens in the whole extent of the ruins. Originally it was painted, the marks of red color being still distinctly visible. Before it, at a distance of about eight feet, is a large block of sculptured stone, which the Indians call an altar. The subject of the front is a full-length figure, the face wanting beard, and of a feminine cast, though the dress seems that of a man. On the two sides are rows of hieroglyphics, which probably recite the history of this mysterious personage." — *Ibid.* p. 137.

Some of the statues are of male, and others of female subjects. The accessary decorations are very complicated and minute, and the whole sculpture is in high relief. None of them presents that peculiarity of a monstrously acquiline nose and conical head, which characterizes the physiognomy of the figures at Palenque, though a remarkable approximation to this appears (if the drawing be correct) in the bas-reliefs on one of the "altars," one of which was found before each "idol," at the distance of from eight to twelve feet.

"The altars, like the idols, are all of a single block of stone. In general they are not so richly ornamented, and are more faded and worn, or covered with moss; some were completely buried, and of others it was difficult to make out more than the form. All differed in fashion, and doubtless had some distinct and peculiar reference to the idols before which they stood. This stands on four globes cut out of the same stone; the sculpture is in bas-relief, and it is the only specimen of that kind of sculpture found at Copan, all the rest being in bold alto-relievo. It is six feet square and four feet high, and the top is divided into thirty-six tablets of hieroglyphics, which beyond doubt record some event in the history of the mysterious people who once inhabited the city. The lines are still distinctly visible. Of the four sides of this altar, each repre-

sents four individuals. On the west side are the two principal personages, chiefs or warriors, with their faces opposite each other, and apparently engaged in argument or negotiation. The other fourteen are divided into two equal parties, and seem to be following their leaders. Each of the two principal figures is seated cross-legged, in the Oriental fashion, on a hieroglyphic which probably designates his name and office, or character, and on three of which the serpent forms part. Between the two principal personages is a remarkable cartouche, containing two hieroglyphics well preserved, which reminded us strongly of the Egyptian method of giving the names of the kings or heroes in whose honor monuments were erected. The headdresses are remarkable for their curious and complicated form; the figures have all breastplates, and one of the two principal characters holds in his hand an instrument, which may, perhaps, be considered a sceptre; each of the others holds an object which can be only a subject for speculation and conjecture. It may be a weapon of war, and if so, it is the only thing of the kind found represented at Copan. In other countries, battle-scenes, warriors, and weapons of war are among the most prominent subjects of sculpture; and from the entire absence of them here, there is reason to believe that the people were not warlike, but peaceable, and easily subdued." — *Ibid.* pp. 141, 142.

Among other objects observed were a fragment, six feet high, of "the remains of a colossal ape or baboon, strongly resembling in outline and appearance the four monstrous animals which once stood in front, attached to the base, of the obelisk of Luxor"; two sculptured portraits, of one of which "the expression is noble and severe, and the whole character shows a close imitation of nature;" another human head, of colossal dimensions, "about six feet high, and the style good;" an altar, representing the back of a tortoise; a crocodile's head, well executed; and rows of "death's-heads," (or, as it rather seems, ape's-heads,) "of gigantic proportions, still standing in their places about half-way up the side of the pyramid," at an angle of the "temple." The whole area of one of the courtyards of that edifice "is overgrown with trees and encumbered with decayed vegetable matter, with fragments of curious sculpture protruding above the surface, which, probably, with many others completely buried, would be brought to light by digging."

We leave Copan, and, in company with Mr. Catherwood, proceed to Quirigua, some twenty or thirty miles distant

from it to the northeast, which place he visited while Mr. Stephens was absent, in the southern provinces, in fruitless quest of the government of Central America, to which he had been accredited by that of the United States.

"They [Mr. Catherwood and his attendants at Quirigua] reached the foot of the pyramidal structure like those at Copan, with the steps in some places perfect. They ascended to the top, about twenty-five feet, and descending by steps on the other side, at a short distance beyond, came to a colossal head two yards in diameter, almost buried by an enormous tree, and covered with moss. Near it was a large altar, so covered with moss that it was impossible to make any thing out of it. The two are within an enclosure.

"Retracing their steps across the pyramdal structure, and proceeding to the north about three or four hundred yards, they reached a collection of monuments of the same general character with those at Copan, but twice or three times as high.

"The first is about twenty-five feet high, five feet six inches on two sides, and two feet on the other two. The front represents the figure of a man, well preserved; the back that of a woman much defaced. The sides are covered with hieroglyphics in good preservation, but in low relief, and of exactly the same style as those at Copan.

"Another, is twenty-three feet out of the ground, with figures of men on the front and back, and hieroglyphics in low relief on the sides, and surrounded by a base projecting fifteen or sixteen feet from it.

"At a short distance, standing in the same position as regards the points of the compass, is an obelisk or carved stone, twenty-six feet out of the ground, and probably six or eight feet under. It is leaning twelve feet two inches out of the perpendicular, and seems ready to fall, which is probably prevented only by a tree that has grown up against it and the large stones around the base. The side towards the ground represents the figure of a man, very perfect and finely sculptured. The upper side seemed the same, but was so hidden by vegetation as to make it somewhat uncertain. The other two contain hieroglyphics in low relief. In size and sculpture, this is the finest of the whole.

"A statue ten feet high is lying on the ground, covered with moss and herbage, and another about the same size lies with its face upward.

"There are four others erect about twelve feet high, but not in a very good state of preservation, and several altars so cov-

ered with herbage that it was difficult to ascertain their exact form. One of them is round, and situated on a small elevation within a circle formed by a wall of stones. In the centre of the circle, reached by descending very narrow steps, is a large round stone, with the sides sculptured in hieroglyphics, covered with vegetation, and supported on what seemed to be two colossal heads.

"These are all at the foot of a pyramidal wall, near each other, and in the vicinity of a creek which empties into the Motagua. Besides these they counted thirteen fragments, and doubtless many others may yet be discovered.

"At some distance from them is another monument, nine feet out of ground, and probably two or three under, with the figure of a woman on the front and back, and the two sides richly ornamented but without hieroglyphics."—Vol. II. pp. 121, 122.

. . . . .

"The general character of these ruins is the same as at Copan. The monuments are much larger, but they are sculptured in lower relief, less rich in design, and more faded and worn, probably being of a much older date."

This is the first published account of the existence of these ruins. Dupaix had before visited those near Ocosingo, a town which, as laid down on the map, is only about thirty miles from Palenque, though the road between them, through the mountains, is so difficult as to require a journey of five days or more. Here the travellers found four buildings, which, in their position upon the summit of a pyramid, and also in their internal structure (if the engraved ground-plan of one may be taken as a sample of the rest), resemble those at Palenque. The slope of the first of these substructions, which they examined, was broken at intervals by "five spacious terraces," which "had all been faced with stone and stuccoed, but in many places they were broken and overgrown with grass and shrubs." The building which crowns it

"is fifty feet front and thirty-five feet deep; it is constructed of stone and lime, and the whole front was once covered with stucco, of which part of the cornice and mouldings still remain. The entrance is by a doorway ten feet wide, which leads into a sort of antechamber, on each side of which is a small doorway leading into an apartment ten feet square. The walls of these apartments were once covered with stucco,

which had fallen down ; part of the roof had given way, and the floor was covered with ruins. In one of them was the same pitchy substance we had noticed in the sepulchre at Copan. The roof was formed of stones, lapping over in the usual style, and forming as near an approach to the arch as was made by the architects of the Old World.

"In the back wall of the centre chamber was a doorway of the same size with that in front, which led to an apartment without any partitions, but in the centre was an oblong enclosure eighteen feet by eleven, which was manifestly intended as the most important part of the edifice. The door was choked up with ruins to within a few feet of the top, but over it, and extending along the whole front of the structure, was a large stucco ornament, which at first impressed us most forcibly by its striking resemblance to the winged globe over the doors of Egyptian temples. Part of this ornament had fallen down, and striking the heap of rubbish underneath, had rolled beyond the door of entrance. We endeavoured to roll it back and restore it to its place, but it proved too heavy for the strength of four men and a boy. The part which remains differs in detail from the winged globe. The wings are reversed; there is a fragment of a circular ornament which may have been intended for a globe, but there are no remains of serpents entwining it." — *Ibid.* pp. 258, 259.

In one of the side apartments (according to a memorandum on the ground-plan) were stucco bas-reliefs of human figures and apes, painted, and in good preservation. We regret to find no drawings of them.

The remains visited by Mr. Stephens and his companion, at Patinamit, or Tecpan Guatemala, (near the city of Guatemala,) at Utatlan, (Santa Cruz del Quiché,) on the fifteenth parallel of latitude, and at Gueguetenango, about forty miles further north, appeared to belong to a more recent age. At the first of these places they found nothing worthy of particular remark. At Utatlan, no statues, carved figures, or hieroglyphics were to be seen, nor could they learn that any had ever been found there.

"The most important part remaining of these ruins is called El Sacrificatorio, or the place of sacrifice. It is a quadrangular stone structure, sixty-six feet on each side at the base, and rising in a pyramidal form to the height, in its present condition, of thirty-three feet. On three sides there is a range of steps in the middle, each step seventeen inches high, and but eight inches on the upper surface, which makes the range so steep

that in descending some caution is necessary. At the corners are four buttresses of cut stone, diminishing in size from the line of the square, and apparently intended to support the structure. On the side facing the west there are no steps, but the surface is smooth and covered with stucco, gray from long exposure. By breaking a little at the corners, we saw that there were different layers of stucco, doubtless put on at different times, and all had been ornamented with painted figures. In one place we made out part of the body of a leopard, well drawn and colored." — *Ibid.* pp. 183, 184.

At Gueguetenango,

"The general character of the ruins is the same as at Quiché, but the hand of destruction has fallen upon it more heavily. The whole is a confused heap of grass-grown fragments. The principal remains are two pyramidal structures. One of them measures at the base one hundred and two feet ; the steps are four feet high and seven feet deep, making the whole height twenty-eight feet. They are not of cut stone as at Copan, but of rough pieces cemented with lime, and the whole exterior was formerly coated with stucco and painted. On the top is a small square platform, and at the base lies a long slab of rough stone, apparently hurled down from the top."

. . . . .

"At the foot of this structure was a vault, faced with cut stone, in which were found a collection of bones and a terra cotta vase. The vault was not long enough for the body of a man extended, and the bones must have been separated before they were placed there." — *Ibid.* pp. 229, 230.

Mr. Stephens undertook an excavation for his own benefit.

"In the afternoon we opened one of the mounds. The interior was a rough coat of stones and lime, and after an hour's digging we came to fragments of bones and two vases. The first of the two was entire when we discovered it, but, unfortunately, was broken in getting it out, though we obtained all the pieces. It is graceful in design, the surface is polished, and the workmanship very good. The last was already broken, and though more complicated, the surface is not polished. The tripod is a copy of the vase before referred to, found in the tomb, which I procured from the owner of the land. It is twelve inches in diameter, and the surface is polished." — *Ibid.* pp. 231, 232.

At Utatlan, Mr. Stephens fell in with a living human curiosity ; a discovery, which there appears to be danger

may eventually be of no service to him. It was a clerical original, with a figure and dress as extraordinary as the adventures he related, the intelligence he gave, and the merriment he practised and excited. "He laughed at their coming to see the ruins, and said that he laughed prodigiously himself when he first saw them." In short, he laughed with an irresistible hilarity at every thing, — the battles, revolutions, and other calamities he had passed through, all included. We are not sure but he was laughing, when he gave Mr. Stephens the Lord's prayer in the Quiché language; certainly the translation looks somewhat longer than the current *Pater Noster*. But he did something serious, when he talked as follows; —

"He told us that four leagues from Copan was another eminent city, as large as Santa Cruz del Quiché, deserted and desolate, and almost as perfect as when evacuated by its inhabitants. He had wandered through its silent streets and over its gigantic buildings. . . . . With all our inquiries, we had heard nothing of it, and now the information really grieved us. Going to the place would add eight hundred miles to our journey.

"But the padre told us more; something that increased our excitement to the highest pitch; . . . . that, four days on the road to Mexico, on the other side of the great sierra, was a living city, large and populous, occupied by Indians, precisely in the same state as before the discovery of America. He had heard of it many years before at the village of Chajul, and was told by the villagers that from the topmost ridge of the sierra this city was distinctly visible. He was then young, and with much labor, climbed to the naked summit of the sierra, from which at the height of ten or twelve thousand feet, he looked over an immense plain extending to Yucatan and the Gulf of Mexico, and saw at a great distance a large city spread over a great space, and with turrets white and glittering in the sun. The traditionary account of the Indians of Chajul is, that no white man has ever reached this city; that the inhabitants speak the Maya language, are aware that a race of strangers has conquered the whole country around, and murder any white man who attempts to enter their territory. They have no coin or other circulating medium; no horses, cattle, mules, or other domestic animals except fowls, and the cocks they keep under ground to prevent their crowing being heard.

"There was a wild novelty, — something that touched the imagination, — in every step of the journey in that country; the old padre, in the deep stillness of the dimly-lighted convent,

with his long black coat like a robe, and his flashing eye, called up an image of the bold and resolute priests who accompanied the armies of the conquerors ; and as he drew a map on the table, and pointed out the sierra to the top of which he had climbed, and the position of the mysterious city, the interest awakened in us was the most thrilling I ever experienced. One look at that city was worth ten years of an everyday life. If he is right, a place is left where Indians and an Indian city exist as Cortez and Alvarado found them ; where are living men who can solve the mystery that hangs over the ruined cities of America ; perhaps who can go to Copan and read the inscriptions on its monuments. No subject more exciting and attractive presents itself to my mind, and the deep impression of that night will never be effaced.

" Can it be true ? Being now in my sober senses, I do verily believe there is much ground to suppose that what the padre told us is authentic," &c. — *Ibid.* pp. 195, 196.

Now we beg a thousand pardons of Mr. Stephens, whose sagacity, it is little to say, we rate higher than our own ; but, if he will take a fool's advice, he will not put himself on the quest of that mysterious capital, seen by the *padre* of Quiché from the topmost ridge of the Cordilleras, to the thought of which he afterwards (pp. 262, 457) recurs with such an impulsive enthusiasm. He may rely upon it, that the pleasant friar was amusing himself at his new friend's cost. Without having done any thing to provoke it, Mr. Stephens suffered, in this instance, the frequent unhappiness of Miss Martineau. Did no suspicion cross his mind, when that facetious churchman told him that " thirty years before, when he first saw it, the palace of Utatlan was entire to the garden ; he was then fresh from the palaces of Spain, and it seemed as if he was again among them " ? — nor, when " coming close, he said, with a laugh, that in the village, the Indians stood at swords' points with the Mestitzoes, ready to cut their throats, and with all his exertions, he could barely keep down a general rising and massacre " ? — nor, when he alleged " what requires confirmation, and what we were very curious to judge of for ourselves, that, in a cave near a neighbouring village, were sculls much larger than the natural size, and regarded with superstitious veneration by the Indians ; he had seen them, and vouched for their gigantic dimensions " ? — nor when, finding them inclined to verify this wonder, he bowed them so speedily away ? " The padre did not give us any encouragement ; in fact, he opposed our remaining another

day, even to visit the cave of sculls; he made no apology for hurrying us away; . . . . . there was danger in our remaining; the Indians were already inquiring what we came there for, and he could not answer for our safety; in a few months, perhaps, the excitement would pass away, and then we could return."

Instead of gratifying our readers, as we might have done, by giving them freer extracts from Mr. Stephens's work, in the place of comments of our own, we have thought it to be due to him to point out particularly the ample additions he has made to the existing knowledge on this exceedingly attractive subject. This is its merit, and this is what, in the present little advanced stage of the investigation, is much the most to be desired. The merit of philosophical analysis of, and deduction from, the facts, the work certainly has not; and it must be owned, that it were to be wished the writer had approached his task with better preparation of whatever there is, that may be properly called learning, bearing upon it. It is likely that among the things that fell under his notice, there were some either not recorded, or passed lightly over, which then would have assumed a different importance in his view, and analogies yet unobserved would have suggested themselves to his mind. But the observations which he has reported are a rich fund for thought, and the minuteness of his descriptions, and their coincidence (to which we have alluded) with those of independent witnesses, as well as their manifest good faith, are conclusive vouchers for their substantial accuracy.

What we have to say upon the curious archæological questions presented by these investigations, we propose to reserve till the appearance of Mr. Prescott's expected work on the "Conquest of Mexico"; — a work for which we patiently wait its distinguished author's time, since it is understood that it will survey that great range of inquiry, which relates to the condition of the inhabitants of the central region of the New World, contemporaneously with, and prior to, the Spanish invasion. At present, we are content to remark, that the reasons of Mr. Stephens for assigning to the monuments visited by him, the very modern date which he proposes, do not strike us as by any means sufficient. He expresses the opinion, "that they are not the work of people who have passed away, and whose history is lost," but "creations of the same races who inhabited the country at

the time of the Spanish conquest, or some not very distant progenitors ;" an opinion in which we are inclined to accord with him as far as respects the ruins at Patinamit, Utatlan, and Gueguetenango, but not at all in respect to those, of so different a character, at the five other places.

He says, that, " exposed for six months every year to the deluge of tropical rains, and with trees growing through the door ways of buildings and on the tops, it seems impossible, that, after a lapse of two or three thousand years, a single edifice would now be standing. We think there is force in this consideration, and that it would be unreasonable to attribute to them an antiquity so remote. But it appears from his account, (Vol. I. pp. 103, 133; II. 258, 310, 337, and other places,) that they have by no means escaped this occasion of injury, and he furnishes no evidence to show that they might not resist the rankness of tropical vegetation, for a period from five hundred to a thousand years, as well as the structures of Greece and Italy have resisted, for a much longer time, the influences of their different climate. He is disposed to lay much stress on " the existence of wooden beams, and at Uxmal in a perfect state of preservation." But, as he correctly observes, " the durability of wood will depend upon its quality and exposure," to which he might have added, upon its mode of preparation ; and he impairs, instead of adding to, the force of this argument, when he notes, (Vol. II. p. 259,) that the wooden lintel observed at Ocosingo, " was so hard, that, on being struck, it rang like metal," and that those at Uxmal, (p. 430,) were " very hard, and rang under the blow of the machete," while those at Palenque, (pp. 312, 313,) being probably prepared with less art, had actually gone to decay, and left their places vacant in the stone. Another argument he would draw from descriptions, by the early Spanish writers, of buildings which they had seen in Yucatan and its vicinity ; but this fails, for want of the necessary correspondence between those descriptions and the ruins now in question. He urges a resemblance between the Mexican Calendar in basalt, described by Humboldt, (" Researches," Vol. I. p. 276,) and the mask represented in the frontispiece to his own second volume, as indicating an identity of the races to which the two belonged ; but the differences are so great, or rather the supposed likeness is so merely fanciful, as not to admit any

such conclusion. And he proposes the same inference from a comparison between the hieroglyphics (which he assumes to be Mexican) on what is called the *Dresden manuscript*, and those upon the upper face of the remarkable altar at Copan ; but, in the first place, the similarity is too imperfect to serve any such purpose, and, in the second, though Humboldt gave the Dresden hieroglyphics as Mexican, we conceive that he did so without evidence, and that the scroll was really of Central-American origin. As to Palenque, we hold it to be out of the question to suppose that it was an inhabited city at the time of the Spanish invasion. Cortez passed within twenty or thirty miles of its site ; it would have been just the kind of place he was in search of ; and yet he certainly knew nothing of it. And such was Mr. Stephens's own opinion, while on the spot (Vol. II. pp. 356, 357.) He does not appear to have adopted a different one, till a late period in the preparation of his work.

The similarity of the hieroglyphics at Copan, Palenque, Quirigua, and perhaps Uxmal, (Vol. II. p. 433,) is one very salient fact. The difference of other objects at Copan, Palenque, and Uxmal, is not less so. As to the habits and character of these lost nations, we readily yield to Mr. Stephens his proposed use of the more recent *Sacrificatorio* at Utatlan (Vol. II. p. 184). But we cannot allow that he is warranted in his opinion of a destination of the beautiful altars at Copan to a sanguinary purpose (Vol. I. pp. 152, 154). These, our guess is, were sacred to the worship of an earlier and milder race ; to offerings, such as of fruits and flowers, to genial and benignant deities.

We have treated Mr. Stephens's volumes merely as the record of an archæological tour. But they are by no means that alone ; and, if all the portion of them which bears this character were withdrawn, there would still remain a work, than which none has lately fallen in our way more rich in entertainment and instruction. His personal adventures, always one of the most agreeable topics of such a book, when a good understanding is once established between a tourist and his reader, are related with a never-flagging vivacity and *bonhommie*. His unwearied curiosity and ready observation, his courage and amplitude of resource, his good-nature, cheerfulness, and patience, make him a companion with whom one hates to part. His style of narration, with

some abatements (particularly for too much bad Spanish), is graceful, perspicuous, natural, and lively. Not a few parts of his book, which we have passed over in utter silence, will have a permanent value. The character and political condition of a large family of our sister republics receive important illustration from his comments. His sketches of the rich scenery which he visited are traced with a vigorous hand; his remarks upon the scheme for crossing the isthmus by a ship-canal through the Lake Nicaragua, are full of useful information and judicious hints concerning that interesting enterprise; and there is very spirited history and character-drawing in his account of the course of the Indian *Buonapartino*, Carrera. For the greater interest of this part of his work, as well as the rest, we may remark, by the way, that his publishers should by all means have afforded him a better map; a thing which it is not even now too late to do, and which, from the great popularity of the work, they can now better than ever afford.

We take leave of him, for the present, with the most friendly wishes, in return for the gratification he has afforded us, and with the special wish for ourselves, —

> "When he next doth ride abroad,
> May we be there to see!"

ART. VIII. — *Fables of* LA FONTAINE. *Illustrated by* J. J. Grandville. *Translated from the French, by* ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR. In Two Vols. 8vo. Boston: Tappan & Dennett. 1841. pp. 245, 339.

THE fable has, from the earliest times, been a favorite form of inculcating moral and philosophical truth. The curious analogies, between the varieties of the human character and the varieties in the animal world, noted by physiological observers, no doubt lie at the foundation of the pleasure, which all ages have taken, in attributing to beasts and birds the thoughts and actions of men. The science of heraldry, — of national, as well as individual escutcheons, — is but a perpetual commentary upon the same general fact. Names assigned to the distinguished heroes of savage tribes, or of nations in their early youth, Hawkeye, Snake, Panther,

and Richard Lion-heart, are standing collateral facts, illustrative of this singular tendency in the mind of man. Fables and apologues have always been the vehicle, through which the Oriental intellect, in particular, has conveyed its teachings to the world ; the genius of Greece early caught the strain, and the name of Æsop is consecrated as the symbol of wit and wisdom for all times. Modern writers, of every nation, have tried their hands at this. To say nothing of the fables and apologues of the Middle Ages, the Germans, French, and English of later times have had distinguished writers of this class. Lessing's fables are known to all students of German literature ; the easy, graceful style of Gay has made him a universal favorite ; but the palm must be yielded, undoubtedly, to the great French fabulist, La Fontaine. No one has seized, with such unerring, instinctive accuracy, the characteristics of the animal world, and turned them to such admirable account, in the illustration of the passions, hopes, fears, and weaknesses of man. This was a natural gift ; no education could have produced it. It was like the irresistible propensity of the landscape or cattle painter, which may be strengthened and improved by study and refined by practice, but can be created by no other power than the Creator of all. The consciousness of this inestimable gift came over La Fontaine, not until a comparatively late period, and then like a sudden inspiration ; and what French inspiration has ever left more genuine results, or made a deeper impression on contemporary and succeeding intellects ?

A great and peculiar genius, like La Fontaine, would have moulded any language to his purposes. Had he been of German birth, the language of Goethe and Schiller would have thrown aside its elephantine awkwardness half a century before it actually did. But still it must be regarded as one of the singular felicities of his position, that the polished language of France was his mother tongue. Step by step that admirable language had grown to be the most refined in Europe, the language of polite society, of letters, and diplomacy, all over Christendom ; the conversation and writings of the best wits of the modern world had enriched it with the most expressive idioms and the most inimitable graces. The genius of wit and repartee had selected it for his own. An almost Athenian fastidiousness of taste had removed every trace of rusticity and barbarism, and that unequalled clearness of per-

ception and vivacity of intellectual sensation, for which Frenchmen have always been distinguished, stamped upon it a crystalline transparency, which the mystifications of Madame de Staël, and the dark abominations of her successors of the Romantic, Satanic, Victor Hugo, and George Sand schools, have not been able materially to lesson or dim. Even German metaphysics has tried its power upon the French language in vain. We can never misunderstand the French writers, even of the new philosophical schools ; we always see through them, and understand perfectly their meaning, when they have any, and their no-meaning, when they have none. It is a desperate undertaking for a Frenchman to set up for obscure, mysterious, and transcendental ; the words of his language will not lend their aid, and, like a flock of turkeys, refuse to travel after dark. The best qualities of this language were fully brought out in the brilliant age of Louis the Fourteenth, who had drawn around his court an assemblage of men, the like of whom France has never seen since. We may complain, that the French literature of that time is inferior in passionate earnestness to the productions thrown upon the world in the present revolutionary age. But what French tragedian can the romantic school set up against Racine, in whose works all the charms of the most polished style are found in their highest perfection ? What comedian, — we do not say of the present age, but of all modern times, — in wit, and the most felicitous drawing of human character, and the most pungent satire of the follies and vices of his times, approaches Molière ? It may well be doubted, whether the late French literature, in prose or in poetry, can compare, in any of the highest excellences of thought and style, with the literature of the Augustan Age of Louis the Fourteenth ; and then, as to decency and decorum and grace, the writers of that time were angels of light compared to the Paul de Kocks and the George Sands of the present.

In the midst of that extraordinary age flourished the fabulist, La Fontaine. As a man of genius, he was one of its brightest ornaments ; in originality, we think he stood at the head of his great contemporaries. As a master of all the delicacies of the French language, he was at least equal to any writer of his day. His fables are more read probably than any other work, excepting the comedies of Molière ; more read by English readers than any similar works of English writers. They possess an indescribable fascination, not only

for children, but for men, the "children of a larger growth." His thoughts are always fresh and natural; his little pictures of human life are perfectly drawn; the short stories in which human actors are introduced, are conceived in the same spirit as the fables of animals, and the moral is worked out with a clearness, distinctness, and force, that make an indelible impression on the mind. His style is marked by the best qualities of the best writers of his age. It is familiar yet elegant; idiomatic but classic; pithy and pointed, without any apparently studied attempts at conciseness; and the versification is happily varied, and adapted to the various characters and trains of thought which it is the poet's object to set forth. The exquisite turns of expression, which so frequently occur in the Fables of La Fontaine, mark the peculiar character of the French language, and give a better idea of its idiomatic richness than the writings of any other author, always excepting the immortal comedies of Molière. His humor is abundant, without degenerating into coarseness; his satire is keen, but never cynical. The faults, errors, and weaknesses of men are open to his searching gaze, but he is never misanthropical, never out of humor with his fellow-beings. That such a writer should be universally popular, is not at all surprising; his works have gone through more editions than we shall undertake to count. Not long since a new illustrated edition was published, in the most magnificent style of Parisian typography, the illustrations by J. J. Grandville. The reader of this edition will be at a loss which most to admire, the exuberant wit of the poet, or the extraordinary felicity with which the artist has told the poet's story in his illustrations. Taken as a whole, the book is one of the most tasteful specimens of the union of typographic and artistic skill and genius, that have been produced for the delight of the present age.

It must be obvious, if the preceding remarks are correct, that the translation of La Fontaine's Fables is a work of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. Whoever undertakes the task must have something of the author's peculiar genius; — something of his happy talent for observing the ways of animals, and their strong resemblances to the ways of man, and not a little power over the resources of the English language in humorous and idiomatic expression. We are not among those, who think a paraphrase is a translation. We do not think it the translator's duty to give us what he supposes his author would have written, had he written in English, for this

is precisely what the translator can never know. It is his plain duty, as we conceive, to let us know what his author *has actually* written, as a German, or a Frenchman, or whatever the case may be; not violating, of course, the genius of the language into which he translates, while doing so. We do not admit, that the English language is incompetent to this task. It is rich enough to cope with the difficulties of any foreign author, who has a fund of solid thought sufficient to sustain a faithful translation. Taking the whole range of the English language and literature, from the racy primeval expressions of Chaucer to the affluent harmonies of Spenser, — the all-embracing, all-describing, all-expressive forms of Shakspeare, — the majestic music of Milton, which made his mother tongue search her coffers round and round, — to say nothing of the thousand-fold varieties of later prose-writers and poets, we have no doubt that all the phases of human thought, from the broadest farce up to the sublimest conceptions of genius, may be furnished with suitable expression from the store-houses of our mother-English speech.

The German has commonly been supposed to be the best language for translation; and so, in some respects, it undoubtedly is. Its astonishing rhythmical flexibility enables it to imitate ancient as well as modern measures; and the facility of forming new and expressive compounds supplies it often with exact equivalents for the compounds of other languages, which in English would have to be weakened by periphrasis. But the greatest advantage, after all, lies in the conscientious care and fidelity of the German translators themselves; first, in mastering the meaning of the author to be translated, with all the collateral and subsidiary learning; and, secondly, in presenting an exact representation of him, — not a mere outline resemblance, but a likeness carried through all the traits of his literary character, small as well as great. German literature by this means has gradually accumulated in its own treasure-house the literary wealth of all ages and nations; so that the literary man would be justified in expending the time necessary to learn the German language, for its translations alone. But when we turn to the English, the picture is sadly changed. Pope's Homer, the most popular translation in the English language, has scarcely a single point of resemblance, except in the outlines of the story, to the original. Cowper's is better, but bears no comparison with Voss's German version. Sotheby is stiff

and grotesque ; an ancient statue in bag-wig, breeches, and knee-buckles. And so of the great mass of English translations, whether of ancient or modern literature ; because the men who have executed them have failed to perceive the true aim of translation, and of course have not translated, but only *done into English.*

Now, as we have intimated above, we hold that all this is unnecessary. We believe the English language fully capable of giving a faithful representation of any foreign author who is worth representing at all ; not only of what that author would have said, had he been an Englishman, but of what he did say, being what he was. We should not have to go far to prove the truth of this assertion. The numerous translations, by Longfellow, from German, Danish, and Swedish ; as well as from most of the modern languages derived from the Latin, prove that only three requisites are wanting to make a perfect translator, — requisites, which we hope we shall not be thought unreasonable for insisting upon, — namely, genius, learning, and industry. Where these are found, be sure the English language will do its part towards making your translation a good one.

We have, in a former Number, given a brief opinion of Mr. Wright's merits as a translator, judging from a small specimen which we then had the pleasure of examining. We have now read the entire work, and are prepared to award it high praise. The translator has evidently a touch of the same spirit with his author. He is kith and kin with La Fontaine. He has the same good-humored way of looking upon the world and the doings of man, and something of the same humorous turn of expression. He has entered very fully into the genius of the French author, and reproduced, in most respects, a spirited and faithful likeness. The general character of his English style is pure, racy, and lively. His expressions are often exceedingly happy, considered by themselves, or viewed as equivalents for the French. His versification is generally a good representation of the original, and skilfully diversified to suit the exigencies of the subject ; and the book, taken as a whole, we cannot doubt will prove a most acceptable addition to the amusing and instructive reading, to which our young people have access.

But, as impartial critics, we are bound to state the objec-

tions we have to make to some of the minor details of its execution. We cannot say, that it comes up to the standard of translation which we would establish. Spirited as it is, on the whole, it does not preserve the perfect elegance of the original. La Fontaine never forgets the most delicate and fastidious proprieties of speech for an instant; but his translator sometimes allows a coarse or slang expression to mar the beauty of his page. The flow of the Frenchman's verse is always easy as the flow of polished conversation; and his rhymes are so perfect, that we feel as if he could have used no other word, had he been writing in prose; but his American representative sometimes misrepresents him by putting his felicitous verse into lame, harshly-inverted, hobbling lines, which neither gods nor men, nor columns, can permit; and not unfrequently, we are sorry to say it, the rhymes are very unaccommodating neighbours, being forced into a proximity for which they were never intended by nature. Sometimes, too, he fails to apprehend precisely the force of an idiom, and sometimes misapprehends it altogether. These are serious blemishes, and as such to be regretted in a book likely to have an extended circulation, and fairly entitled by its numerous merits to very great success; and we have felt it our duty to indicate their character in general terms, hoping that they may be removed in some future edition.

We take a few, without searching far, or looking out the most marked, merely to show what we mean. In Fable VII. he translates the lines, —

" Êtes-vous satisfait ? Moi, dit-il; pourquoi non ?
N'ai-je pas quatre pieds aussi bien que les autres ? "
" Are you well satisfied ? And wherefore not ?
Said Jock. Haven't I four *trotters* with the rest ? "

Now we submit, that, in the presence of Jupiter, even Jock would not have ventured upon such a piece of levity, as to call his feet *trotters*. It should have been literal,

Are you contented ? Me ! says he, why not ?
Have I not four feet, just like all the rest ?

As a specimen of bad rhyming take from the same fable :

" The elephant, though famed as beast *judicious*,
While on his own account he had no *wishes*,
Pronounced dame whale too big to suit his taste,
Of flesh and fat she was a perfect waste."

It should be,

The elephant, on being heard,
Wise as he was, said pretty much the same ;
Dame whale was much too huge, averred, &c.

And in Fable III.,

" The world is full of folks,
Of just such *wisdom ;*
The lordly dame provokes
The cit to build *his dome,*" &c.

Which is bad rhyme, and bad reason too. Translate,

The world is full of people, who are just such sages.
Each citizen, like mighty lord, a palace rears.
Each petty prince has his ambassadors ;
Each marquis keeps his pages.

The original is,

" Le monde est plein de gens qui ne sont pas plus sages :
Tout bourgeois veut bâtir comme les grands seigneurs,
Tout petit prince a des ambassadeurs ;
Tout marquis veut avoir des pages."

For a mistranslation, take the lines from Fable IX.,

" No, said the rustic rat ;
To-morrow dine with me.
I 'm not offended at
Your feast so great and free."

It should be,

It is enough, the rustic cried,
To-morrow you will visit me ;
It is not that myself I pride
On all your regal jollity.

The next stanza we must add, as being too paraphrastic, and because it contains the odious word *swap.*

" For I 've no fare resembling ;
But then I eat at leisure ;
And would not *swap* for pleasure,
So mixed with fear and trembling."

Translate,

But nothing comes to dash my joy,
I eat quite at leisure.
Good-by, then. Fie on the pleasure
That a fright can destroy.

The original of these two stanzas is,

" C'est assez, dit le rustique ;
Demain vous viendrez chez moi.
Ce n'est pas que je me pique
De tous vos festins de roi :

Mais rien ne vient m'interrompre ;
Je mange tout à loisir.
Adieu donc. Fi du plaisir,
Que la crainte peut corrompre."

But a truce to fault-finding, which is so much easier than doing better one's self, or even as well. We have already said enough, to show the high estimate we put upon the author and his work. It only remains to say, that the volumes are published in a style befitting their literary merits, and are adorned with engravings from the plates of the splendid French edition, which we mentioned at the beginning of this notice. We close this brief review by giving a specimen or two of the manner in which the translator has executed his task ; and we will take them quite at random, as we did the passages for censure. Take, for the first example, the twelfth Fable of Vol. I. ; and for the second, the eighth Fable of Vol. II.

" An envoy of the Porte Sublime,
As history says, once on a time,
Before the imperial German court
Did rather boastfully report
The troops commanded by his master's firman,
As being a stronger army than the German ;
To which a Dutch attendant,
Our prince has more than one dependant
Who keeps an army at his own expense.
The Turk, a man of sense,
Rejoined, I am aware
What power your emperor's servants share.
It brings to mind a tale both strange and true,
A thing which once, myself, I chanced to view.
I saw come darting through a hedge
Which fortified a rocky ledge,
A hydra's hundred heads ; and in a trice
My blood was turning into ice.
But less the harm than terror, —
The body came no nearer ;
Nor could, unless it had been sundered
To parts at least a hundred.

While deeply musing on this sight,
Another dragon came to light,
Whose single head avails
To lead a hundred tails ;
And seized with juster fright,
I saw him pass the hedge, —
Head, body, tails, — a wedge
Of living and resistless powers,—
The other was your emperor's force ; this ours."

THE VULTURES AND THE PIGEONS.

" Mars once made havoc in the air :
Some cause aroused a quarrel there
Among the birds ; — not those that sing,
The courtiers of the merry Spring,
And by their talk, in leafy bowers,
Of loves they feel, enkindle ours ;
Nor those which Cupid's mother yokes
To whirl on high her golden spokes ;
But naughty hawk and vulture folks,
Of hookéd beak and talons keen.
The carcase of a dog, 't is said,
Had to this civil carnage led.
Blood rained upon the swarded green,
And valiant deeds were done, I ween.
But time and breath would surely fail
To give the fight in full detail ;
Suffice to say that chiefs were slain,
And heroes strowed the sanguine plain,
Till old Prometheus, in his chains,
Began to hope an end of pains.
'T was sport to see the battle rage,
And valiant hawk with hawk engage ;
'T was pitiful to see them fall, —
Torn, bleeding, weltering, gasping, all.
Force, courage, cunning, all were plied ;
Intrepid troops on either side
No efforts spared to populate
The dusky realms of hungry Fate.
This woful strife awoke compassion
Within another feathered nation,
Of iris neck and tender heart.
They tried their hand at mediation, —
To reconcile the foes, or part.

The pigeon people duly chose
Ambassadors, who worked so well
As soon the murderous rage to quell,
And staunch the source of countless woes.
A truce took place, and peace ensued.
Alas ! the people dearly paid
Who such pacification made !
Those cursed hawks at once pursued
The harmless pigeons, slew and ate.
Till towns and fields were desolate.
Small prudence had the friends of peace
To pacify such foes as these !

The safety of the rest requires
The bad should flesh each other's spears :
Whoever peace with them desires
Had better set them by the ears."

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Pantology ; or a Systematic Survey of Human Knowledge ; proposing a Classification of all its Branches, and illustrating their History, Uses, Relations, and Objects ; with a Synopsis of their leading Facts and Principles ; and a Select Catalogue of Books on all Subjects, suitable for a Cabinet Library.* By Roswell Park, A. M., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia : Hogan & Thompson. 1841. 8vo. pp. 537.

The author of this work has endeavoured to furnish a general view of all departments of knowledge and all subjects of human inquiry, wherein they should be arranged into proper classes, and their mutual relations and dependencies be clearly perceived. It is the same scheme, which once tasked the intellect of Bacon, and which was taken up at the stage where he left it by D'Alembert, and so far modified and enlarged as to serve for an introduction to that vast repository of learning, wit, and infidelity, — the French *Encyclopédie*. But it is generally admitted, that the arrangement there given is quite unsatisfactory, and that we may expect every future attempt of the same kind to be open to serious objections.

There are inherent difficulties in the way of a proper execu-

tion of the plan, whether the principle of division be taken from the faculties of the mind, or from the nature of the objects which we wish to classify. Professor Park has made a bold endeavour to conquer these difficulties, and as success would be highly honorable to him, so there can be little discredit in failure, where Bacon and Locke have failed before him. His classification is based upon the differences between the objects of investigation, and not upon the various powers of mind which are exercised in the respective pursuits. In this we think he has judged wisely, for although one faculty may be predominant in a particular study, a concurrence of all the mental powers is generally requisite for entire success, and the difference in degree between them is not sufficiently marked to afford a safe principle of arrangement. Besides, an analysis of mind in reference only to its various spheres of exertion, from the very fact that the intellectual powers are closely blended in nearly all pursuits, must be very partial and incomplete, and a mistake in this preliminary would vitiate the whole process. We like the principle on which the classification before us is based, and in the execution there is sufficient evidence of care, learning, and ingenuity, to make it deserving of an attentive examination. We give no abstract of the details of the scheme, for a glance at the encyclopedical tree, which forms the frontispiece to the volume, will convey a more accurate idea of it, than could be given in several pages of text. When new ideas of classification are introduced, we suppose that new terms must be invented to express them, and it must be confessed, that Professor Park's tree of knowledge bears some vocables of a prickly and forbidding surface. They are, of course, compounds from the learned languages, and, in these days of "little Latin and less Greek," we fear the number of them will prove an obstacle to the general adoption of the writer's views. The advantages which he hopes will follow from the use of his system are, the aid furnished to the memory in impressing and retaining ideas, the increased facilities for study when the objects of inquiry are properly arranged, and a more satisfactory method of distributing the contents of libraries.

But the new system of classifying the arts and sciences, even in its full developement, occupies but a small part of this comprehensive volume. Professor Park seems to have thought that the value of his work would be greatly enhanced, if it contained a brief summary of the knowledge, which it was proposed to classify. The book is therefore a sort of Encyclopædia in miniature, and one who reads it through and recollects it all, will have a good claim to be considered as a *general* scholar. A

very copious catalogue of books, drawn up in the same order of subjects, occupies the Appendix ; so that any one whose curiosity is excited by the outline of any art or science given in the text, by referring to this portion of the volume, will find the means of pursuing the study of it to any extent that he desires. Such a catalogue, though necessarily incomplete, it was thought might be of some service in the formation of libraries.

We may easily infer, that the labor of preparing such a work as the "Pantology" must have been great, and there is every indication that it has been faithfully performed. It is not made up of extracts in the way which now so often renders the art of book-making a mere mechanical process ; but the information obtained from a vast variety of sources has been carefully worked over in the writer's mind, clothed in his own language, and condensed into the smallest possible compass. As a work of general reference, it will be of great use ; and the reader who has the patience to study the volume as a whole will doubtless acquire some new views of the connexion and mutual dependency of the sciences, and some insight into the method of pursuing them to the best advantage. When a single laborer traverses such a wide field, it is to be expected that he will make some mistakes, for no one can be equally well informed in all departments of knowledge. But the errors which we have noticed are few and slight, and the reputation of Professor Park as a diligent and accurate scholar, is a sufficient guaranty against the fear of gross blunders.

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2. — *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir, an Offering for Christmas and the New Year.* Boston : D. H. Williams. 1842. 8vo. pp. 320.

This new volume of the "Token" comes to us in a very attractive form. It is beautifully printed, tastefully bound, and illustrated with engravings from distinguished artists. We do not think these are by any means the best part of the book. They do not come up to the demands of the present time. In fact they are decidedly poor. The group of objects on the first title-page is certainly out of drawing. Either the "Token" as there represented is a prodigious folio, very different from the copy now lying before us, or the framed portrait resting upon it, is a miniature of the smallest size.

But when we pass on to the literary contributions, we can conscientiously award the "Token" liberal praise. There is hardly a single piece from beginning to end which is not in good taste, and several of them, both in prose and verse, have eminent

merit. The first piece, under the title of "The Lesson of a Moment," is happily conceived, and written with remarkable and most scholarlike elegance of style. The translation from the German of Pfizer, entitled "The Two Locks of Hair," by Longfellow, is done in his best style, and is a most exquisite and tender poem. "The Seen and the Unseen," by Ephraim Peabody, is a piece that would have done honor to Washington Irving, in the flower of his genius. It is full of the deepest thought, and the thought is clothed in the most glowing and eloquent expression. We have elsewhere spoken of this writer, and we refer the reader to this paper for proof of all we have said in praise of his poetical powers. There are many other well-written articles, both in prose and poetry, which will not be suffered to pass away with the occasion which produced them. Mr. Percival has here some admirable pieces in imitation of ancient classical metres. The first of these, a paraphrase of the warlike elegy of Tyrtæus, strikes us as the best English representation of the Hexameter and Pentameter, that we have ever seen. The Iambic trimeters, owing to a defective arrangement of the cæsura, are not so good. The Anacreontics and Anapæstics are excellent. The "Exiles of Acadia," by Mr. Bancroft, an extract from an unpublished volume of his History, is a fine piece of historical painting, and presents a beautiful picture of that innocent and interesting people, and a touching account of their captivity. But there is one sentence which greatly mars the beauty of this delineation, by suggesting the "angry parle" of our own party conflicts. The sentence, part of which is most inappropriately introduced, is as follows; "Their exchanges were chiefly by way of barter; very little coin circulated among them; no custom-house was known on their coasts, and paper money had not extended its curse to their peaceful abodes." Does Mr. Bancroft really think that the Acadians were any happier for being without the facilities of commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, and thus destitute of the most essential blessings of cultivated life?

The old readers of the "Token" will be glad to see it revived. The present volume is very superior in literary merits to any of its predecessors. The least valuable contribution is the scraps selected from the works of that great literary motley, Jean Paul Richter; an author who is chargeable with a prodigious quantity of nonsense on his own account, and with all the imitation nonsense of Thomas Carlyle, and whose whimsical, drunken extravagances are fancied by some persons to be great original thoughts. He has probably put more people out of their wits than any other great author of the bedlamite school.

3. — *An Account of the Magnetic Observations made at the Observatory of Harvard University, Cambridge.* By JOSEPH LOVERING, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and W. CRANCH BOND, Astronomical Observer of the College. Communicated by JOSEPH LOVERING, A. M. [Memoirs of the American Academy.] 4to. pp. 84.

THE progress of practical astronomy in this country is plainly evinced by the sudden growth of its observatories, of which until very lately it was entirely destitute. It can already boast of many thorough and persevering observers, as Bache and Walker of Philadelphia, Bartlett of West Point,* Loomis of the Western Reserve College, Bondler and Paine of the Massachusetts Survey, Graham of the army, Wilkes of the navy, and others, all of whom deserve higher praise than such a passing notice as the present. To this scientific advance, the University of Cambridge should contribute powerful aid, and we rejoice to find her Observatory so well appointed, and in such active and successful operation. The numerous stated duties of the Hollis Professor and Lowell Lecturer rendered it impossible for him to devote much time to the nice details of practical astronomy, and the University was therefore compelled to look around her for some one to be associated with him in the charge of the Observatory, and may be warmly congratulated upon having secured the services of so distinguished an observer as Mr. Bond. This gentleman has been employed by the general government to observe in connexion with the Exploring Expedition, which he had done in a small observatory of his own, where it was his chief delight and happiness to watch the heavens ; and few scientific men bring to the cause so much of enthusiasm and energy, so much of the self-sacrificing earnestness requisite to the advancement of all great ends.

Professor Lovering has given to the public, in the work before us, a well-digested account of the general system of magnetic observations, and particularly of those in Cambridge since their commencement. His comparison of the thermometric and magnetic curves is interesting, and suggests much speculation, which we think will sooner or later prove of fundamental value in explaining the phenomena of terrestrial

* We are glad to learn that the observatory at West Point is completed, and believe, that, under the control of the accomplished officers of the school, it will, as the leading observatory of the country, add to the reputation of that celebrated institution, and show itself worthy of the most liberal patronage of government.

magnetism. The labors of these gentlemen and the results at which they have arrived are highly creditable both to their industry and ability, and we confidently hope that the aid required for the furtherance of objects so important to science will be generously extended. A greater number of instruments as well as more observers, are necessary to the perfection of the plan, and although some public-spirited individuals have already contributed liberally in its behalf, the funds are yet quite insufficient.

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4. — *Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West.* Cincinnati: U. P. James. 1841. 12mo. pp. 264.

Our fellow-citizens of the West have found time, in the midst of the labors attending the settlement of a new country, to do not a little towards increasing the stores of American poetry. This neatly printed volume is a very valuable work, containing as it does, specimens from all the principal poetical writers of that great and growing region. Some of the names in the table of contents prefixed to this volume can hardly be said to belong to the West. Ephraim Peabody, for example, was an inhabitant of Cincinnati only a short time. He is a New England man, by birth and education, and now by residence. He has shown powers, both as a beautiful poet and a brilliant prose-writer, that bid fair to carry his fame far beyond all local boundary lines, and to place his name high on the list of great national writers. Still, it was a very proper thing for the editor, to select from such pieces of Mr. Peabody as were written while he was a citizen of the West, or were suggested by Western subjects, or the associations with his Western life. Several other writers whose works have furnished materials for this volume, were born on the eastern side of the mountains. We should therefore, naturally expect but little in the literary style or tone of feeling, to mark the greater part of these productions, as peculiarly the offspring of Western genius. But here we should find ourselves somewhat mistaken. These pieces are most of them redolent of the Western soil. They bear unquestionable marks, not merely of Western intellect, but of Western lands. The richness and grandeur of Western scenery make a strong and peculiar impression upon the mind of the emigrant, when he is first brought under their influences. They work a change in his intellectual being, modifying all his ways of thinking, and coloring all his expressions. If he becomes a writer, he becomes a very different one from what he would have been had he remained at home. In short,

he becomes strongly assimilated to the native-born sons of the West.

The thinkers and writers of the West start fresh in matters of intellect, as well as in matters of domestic life. They set out from a stage in the progress of thought, which older communities have left far behind them. We find in their works many images and trains of sentiment reproduced, which belong to the earlier periods of the literature of a more ancient society. They take less for granted, as in political disquisitions they go back to first principles, and prove over again what long-established institutions presuppose as on all hands admitted. We find in this volume, for example, many pieces devoted to the commonplaces of love and gallantry, that in this part of the world we have long gotten through with safely; and we speak of this by no means in the spirit of censure, but simply to show how perfectly natural has been the origin and growth of Western poetry. Patriotic feelings, too, come up again among the effusions of the Western muse, with a freshness and originality, which belong to the recent possession of a country to be patriotic for. Both these qualities are far from indicating any want of poetical genius, or any tendency to repeat the commonplaces, which elsewhere are worn threadbare; on the contrary, they show the independent action of the Western mind, and present interesting phenomena to the observer who curiously traces the steps of the poetical spirit.

Undoubtedly there are faults and imperfections in Western poetry. We notice, for instance, what to be sure is not unknown to some of our own bards, many of those absurd comparisons of things known, to things unknown, — that is to say, attempts to illustrate things that we have seen, or may see, by telling us they look like things that we never have seen, and cannot possibly see. We open the book at random, and find on page 55 these lines, upon an infant sleeping on its mother's bosom.

> "It lay upon its mother's breast, a thing
> Bright as a dewdrop when it first descends,
> *Or as the plumage of an angel's wing*
> *Where every tint of rainbow-beauty blends.*"

The dewdrop is unimpeachable, though rather small; but the angel's wing with the rainbow-tints is an unfit object to compare an infant to, because it irresistibly suggests a peacock's tail, that being the only thing in the feathered line that we can think of, as at all resembling a rainbow, and if the child looked in the least like this, all that can be said is, it must have been a very uncommon "infant phenomenon."

There is much beauty in the poem of Mr. Gallagher. George D. Prentice, the wittiest editor of the West, is also one of the most brilliant poets. We should like to give his lines on the "Birthday of Washington."

There is a fine piece, which we are vexed not to find room for, by a poetess whose name is new to us; "The Green Hills of my Fatherland," by Mrs. Laura M. Thurston. It is all good, except the "filling the green silentness with melody and mirth," which is an impossibility.

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5. — *De la Littérature et des Hommes de Lettres des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.* Par Eugene A. Vail, Citoyen des Etats-Unis. A Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin. 1841. 8vo. pp. 617.

It is pleasant to see a volume of the goodly size and appearance of the one before us, containing a summary sketch of the literature and the literary men of this country, and intended to gratify the curiosity or to guide the researches of that portion of the reading public in France, who wish to know what is doing in the Transatlantic world of mind. It should contain sufficient evidence, that we are doing something else on this side of the water besides raising cotton and tobacco, or buying wines and silks, in which two relations, probably, more than in any others, our existence is generally known to the subjects of Louis Philippe.

Such a publication may prepare the way towards paying off a debt, which has already acquired some magnitude, — a debt reckoned not in francs or dollars, but in the means of intellectual nourishment and gratification. Some acquaintance with French literature is now esteemed among us, not merely as an elegant accomplishment, but as a necessary part of the education of both sexes. The poets and the historians, the novelists and the philosophers of France, are here read and appreciated by a much larger circle than is conversant with the literature of any other country in Europe, of course excepting England. The range of books and authors comes down to the present day, new French publications now making their appearance quite regularly on the counters of our booksellers. It has been Mr. Vail's intention to present a show-bill of American wares in return, which, in point of number and variety, at least, offers no meagre aspect. He briefly enumerates and characterizes the principal literary productions of this

country in chapters devoted respectively to history, the science of government and philosophy, religion and morals, miscellaneous letters, jurisprudence and the sciences, oratory and fiction, and works of fancy and the imagination. His list contains the names of about two hundred authors, of more or less note, beside some Indian orators not addicted to writing, and some clergymen and men of science, who have distinguished themselves in their respective callings, though they have contributed little or nothing directly to the press. He has thus accumulated good proofs of literary activity, although his catalogue is far from being complete, as may be inferred from one fact mentioned by him, that in a single year, 1834, the American press sent forth two hundred and fifty one separate publications.

The contents of Mr. Vail's work, on the whole, hardly satisfy the expectations created by its title. It contains little more than a *catalogue raisonné* of men and books, a few facts in the career of the former being incidentally mentioned, and the notices of the latter being accompanied with brief translated extracts, which serve still further to indicate the character of the original. These extracts fill a large portion of the volume, and are generally selected with good taste, and translated with commendable spirit and fidelity. There are also introductory remarks of a general nature on the various subjects treated, written in a fanciful and pleasing style, though not betokening much thought or severe labor. The writer hardly attempts to give any comprehensive views of American literature as a whole, or of the influences under which it is produced, or to judge of it in comparison with the productions of other countries. The criticism, if it can be called such, is wholly laudatory, the writer's object being only to present the favorable side of his subject, and thereby to tempt others to examine and discriminate for themselves.

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6. — *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern.* From the German of Frederic Schlegel. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 1841. 12mo. pp. 39.

The services rendered to literature by the two illustrious brothers, Augustus William and Frederic Schlegel, are known wherever literature exists. Their most important works in the department of criticism have been well translated into English, and have excited universal admiration. In truth, philosophi-

cal criticism can hardly be said to have existed before their labors commenced. The universality of their attainments enabled them to form their judgments upon the most comprehensive inductions. They have seized the spirit of literature, as it has manifested itself at the remotest ages and among the most widely differing nations ; and their works, therefore, are of universal application. The Dramatic Lectures of Augustus William, translated by Mr. Black, are known to every scholar; the Lectures on History, by Frederic Schlegel, translated by Mr. Robinson, are remarkable for a far-reaching grasp of mind, and an immense range of historical information. The death of their most distinguished author, a few years ago, was felt as a heavy loss all over the literary world. His brother, having exhausted the world of European literature, has for years past, devoted his brilliant talents to Oriental learning, and is now editing, in magnificent style, an interminable Sanscrit Epic, the Ramayana, of which he says, in his preface, "Destinatum mihi erat in animo, reliquos vitæ annos, dummodo suppeterent, huic operi perficiendo impendere. . . . . Numero versuum Rameis Iliadem et Odysseam inter se conjunctas nisi superat, minimum æquat." Such are the gigantic labors of the great scholars of Germany.

The work before us is, in point of extent, one of the smallest productions of Frederic Schlegel. In sixteen lectures, it embraces comprehensive views of European literature, from the Homeric poems, down to the latest writers of Germany. These views are not hasty or superficial ; they are the learning of a life of intense literary activity condensed into the narrowest compass ; they are full of profound thought, on all the great topics that come up in so wide a range of literary discussion, forcibly and sometimes most eloquently expressed. He takes up one literature after another, — the Greek, the Roman, the Gothic, the German of the Middle Ages, the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Modern German ; and upon them all he speaks with a fulness of knowledge, a clearness of judgment, a delicacy of taste, and an elegance of expression, which, in a writer of any other name or nation, would be absolutely marvellous.

The American publishers have done well in bringing out this work. The volume is neatly printed, though the sheets have not been corrected with the requisite care. The only thing to be particularly objected to, however, is the absurdly written preface, in which Dr. Johnson is called "the talented author of Rasselas," and Mr. Lockhart, "the talented translator." And how can a human being deliberately pen such pompous commonplaces as this sentence : "Whatever may be

urged against the indiscriminate dissemination of learning, it is at least certain, that, until the natural bent and instinct of the human mind, which is directly opposed to that of the subordinate orders of created beings, be radically changed, no surer antidote can be found than that which is supplied by mental discipline and education, for the correction of those debasing evils attendant on ignorance and stupid insensibility." One might ask this learned author, what sort of insensibility that is, which is not "stupid." Several pages of such rigmarole the publishers have had the bad taste to prefix to one of the most admirable productions of modern genius. It may not do much harm, but the incongruity is highly offensive. In another edition we hope they will omit this deformity.

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7. — *The Clouds of Aristophanes; with Notes.* By C. C. Felton, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Cambridge: J. Owen. 8vo. pp. 194.

Both as a master of style, and as the model in that strange and inimitable thing, the earlier Greek comedy, Aristophanes has always secured high regard; and even Christian Fathers nursed their tastes by familiarity with his terse Attic. But as initiating us into the mysteries of private life at the most interesting age of Athenian history; as revealing to us the workings of the democratical system, after the death of Pericles and during the war with Sparta, when the citizens were crowded together within the walls; he possesses an historical value which puts him by the side of Thucydides, but which only the present age has learned to appreciate. Among the comedies of Aristophanes the "Clouds," which Mr. Felton has brought in the present valuable edition before American students, deserves a high rank on account of its object, the skill with which it is managed, and the distinguished person who is made the butt of the poet's ridicule. Its object is to satirize the sophists who were trying to get the education of the Athenian youths into their hands; who taught systems of philosophy leading to Atheism, overthrew morals, and gave to their scholars an art of persuasive rhetoric, which polluted the courts and deceived the Assembly. The evil influences of the sophists are shown in the instance of an old country gentleman, who puts himself to school in order to learn a way of escaping payment of his debts; and who, after finding himself too old to become a proficient, persuades his son, a fashionable young

man devoted to horses, to take his place. The son imbibes the sophistical system with a vengeance, and pays back the price of instruction to his father in the shape of a sound beating; which he maintains his right to do according to the axioms of his masters. The charm is now broken; the father, seeing the bad results of his own evil desire to cheat his creditors, and of the immoral instructions of the sophists, sets fire to the school where such lessons are taught. So far all is well; and if Gorgias, Protagoras, or even Prodicus had been the specimen of a sophist master, posterity would have found no fault with the comic poet.

But when Socrates occupies this place, — Socrates, whose mind was formed and life passed in laying bare the falsehoods of the sophists; who more than any one else upheld the principles of morals; who despised rhetoric; who encouraged no one to engage in political life until he had learned how to govern himself, — when, we say, Socrates, who was at the opposite pole from the sophists, is made one of their number; the first question that every one asks is, How can the poet have been so deceived? The answer, as correctly given by Mr. Felton in his excellent preface, is, that Socrates in some singular traits of character had a comic side, and that the men of his time could not understand him altogether. The small things with which he often began his conversations must have appeared very ridiculous to one who did not or could not see the high moral end which he wished to reach. The fact too, that Critias and Alcibiades, young men of high family and detestable morals, sought his society in order to become political leaders, must have spread his fame in the same way as that of the sophists was propagated. And as for the poet, he was a thorough conservative, and, like many such men now, may have felt an indiscriminate dislike to every thing new; philosophy, therefore, and sophistry were both bad, because they began to exist at Athens together. Because faith in the divinities, as well as public morals, began to decay as philosophy began to grow, this must be the cause of such lamentable results. We suspect then, that Aristophanes had a like bigotry in his conservatism, which blinded him to the difference between Socrates and the sophists; let us be permitted to add, that we have found something of the same blind and narrow spirit in his commentator Mr. Mitchell, who seems to throw himself into the arms of Aristophanes with the faith of a lover, as though the comic poet could never overdraw or turn aside from the truth.

Mr. Felton's valuable preface is followed by the text of the play as William Dindorf has given it in his "Poetæ Scenici."

The judgment of this learned critic concerning Aristophanes deserves more regard perhaps than that of any other scholar of the present day. Before his edition of the dramatic poets appeared, he had finished the voluminous edition begun by Invernitz and Beck ; and had prepared one or two besides of the simple text. The play, as it appears in Mr. Felton's edition, is printed with great neatness and uncommon correctness.

Mr. Felton's notes, though occupying a greater space than the play itself, are by no means of unnecessary length. There is much of course in a comic writer, who deals with the minutiæ of every-day life, in an age remote from ours, that needs explanation. Many allusions must be made known to us before such a writer can be justly appreciated. Parodies of contemporary poets must be pointed out. The flashes of wit must often be caught, so to speak, on their path, and held up to the reader that he may see them as an Athenian would have seen them. Satire must be shown in its meaning and its aim. All this and more need attention on the part of an editor, beside those special difficulties of a grammatical or exegetical kind, which occur in authors who use another and a very different vehicle of thought from our own. These wants of the reader Mr. Felton has provided for in notes, which could not well be made shorter, without doing injustice to the work of art and of high merit, selected in the present instance. Indeed it would be easier to select passages which might, with good reason, have more said about them, than to cut out any thing that already appears. Mr. Felton's mode of illustrating his author is extremely happy. The witty passages especially are set forth in their full meaning, and in such a manner as to show that the commentator enters into the spirit of his author, and has a hearty relish for the comic. Sometimes a modern equivalent is given for the folly satirized, or the wit which attacks it ; and we are made strikingly to feel that Athens with its follies is at our own doors. In short, the notes are of that kind, that they acquaint us with the spirit of Aristophanes, and of the age which he sought by satire to cure of its faults.

Mr. Felton deserves, and will gain, the thanks of American scholars by introducing the " Clouds" to their notice in the company of such instructive and (what is a rare merit among editors) such entertaining notes. He has properly, in his Preface, at once condemned the poet for his coarsenesses, and given the play entire. There are plays of Aristophanes which are essentially gross and unfit for any young man's perusal ; but the " Clouds" contains only four or five passages of an exceptionable nature, while the general tendency is in favor of

morals. If the "worse Reason" and the scholars of sophistry are unprincipled, it the more condemns the fountain from which they drew their draughts.

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8. — *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home.* By the Author of "Hope Leslie," "Poor Rich Man and Rich Poor Man," "Live and Let Live," &c. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. In Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 275 and 297.

We yield to none, as our readers well know, in admiration for Miss Sedgwick's genius, and especially for the philanthropic tone of her writings. In the elegant department to which most of them belong, she, more than any other of our authors, has struck the key-note of a vigorous home literature. By her warm, and, for the most part, intelligent sympathy with American institutions, she has been led to the true source of an American writer's inspiration. In the volumes before us, we must make free to say that she has not dealt quite fairly with her reputation. It will circulate them, without doubt; but it will perform that profitable service a little at its own cost. It would of course be impossible, without a degree of pleasure, to listen to a familiar account of adventures abroad from so intelligent and amiable a traveller as Miss Sedgwick; and it would be a high gratification to receive from a personal friend a series of such letters as those which she has here given to the public. But when one takes up a printed book of the kind, it is with expectations, such as we fear this falls short of satisfying. It makes no pretensions to be any thing more than a record of personal observations in the course of a common tour, and even this story it tells in a manner not absolutely lively; and, though the companionship of a person of good sense and kind feelings over such ground cannot be absolutely wearisome to the reader, it is scarcely enough to carry him contentedly through two volumes.

When transferred from the family to the shops, they ought at all events to have been subjected to a different kind of revision. The public ought not to have to pay for such remarks as the following (which occur in the first half of the first volume), and we know not how many more, to them equally insignificant; "Mr. Hallam reminded me of ———;" "Sidney Smith's wit was a sparkling stream of humor, very like ——— when he is at home;" "If her [Mrs. Opie's] manners were not strikingly conventional, she would constantly remind

me of ——— ; " and especially the following, which is a sort of equation of two unknown quantities ; " I have before told you that Lord L———, and the Bishop of ———, reminded me of our friends Judge L———, and Judge W———." A friend told Miss Sedgwick, that, at a Belgian *fête*, the " poor people " were " put a one side " ; upon which, in her ever ready liberalism, she remarks, "Alas, so are they, everywhere, if in the minority ; " not appearing to remember, that, though it is very bad and very wrong that any one should be " put a one side" anywhere, the country where poor people are in a minority is no very bad country. Her trunks were rudely searched in " civilized England," and she " felt it a mortification, as if the barbarism had been committed by" her "own kindred." The rudeness was inexcusable, but the search it seems was the fundamental " barbarism " ; for, escaping the like in Italy by the payment of a fee, she exclaims against "these annoying delays and petty robberies" as "a disgrace to civilized Europe." But what would Miss Sedgwick have ? Civilized Europe must go without governments, or else maintain them. Would she have no customs ? Then there must be heavier direct taxes, which in judicious quarters are thought the most liable to objection of any form of revenue. Would she have custom-houses, but no searching of persons of respectable appearance ? Then the smugglers of jewelry and laces will straightway become persons of respectable appearance, and the fair-trader will starve, which would be a clumsy arrangement of political economy. In the gardens at Hampton Court, one of her party was " tempted to pluck a lotus," and " was forthwith pounced on by a lad, one of the police curs." Why not ? Which was in fault, the plucker of the lotus, or "the police cur" ? She appears more than once to consider the words " man of sin" as equivalent to *Satan*, a new application, as far as we know, of the phrase. At Baiæ she says it was, that " Pompey, Crassus, and *Pompeius* dined on board a galley." She speaks of the show " bust of Titus Livius" at Padua, and of one of those which go under the name of Cicero at Rome, without intimating a doubt of their authenticity ; concerning the strange wolf in the Capitol, she understands the report to have been that it was " struck [with lightning] in the prophetic storm on the night *before Cæsar's death*" ; bronzes she declares to have been " anterior to sculpture in marble" ; and the superb statue, at the Naples Museum, of the rhetorician Aristides she supposes to be of the old Athenian hero of that name, and accordingly goes on to criticize it as having " a conscious mental force, and a beautiful simplicity, in its quiet, erect attitude, and an expression of tranquil, intellectual dig-

nity in the head and face, fitting the godlike character of 'The Just.'"

A more careful revisal would probably have led Miss Sedgwick to avoid some of these errors, which with not a few other such, disfigure her pages. There are remarks of a more general character, which a "sober second thought" might have induced her further to weigh. Excellently educated in some much better things, but of course not at all in art, she, like too many weaker people among our travellers, falls to criticizing its masterpieces at first sight, with a confidence equally misplaced in commendation as in censure, and publishes the degree of her proficiency, in permitting herself to speak of halls "embellished by Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, Titian, with, to me, — I am profane or perhaps most ignorant to say so, — uninteresting pictures." Single comprehensive remarks on manners and institutions sometimes surprise us no less. "Conversation," she says, "seems here [in England] to be a great arena, where each speaker is a gladiator who must take his turn, put forth his strength, and give place to his successor." Now we do not say it in the way of praise or dispraise, for we have no disrelish for even ambitiously brilliant conversation, provided there *is* brilliancy as well as effort and show; but we take it, that, in point of fact, there is no feature which more distinguishes refined society in England from that in other countries, particularly in this, than the quiet familiar style of conversation, and the absence of all apparent endeavour after display. "The Austrian government, sparing as it is in all other improvements for the public good, is at immense expense to maintain the roads." Now we thank Heaven that we do not live under the Austrian government. It is in theory a despotic government; it indulges no freedom of political speculation; it deals very hardly with state offenders. But still let it, like its supposed prompter, have its due. It cannot justly be charged with being "sparing in all other improvements for the public good," except roads. On the contrary, it is singularly attentive to the comfort of its subjects in private life, studying to afford them all accommodations not involving an enlargement of their political liberty. We may say that no thanks are due to it for this; that it is but its policy, — its treacherous policy, if we will, to keep the governed quiet in their chains; still it is not the less its practice. Miss Sedgwick found occasion to remark; "The police of Rome is wretched." It has greatly changed, then, since we had opportunity for personal observation. It was then the best in Italy; that is, it was nearly perfect. On the occasion of seeing "a half-famished-looking woman sitting asleep," and neglected by the

passers-by, under circumstances which "in the precincts of your courts would have brought down a shower of alms," she moralizes thus; "This is custom. God has not given the Neapolitans hearts harder than ours up in Berkshire." No; God has assuredly done no such thing; on the contrary, hearts need to be soft up in Berkshire to bear the comparison. The Neapolitans certainly do not so abound in virtues that they can well afford to lose the credit of what they have; but, if mere indiscriminate alms-giving were an eminent grace, we know not the people that, from high to low, would do well to enter the lists with them. Nor in indiscriminate alms-giving alone do they excel; but in some of their organized forms of beneficence, it is notorious that the wisdom and skill of the application deserve notice equally with the liberality of the expenditure.

We did not mean to be ill-natured in these few strictures; and we repeat that if any of our readers enjoy others of Miss Sedgwick's writings to the degree that we do, they must delight in them exceedingly. There is one thing about the present volumes which we cannot excuse ourselves from saying that we especially regret. It is the freedom, so alien from her accustomed delicacy and good taste, which their author allows herself to use in drawing her foreign hosts and friends from their retreats, for public exhibition. Quiet people have a right to expect, that, for offering a hospitable welcome to a meritorious stranger, they shall not be visited with the penalty of having their small sayings and doings put on record, even were it for favorable comment. Miss Sedgwick is not guiltless of contributing to bring about an exclusion of her countrymen from the good English society into which she was received, similar to what, for the same cause, has taken place in this country, in respect to English tourists suspected of a design to write. There is no malice in her representations, but that is not enough to prevent them from being unkind. When she forgot, for instance, the hour of an appointment to dinner, and in consequence annoyed a family who had been at pains to treat her with attention, what was to be expected, but that she should blame nobody but herself, and say no more about it? It was hard to give such a sketch of the *gaucherie* of her friendly hosts, (whom the disguise of "——" will little profit, where it will be most desired,) as will cause them long to remember the day of their dinner to an American, as one to be marked with no *white stone.*

9. — *The Poetry and History of Wyoming ; containing Campbell's "Gertrude," with a Biographical Sketch of the Author,* by WASHINGTON IRVING ; *and the History of Wyoming, from its Discovery to the Beginning of the Present Century.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. New York and London : Wiley & Putnam. 16mo. pp. 324.

THIS book belongs to the first class of those richly-executed volumes, which the press is now sending forth in such profusion, as ornaments for the centre table, and intellectual food for the hours of amusement and relaxation. The pleasant valley of Wyoming, which Campbell had sung with the second-sight of a poet, though his bodily eye never saw it, is here set forth with all that garniture of history and tradition, which, in addition to its natural beauties, renders it one of the most attractive spots in our country. Mr. Stone has labored industriously in collecting his materials, and has put them together in a manner, which, although it lacks something of the gravity, polish, and nice arrangement of the historian's page, presents a faithful and animated picture of scenery and events, and makes an interesting chapter in the annals of our border settlements. Poetry and truth are here placed side by side, and we must allow, that the contrast is rather an amusing one. Campbell's elegant fancy had not room to go far astray in picturing the natural features of the spot, for we take it that all happy valleys, as portrayed in the bright but vague expressions of verse, bear a striking family likeness. It is but erecting a few beetling crags, spreading out a carpet of flowers, and sending a stream to meander through the whole, and the poet has all the necessary ground-work for his plan, and may proceed to finish it off to his liking, without fear of spoiling the resemblance. But to paint the character and situation of the inhabitants, when he gives to these fancies "a local habitation and a name," is more hazardous work, for there is some risk of sending forth wolves in sheep's clothing. The early settlers of Wyoming, far from being a race

> "Of happy shepherd swains with nought to do
> But feed their flocks on green declivities,
> Or skim perchance the lake with light canoe,"

appear to have been an intractable and lawless company, constantly engaged in skirmishes and bloodshed. And the war, at the early period of which we speak, was no high-minded resistance to oppression, no gallant repulse of ferocious savages, but a mere conflict of land titles. It arose, like most other evils, from the thirst after filthy lucre, and was prosecuted with the deter-

mination which men usually show, when their purses are in danger.

The zeal and interest, with which Mr. Stone has hunted up all memorials of the terrible scene, which every one associates with the name of Wyoming, proceeded at first from his care for the reputation of Brant, or Thayendanegia, as it is now the fashion to call him, whom he has successfully vindicated from the charge of being present at and directing the massacre. Many a thrilling tale connected with that bloody event has he gleaned from the aged survivors of the battle ; and, though the mass of tradition needs to be winnowed a little, before absolute credit can be given to it, yet it furnishes good material for the historian, and a graphic commentary upon the pleasing tale by Campbell. The sketch of the earlier contests, of which this valley was the theatre, when the men of Connecticut disputed its ownership with those of Pennsylvania, is executed with great freedom and liveliness, though it is unequally done, and the writer should have been more scrupulous in admitting doubtful testimony. On the whole, he has made a pleasant and instructive book, the contents of which deserve the rich garb, with which the liberal spirit of the publisher has clothed it. Washington Irving has contributed to it a biographical sketch of the poet Campbell, for the fidelity and agreeableness of which his name is a sufficient guaranty. The English bard has no reason to be ashamed of the company in which he is placed before his American readers.

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10. — *Notes on the United States of America during a Phrenological Visit in* 1838 – 1840. By George Combe. In Two Volumes. 16mo. pp. 373 and 405.

There is no great instruction to be derived from these volumes, by readers either abroad or in this country ; but they are written generally with good sense, and throughout in an amiable vein, except when occasionally the author is provoked, — as who would not be ? — when he falls in with those who flout his hobby. We find no fault with what he apologizes for, his ample notices of objects and customs familiar to our own people. The book was prepared rather for foreign readers, and a traveller, writing with that design, does well to record such things minutely, while their novelty secures his own attention. The very fact, that they attract his notice, while they pass as a matter of course with those whom he is visiting, shows them to be characteristic. As to Mr. Combe's observa-

tions and speculations upon the state of parties in this country, and the present and future working of its institutions, they are as good as would be made by any one fair-minded traveller in a hundred with his opportunities, which is not speaking very extravagantly in their praise. The work is pervaded by an excellent moral tone. It uses generous commendation when apparent circumstances warrant it. Reproof is sparingly administered, never in a fault-finding spirit, generally with good judgment, and always in a tone of frank and manly earnestness. As to taste, there is not much to except against, unless it be the stilted attitude, in which the most unquestionable verities are announced. But this comes of the vocation. It is hard for a preacher or a lecturer not to play Sir Oracle, even in a gossiping book of travels. Says Mr. Combe ;

"I have endeavoured, in this work, to expound the principle, that mental action is the first requisite to moral and intellectual improvement. If we expect to confer on the British people intelligence, we must advocate them." — Vol. II. p. 318.

"I earnestly press on your attention the great truth, that our affective faculties, both animal and moral, are in themselves blind impulses, and that they stand in need of constant guidance." — *Ibid.* p. 333.

And much more in the same style. Dr. Channing, of whom Mr. Combe is a devoted admirer, sometimes writes in this way. But it requires all the graces of his eminent genius to make it tolerable. Smaller wits should beware of such experiments. Now and then, in a like ambitious mood, there is indited some ponderous generalization which the reader pauses and summons his faculties to master ; as,

"The conflicts of your sects will do more for the improvement of Christianity than has been accomplished by all the commentators who have labored in the field since the Reformation." — *Ibid.* p. 346.

A statement which would be more satisfactory to the reader, did he better perceive that the conflicts of sects and the labors of commentators are two absolutely independent things. Again, the reader is put in the way to understand what is meant by "public opinion," by the following lucid definition : —

"What is public opinion ? It is the outward expression of the particular group of faculties which may happen to predominate in activity in the majority of the people for the moment." — *Ibid.* p. 334.

To phrenology is awarded the credit of

"Unfolding to us the great facts that we possess moral and intellectual faculties invested with authority to rule over and direct the animal propensities ; and the propensities have all a legitimate sphere of action." — *Ibid.* p. 340.

If Mr. Combe thinks that these "great facts" were never unfolded before, and that phrenology unfolded them, it is less surprising that he holds it in such high esteem. It must be owned, however, that he does not obtrude it very much upon his readers, and his fellow-believers, whom the reference to it on the title-page may attract to his book, may naturally be disappointed in this particular. He gives statements of the degree of interest excited by his lectures upon it in different places, and occasionally describes the craniological developements of distinguished individuals. But for the most part the subject is made to give place to others commanding a more general sympathy, and it is only at the close of the work that it is prominently set forth as affording practical expedients of the most important efficiency. There the enthusiasm of this philosophy runs riot with him through some three or four unflinching pages.

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11. — *Miniature Romances from the German, with other Prolusions of Light Literature.* Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 1841. 12mo. pp. 324.

Having formerly noticed Mr. Tracy's beautiful translation of the most delicate of modern Romances, La Motte Fouqué's "Undine," it is unnecessary to say much of the present volume. We are glad to see that the merits of this translation have attracted the attention of the London publishers, and that a handsome edition has there been issued by the poet-publisher, Edward Moxon. The little volume now before us contains the translation of "Undine," revised and improved, together with several other pieces; some translated from the German, and some original. Among other things we notice a faithful and beautiful Italian version of Coleridge's most finished poem, "Love," which (the translation we mean) we have long been familiar with in manuscript, and long wished to see in print, by Mr. P. D'Alessandro, an Italian gentleman, whose literary accomplishments are well known and highly appreciated in this community. He has entered into the spirit of his exquisite original, and adhered to the very turns of expression with extraordinary fidelity, making it at the same time a very finished and harmonious Italian poem. This is to solve successfully the highest problem of translation.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of "Common Sense," "Rights of Man," "Age of Reason," &c. &c., with Critical and Explanatory Observations on his Writings, and an Appendix, containing his Letters to Washington, suppressed in his Works at present Published in this Country. By G. Vale, Editor of the Beacon. New York: Published by the Author. pp. 221.

The Life and Times of Red-Jacket, or, Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha; being the Sequel to the History of the Six Nations. By William L. Stone. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 484.

A Life of Washington, by J. K. Paulding. New York: Harper & Brothers. (Family Library Edition.) 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 267, 233.

The Book of the Indians, or, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its First Discovery to the Year 1841. By Samuel G. Drake, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen; Honorary Member of the New Hampshire and New York Historical Societies. 8th Edition, with Large Corrections and Additions. Boston. 8vo. pp. 216. Antiquarian Book Store.

Memoirs of the Most Eminent American Mechanics. Also, Lives of Distinguished European Mechanics; Together with a collection of Anecdotes, Descriptions, &c. &c. Relating to the Mechanic Arts. Illustrated by Fifty Engravings. By Henry Howe. New York: Alexander & Blake. 12mo. pp. 482.

EDUCATION.

Parisian Linguist; or, an Easy Method of acquiring a Perfect Pronunciation of the Language without a French Master. Intended for Academies and Schools in the United States and for American Travellers in Europe. By an American resident in Paris. Boston: James Munroe & Co. pp. 255.

This little work was prepared by one of our countrymen, who has for some time resided abroad, and who fancied that a plan of instruction in French, which he had successfully used in his own family, might be profitably adopted in the seminaries of this country, and by those who designed to travel in Europe. The principal difficulty of learners consists in obtaining a correct pronunciation of the language, and this obstacle the writer labors to overcome by spelling the words as they are pronounced to an English ear, great care being taken to use such a combination of letters, that the pupil, following our own principles of sound and accentuation, cannot go far wrong in enunciating the French syllables. On opening the volume, an array of words most uncouth and novel in their aspect meets the eye, but on attempting to pronounce them in the English fashion, an

instructed ear at once recognises the familiar sounds. The ingenuity and care which the writer shows in this curious sort of spelling are remarkable. We incline to think it the best possible plan of obtaining a correct pronunciation for those who have not the aid of oral instruction. Whether it is advisable for persons in such case to attempt to pronounce at all, is another question. The correctness of the writer's own ear and speech may be confided in, considering the advantages he has enjoyed, and that he has taken the further precaution of testing his orthoëpy "by conversing with members of the Institute and professors of the University, and by attendance on the debates of the House of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies." Some introductory principles are stated in the preface to help the pupil in respect to those peculiar and more difficult sounds, which no combination of letters on paper will ever represent to any other eye, than that of a Frenchman. The book is further useful, as it contains a very copious vocabulary of words and phrases in most common use, and such lists of conjugated verbs and other exercises, as will serve to give a fair knowledge of the principles of French grammar. Many instructers will probably find the work a useful assistant in their labors.

The Rollo Code of Morals; or, The Rules of Duty for Children. Arranged with Questions for the Use of Schools. By Jacob Abbott, Author of the "Rollo" Books, &c. Boston: Crocker & Brewster.

Exercises in Elocution, Exemplifying the Rules and Principles of the Art of Reading. By William Russell, Editor of the American Journal of Education, (First Series,) Author of Lessons in Enunciation, and Rudiments of Gesture. Boston: Jenks & Palmer. 12mo. pp. 240.

A New Practical System for Teaching and Learning the French Pronunciation, in Seven Lessons; Illustrated and Supported by Numerous Examples from the Best French Poets. By C. Ladreyt. To which are annexed, A few Remarks respecting some Books published at Philadelphia, &c. Philadelphia: J. Crissy. 12mo. pp. 30.

Physiology and Animal Mechanism. First Book of Natural History, prepared for the Use of Schools and Colleges. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M. D., Surgeon in the United States Navy; Fellow of the College of Physicians; Honorary Member of the Philadelphia Medical Society; Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, &c. &c. From the Text of Milne-Edwards, and Achille Comte, Professors of Natural History in the Colleges of Henri IV. and Charlemagne. With Plates. Philadelphia: Turner & Fisher. pp. 101. 12mo.

Letters on Elementary and Practical Education. By Charles Mondelet, Esq. To which is added a French Translation. Montreal: John James Williams. pp. 60. 8vo.

Higher Arithmetic, designed for the Use of High Schools, Academies, and Colleges, in which some entirely New Principles are developed, and many Concise and Easy Rules given, which have never before appeared in any Arithmetic. By George R. Perkins, A. M. Utica: Bennett, Backus, & Hawley. 12mo. pp. 252.

An Introduction to the Greek Language, containing an outline of the Grammar, with Appropriate Exercises, for the Use of Schools and Private Learners. By Asahel C. Kendrick, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, in the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution. Utica: Bennet, Backus, & Hawley. 12mo. pp. 192.

HISTORY.

Historical Letters on the First Charter of Massachusetts Government, by Abel Cushing. Boston: J. N. Bang. 12mo. pp. 240.

Reminiscences of the last Sixty-Five Years, commencing with the Battle of Lexington; also, Sketches of his own Life and Times. By S. E. Thomas, formerly Editor of the Charleston (S. C.) City Gazette, and lately of the Cincinnati Daily Evening Post. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 300 and 204. Hartford: Case, Tiffany, & Burnham.

Collections of the New York Historical Society. Second Series. Vol. I. New York: Printed for the Society. 8vo. pp. 486.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

Jane Brush and her Cow. New York: M. W. Dodd. 18mo.

A Summer Journey in the West, by Mrs. Steele, Author of Heroines of Sacred History. New York: John S. Taylor & Co. 12mo. pp. 278.

Jessie Graham, or Friends Dear, but Truth Dearer. By Aunt Kitty, Author of Blind Alice. New York: Dayton & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 124.

Charles Linn; or, How to Observe the Golden Rule, with other Stories. New York: Dayton & Saxton. 16mo. pp. 212.

The Fourth of July Book, containing Plans for a Juvenile Observance of the National Festival. By a Sunday School Man. New York. 1841.

Peter Parley's Farewell. Philadelphia: R. S. H. George. 16mo. pp. 324.

LAW.

Argument of John Quincy Adams, before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the United States, Appellants, *vs.* Cinque, and others, Africans, Captured in the Schooner Amistad, by Lieut. Gedney; delivered on the 24th of February, and 1st of March, 1841, with a Review of the Case of the Antelope, Reported in the 10th, 11th, and 12th Volumes of Wheaton's Reports. New York: S. W. Benedict, 128 Fulton Street. 8vo. pp. 135.

A Treatise on the Law of Sales of Personal Property. By Francis Hilliard, Author of "An Abridgment of the American Law of Real Property." New York: Halstead & Voorhies. 8vo. pp. 365.

A Treatise on the Rights and Duties of Merchant Seamen, according to the General Maritime Law, and the Statutes of the United States. By George Ticknor Curtis, of the Boston Bar. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children. By James Stewart, M. D. New York: Wiley & Putnam.

An Examination of Reviews, contained in the British and Foreign Medical Review, and the Medico-Chirurgical Review, of the Medical and Physiological Commentaries. By the Author, Martin Paine, M. D., A. M., Professor of the Institute of Medicine and Materia Medica in the University of New York. 8vo. pp. 56.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Chess-Player, with Engravings and Diagrams; containing Franklin's Essay, Introduction to the Rudiments of Chess, by George Walker, The three Games played at one and the same time, by Philidor, and Sixty Openings, Mates, and Situations. By W. S. Kenney, Teacher. Boston; Nathaniel Dearborn. 1841. 12mo. pp. 155.

The fascinating and truly "royal game" of chess has fewer votaries in this country, than might be expected from its reputation and solid merits. We have no clubs established in different cities, and waging a protracted warfare with each other by blows which lose none of their force in their slow transmission by mail. We have no places of public resort exclusively devoted to the game, where the patient combatants cheat the night of its hours in their noiseless and absorbing contest. The glory belongs to the chess clubs of the old world, to the "Royal Divan" at London, and the *Café de la Régence*, at Paris. Still, we can boast of a few heroes in this war; *vixêre fortes* even on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Franklin was a proficient at the play, which he has illustrated with his own inimitable humor, good sense, and Socratic moralizing. His shrewd, penetrating, and happily balanced intellect was admirably adapted to the stratagems and tactics of the noble game; his self-command was equally conspicuous in success and defeat, and it enabled him, — O! incredible glory for an accomplished player, — to render the mimic engagements subservient to what the world deems higher and more important objects. On more than one occasion, a challenge at chess was the cover for an informal though weighty negotiation, and while seated at the mystic board, decisive steps were taken for check-mating a powerful king. Besides his example and writings, the wonderful automaton of Kempelen and Maelzel, when exhibited in this country, created some interest in the game, and once or twice, powerful combatant as he was, he found his match among our countrymen. Of course, we speak relatively, when alluding to the want of national cultivation in this respect. There are smatterers enough to be found, but real proficients are few and far between, and none but a chess player knows the immense interval between a first and second rate performer.

The manual published by Mr. Dearborn seems to be skilfully made up from various English publications of merit, and to be well adapted to the wants both of novices and of experienced players. Beginners may take their first lessons from it with safety, while there is no person living, who may not derive instruction from the recorded games of the matchless Philidor. We hope the sale of the work will prove that the amusement is gaining ground in this part of the world, for it has high claims to cultivation and respect. As an intellectual exercise, no other mere sport can be mentioned in comparison with it. The skill of Philidor depended, perhaps, on as rare natural endowments and as thorough training, as the mathematical triumphs of a Laplace or a Bowditch. The game is seldom or never polluted by being made an excuse for gambling, for its intrinsic interest requires no foreign excitement. In many cases it may well be recommended to the young from its tendency to cultivate those habits of close attention and forethought, and accurate calculation, which are most difficult of formation in early life, though they are essential to a well-regulated intellect, and to the successful practice of any profession.

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